FIFTH REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ARCHIVES

FOR THE

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

340

BY

ALEXANDER FRASER,

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVIST.

1908.

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Printed and Published by L. K. CAMERON, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
1909.

To His Honour, JOHN MORISON GIBSON, ESQ., K.C., LL.D, &c., *Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR:

I have the pleasure to present herewith for the consideration of Your Honour the Report of the Bureau of Archives of Ontario for 1908.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR J. MATHESON,
Provincial Treasurer.

Toronto, 1909.

FIFTH REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ARCHIVES

The Honourable ARTHUR JAMES MATHESON, ESQ., K.C., M.P.P., &c., *Treasurer of Ontario.*

SIR,—I have the honour to submit to you the following Report in connection with the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER FRASER,
Provincial Archivist.

Toronto, 31st December, 1908.

Ex rebus antiquis eruditio oriatur.

Report of the
Ontario Bureau of Archives

PREFATORY.

The area to which the following pages refer is associated with events of outstanding interest in Canadian history. The County of Simcoe is so closely identified with the Huron Indians that the name "Huronia," used by Father Jones, is no misnomer. The measure of comparative civilization to which these Indians had attained, their tribal and national alliances, their evangelization, and their tragic disappearance, appeal to the imagination; and so to a greater degree does the sad fate of the Missionaries who stood by them to the death, and won the Martyr's Crown. The heroic in our history finds here its home.

Other events also point to Huronia. The intrepid Champlain journeyed to it, leaving behind him an historic trail. The early trader skirted its shores; and in later times it furnished the explorer and the soldier important routes of travel.

The identification of the Huron Village Sites dating back to 1615, A.D., has occupied the attention of many writers. The Rev. Father Jones, the result of whose labors has been placed at the disposal of the Ontario Archives, has given many of the best years of his life to the investigation of this subject. He brought to his work qualifications of the highest order, and the remarkable demonstrations in the chapters forming this volume confirm a reputation for learning already world-wide in the domains of History and Archaeology. That some of his conclusions will not be accepted by all investigators in this field may be expected. The subject is not free of difficulties; opinions may well differ on some important points. Friendly criticism and earnest research on reasonable lines may yet elucidate problems now obscure, and are to be welcomed. In this connection the work of Mr. A. F. Hunter, M.A., merits careful consideration.

The Rev. Father Arthur Edward Jones, S.J., F.R.S.C., was born in Brockville in 1838. His father was Henry Jones and his mother, Lucy Catherine Macdonell, of the Scotus family in Inverness-shire. His father's family landed at Boston Bay in 1664, the representatives of which came to Canada as United Empire Loyalists. Father Jones studied as a Novice in Angers, France, in 1857, after preliminary study at St. Mary's College, Montreal. Thereafter he spent four years in the seminaries at Amiens and Vals. Returning to Canada he was engaged as an Instructor in St. Mary's College, Montreal, for one year, when he

was appointed a professor in Fordham University, New York, and remained there four years, from 1864 to 1870. During the next four years he studied theology at Woodstock, Maryland, and was ordained there in 1873. His next appointment was that of professor for one year in St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City. In 1876 he was again appointed to St. Mary's College and ministered there to the Church of the Gesù until 1900, except for one year, (1881-82) when he ministered at Guelph, Ont. In 1882, he was appointed Archivist of St. Mary's College of whose valuable documents he is the devoted custodian. His literary work has been extensive, his bent of mind being to history. He is the author of:

Biens des Jesuites en Canada.

Question du Droit Canon.

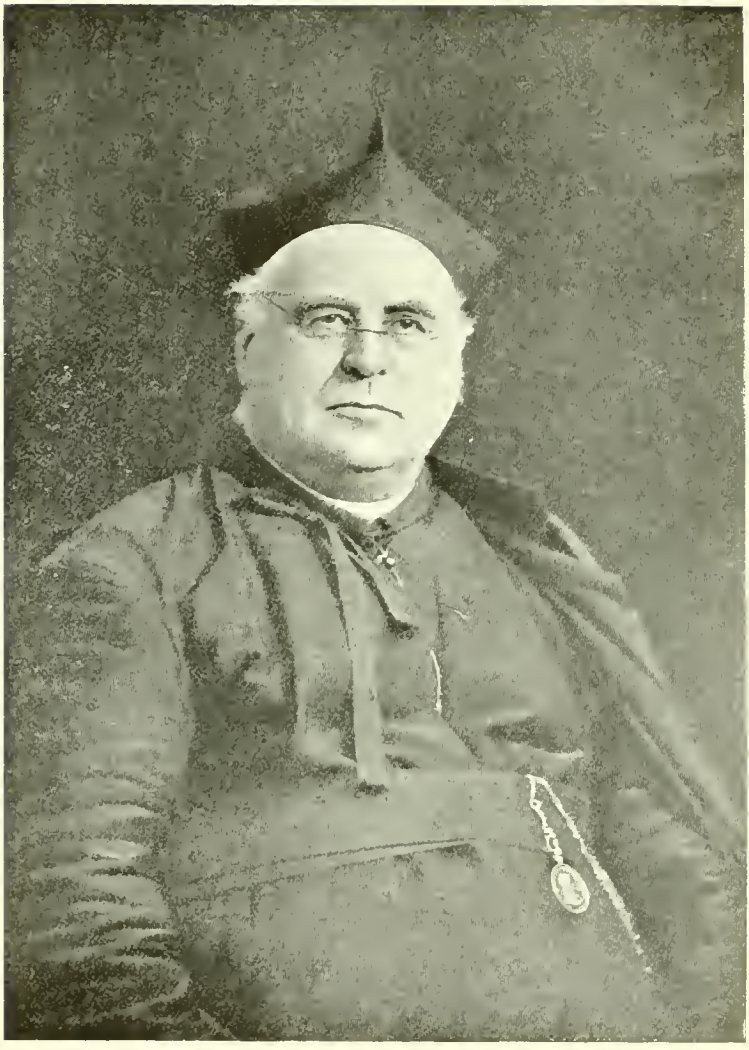
Pamphlets on the Jesuits' Estates in Canada, 1888-89.

Sketch of Louis André, S. J., 1889.

Assisted Reuben G. Thwaites in his *Jesuit Relations* and Allied Documents 1896-1901.

He was Editor of the "Canadian Messenger" 1893-1900; and of the "Relation de la Mission du Saguenay" 1720-30 by Pierre Laure, S. J., from a M.S. he discovered: also Editor and Translator of the valuable Aulneau Collection.

ALEXANDER FRASER.



Very sincerely yours

A. E. Jones S.J.

"8ENDAKE ĘHEN"

OR

OLD HURONIA

BY

The Archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal,

ARTHUR EDWARD JONES, S.J.

F.R.S.C.; Corr. Member of the Ontario, Minnesota and Chicago Hist. Societies; Hon. Member of the Missouri Hist. Soc., and Member of the International Congress of Americanists.

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is presented to the public as a mere book of reference. It has no pretension to do duty as a history either of the Huron Nations or of the men who devoted their lives to their evangelization; but it may prove helpful to those who purpose treating in full the many thrilling incidents which preceded the downfall and dispersion of a once powerful and prosperous race. At all events, it will serve to render more intelligible, and as a consequence more interesting, the annual Relations and other old records, by disentangling many a snarl of dates, and by fixing the scene where events, be they critical or commonplace, were enacted.

The first essential to a serious and successful treatment of Huron history is a knowledge of the country inhabited and the situation of the principal centres of population. The reconstructed Map of "The Huronia of the Relations," which accompanies this publication, will, it is hoped, supply this want. Part First of the present volume is a sequence of dry proofs vindicating the correctness of the village sites as set down on the Map. The derivation of all the Indian names of Huron villages is given either in the text or in the Appendix, for oftentimes their meaning helps to fix their position or corroborates the documentary evidence.

Part Second deals with the arrivals and departures of the missionaries, their stations in Huronia from year to year, and incidentally with the opening of new village missions. It records, under their proper dates, the destruction of these Christian centres, while mention is made of the heroic men who fell victims of their zeal on these momentous occasions.

Synoptical Tables of the village sites and of the missionaries and their stations are also given to enable the reader at a glance to determine the field of labour of any missionary at any given time. A copious Index has been added which will afford a ready reference in searching for any required date, fact or event.

The difference between the "Theoretical Map of Huronia, 1898," contributed to Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" (end of Vol. XXXIV.), and the present Map of the "Huronia of the Relations, 1906," is but slight. The former was based on documentary evidence only, before I ever set foot in Simcoe County; the latter on like evidence supplemented by a topographical investigation and a careful personal inspection of all the principal sites. The latter is the more reliable.

It is my pleasing duty here to thank the many friends who, on the occasion of my repeated archæological expeditions into this most interesting part of Ontario, have assisted me in my researches: their names will be found in their proper places in this volume. But I must add that no one has contributed so much to the successful outcome of these researches than Mr. H. R. Charlton, of the Grand Trunk Railway system, whose extreme kindness made it an easy and pleasing task to zigzag through the country under inspection as fancy or necessity required.

In the preparation of the volume now submitted to the critical eye of Canadian archæological experts, I am hopelessly indebted to the zealous co-operation of Mr. Alexander Fraser, Provincial Archivist of Ontario. His avowed aim, in all the patient labour it has cost him, is to bring before the public contributions of a nature to familiarize students with the earliest historical events which have taken place within the limits of the Province, and to place within their reach reliable information as to the exact spots where such have occurred. In fact, no other region in North America, within historic times, is so rich in early records, and nowhere else has the ground been hallowed by the blood, so profusely shed, of the heroes of the Faith.

I do not know if I am betraying a departmental secret, but this indefatigable and painstaking servant of the public has set himself a most difficult task, that of reproducing in photo-facsimile the three principal works of Fr. Pierre Potier, the great Huron linguist. If this project is brought to a successful issue, American ethnology and linguistics will be favoured beyond measure, as no such exhaustive and methodical works have as yet been published on any other language spoken by any one of the North American aboriginal tribes, and, for that matter, no others so perfect exist.

It was an afterthought of Mr Fraser to add to this monograph an article taken from the Catholic Encyclopædia entitled "Huron Indians," wherein their history is given succinctly, some notion of their religion, form of government, population, etc. The latter part of the article, on the migrations of the Petuns in the West, under the title of "Wyandots," not having yet appeared in the Encyclopædia, is necessarily omitted here.

ARTHUR EDWARD JONES, S.J.

St. Mary's College, Montreal.

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ADDENDA

THE HURON INDIANS.
(P. 415.)

(Article reproduced, with permission, from the Robert Appleton Co.'s Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VII.)

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*Should have been inserted on p. 423, before paragraph beginning: "In the Neutral Country, etc." See, however, same table on pp. 262-264 in Part First of Sendake Ehen, and for Petun Sites, p. 265.

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Ext.-Lar.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ad domestica =Employed in household work.

Adm. =*Admonitor;* the personal adviser of the superior of a community.

Ad om. =*Ad omnia;* one given promiscuous work within and without the house.

Ædit. =*Ædituus;* a sacristan.

Alegambe =Mortes Illustres et Gesta eorum de Societate Jesu qui in odium Fidei . . . . necati ærumnisve confecti sunt. Auctore Philippo Alegambe. Bruxellensi, ex eadem Societe Jesu. Romæ, anno MDCLVII., ex typographia Varesii.

Autob. =Autobiographie du Père Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jésus, et son complément par la R. P. Félix Martin, do la même Compagnie. Paris: H. Oudin, 1885.

Bressani Trs. =Relation Abrégée de Quelques Missions des Perès de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France, par le R. P. F.-J. Bressani de la même compagnie. Traduit de l'Italien et augmenté d'un avant-propos, de la biographie de l'auteur et d'un grand nombre de notes et de gravures, par le R. P. Félix Martin de la même compagnie. Montréal, John Lovell, 1852.

Bressani, Orig. =Breve Relatione d'alcune Missioni de'PP. della Compagnia di Giesù nella Nuova Francia. Del P. Francesco Gioseppe Bressa-ni della medesima Compagnia, etc. In Macerata, per gli Heredi d'Agostino Grisei—1653.

Cf. =*Confer,* compare.

C. G.-LL., Contemp. Cop. =A MS. copy of the foregoing, made in recent years. In it the letters Garnier's Letters to his relatives and friends in France. This copy was made about the year 1652 by his brother, Henri de St. Joseph, a religious of the Carmelite Order, and covers 112 pages. The letters are not in order of date.

C. G.-LL., Rec. cop. =A MS. copy of the foregoing, made in recent years. In it the letters are placed in chronological order.

Conf. =*Confessarius;* a priest duly appointed with jurisdiction to administer the Sacrament of Penance.

Conf. domest. =*Confessarius domesticorum;* a confessor of the servants or bired men.

Conf. donat. =*Confessarius donatorum;* a confessor of the "donnés."

Conf. NN. =*Confessarius Nostrorum;* a confessor of the members of the Society.

Conjunctim =Means, when added to a reference, that both passages quoted are to be taken together as mutually explanatory.

Cons. =*Consultor;* one of the officially appointed advisers of the superior. These consulters were convened at regular intervals and in cases of emergency.

Coq. =*Coquus;* a cook.

Cur. val. =*Curat valetudinem;* removed from active work that care may be taken of his health. A valetudinarian.

D· . *Desperatæ valetudinis;* completely broken down in health, with little hope of recovery.

storiæ Canadensis, seu Novæ-Francaiæ Libri Decem ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI. Auctore P. Francisco Creuxio e Societate esu. Parisiis, apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, etc. MDCLXIV.

St. Mary's College Archives. Copies of portions of and extracts old catalogues of the Prov. of Paris, S.J., together with a ary of a certain number of documents preserved in the of Jesus, in the handwriting of Father Adolphe Larcher,

Extr.-Mart. =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Copy of portions of and extracts from old Catalogues of the Province of Paris, S.J., in the handwriting of Father Felix Martin, S.J.

Fab. ferr. =*Faber ferrarius;* a blacksmith.

Fab. lign. =*Faber lignarius;* a carpenter.

Faillon =Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada. 3 Vols.; Villemarie, Bibliothèque Paroissiele, 1865. This history is the work of l'Abbé Etienne-Michel Faillon, P.S.S.

Ferland =Cours d'Histoire du Canada par J. B. A. Ferland, Prêtre, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université-Laval. 2 vols. Deuxième édition-Quebec, N. S. Hardy, 1882.

Gr.H. or Gram. =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Elementa Grammaticæ Huronicæ. In Father Pierre Potier's handwriting. 1745.

Hortulan. =*Hortulanus;* a gardener.

Jour. des Jés. =Le Journal des Jésuites, publié d'après le manuscrit original conservé aux archives du Séminaire de Québec, par MM. les Abbés Laverdierè et Casgrain. A Québec. Léger Brousseau, 1871.

Le Clercq =Premier Etablishment de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France, etc., par le Père Chrestien Le Clercq, missionnaire Recollect, etc. 2 vols. A Paris, chez Amable Auroy, M.DC.XCI.

Le Tac =Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis sa découverte (mil cinq cents quatre) jusques en l'an six cents trente deux, par le Pere Sixte Le Tac, Recollect. Paris, Versailles; Eugène Réveillaud, 1888.

Lex. Iroq. =Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise avec notes et appendices, par J. A. Cuoq, Prêtre de Saint-Sulpice. Montréal: J. Chapleau et Fils, 1882.

LL. ad Gen. =*Litteræ ad Generalem.* MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Copies and summaries of some letters written by the missionaries to the General at Rome.

Loc. cit. =*Loco citato;* in the place quoted.

Lot. pann. =*Lotor pannorum;* a washer of soiled linen, underwear, towels, etc.

Lot. vest. =*Lotor vestium;* a washer of clothes; manager of the laundry.

Mar. de l'Inc. =Lettres de la Révérende Mère, Marie de l'Incarnation. 2 vols. Nouvelle édition augmentée et annotée par l'Abbé Richardeau. Casterman, Tournai, 1876.

Min. =*Minister;* the one next in authority to the superior in a residence or house of the Society of Jesus who looks after the material wants of the community and the observance of the rules.

MS. Authen. 1652 =A bound MS. of 302 pages in the Archives of St. Mary's College: transcribed in Paris by a court scribe from originals sent from Canada by Father Paul Ragueneau in 1650. It contains many depositions under oath of Fathers Ragueneau and Poncet certifying to the correctness of the narratives. These affidavits are signed in 1652, but the different dates range from August to December. Title: "Mémoires touchant la mort et les vertus des Perès Isaac Jogues, Anne de Nouë, Anthoine Daniel, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lallement, Charles Garnier, Noël Chabanel, et un séculier René Goupil.

Negot. =*Negotiator;* a business agent, a factor.

Obit. LL. =Obituary Letters; a MS. in St. Mary's College Archives, containing copies of a certain number of circular letters announcing the death of missionaries and giving brief sketches of their careers, sent by the superior at the time of their demise.

Oper. =*Operarius;* a regularly appointed priest engaged in the active ministry, in preaching and the administration of the sacraments.

Parkman =The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century, by Francis Parkman. Third edition. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1868.

Pet. Registre =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives entitled: Petit Registre in 4to, de la Cure de Montréal, 1642-1680, par Jacques Viger, Ecr. This is an analysis, with historical notes, of the earliest parish register of the city of Montreal by its first mayor, 1836.

P.M. =Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada, par le P. Auguste Carayon. Paris: L'Ecureux, 1864.

Præf. ædif. =*Præfectus Ædificum;* head-builder, foreman.

Præf. eccl. =*Præfectus ecclesiæ;* the one who appoints, from day to day, the celebrants in religious services, and has the superintendence of whatever relates to the church furnishings and offices.

Præf. san. =*Præfectus sanitatis;* the Father who has the care of the health of the members of the community and attends to the needs of those who are threatened with sickness or are actually in ill-health.

Præf. spirit. =*Præfectus spiritualis;* the spiritual director who delivers before the assembled community, at regular intervals, exhortations or lectures on what concerns progress in perfection.

Proc. =*Procurator*, a bursar or treasurer; the one who defrays the expenses authorized by the minister, and keeps an account of outlay and receipts.

Rel. =Relations des Jésuites. Quebec edition in 3 vols., compiled under the auspices of the Canadian Government by Father Felix Martin S.J. Quebec: Augustin Coté, 1858. In the references to this work the year, page and column are given. The Relation of each year has its separate pagination.

Rel. Clev. edit. =Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents in 73 vols., edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, O., publishers, 1891-1901. See at page 408 of this volume a table of volumes, chapters and pages corresponding to those of the Quebec edition.

R.H., 1743 =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Radices Linguæ Huronicæ, Transcriptæ a P. [Petro] Potier ex P. [Etienne de] Car[h]eil. 1a. 3a,. 4a, et 5a Conjugatio Tom. I., 1743.

R.H., 1744 =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Radices Linguæ Huronicæ, transcriptæ a P. Potier, S.J. 2a Conjugatio, Tom. II. 1744.

R.H., 1751 =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Radices Huronicæ. Complete in 1 vol. In Father Pierre Potier's handwriting, 1751.

Sagard, Hist. =Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont faicts, etc., depius l'an 1615, par Gabriel Sagard Théodat, etc 4 vols.. Nouvelle édition publiée par M. Edwin Tross. Paris, 1866.

Sagard, Voy. =Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, etc., par F. Gabriel Sagard Théodat, Recollet de S. François, de la province de S. Denys en France. Nouvelle édition publiée par M. Emile Chevalier. Paris: Tross, 1865.

Sart. =*Sartor* (from *Sarcio*); a patcher a mender, the community tailor.

Sen. =Senex; Superannuated.

SS. or et ss. =*Et pagina sequentes*, subject matter continued on the following pages.

Sup. =*Superior*, head of a particular residence or mission. The *Superior Generalis* was the head superior of all the Canada missions. The superior of the whole Order, residing at Rome, is mentioned simply as the General.

Sut. =*Sutor*, a shoemaker, a cobbler.

Vie de Bréb. =Le P. Jean de Brébeuf, sa vie, ses travaux et son Martyre, par le R. P. Martin de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: G. Téqui, 1877.

Vie de Jog. =MS. in St. Mary's College Archives. Vie du R P. Isaac Jogues, d'Orléans, de la Compagnie de Jésus, missionnaire chez les Hurons et martyr chez les Iroquois, par J. B. Pierre Forest, d'Orleans, 1792. 79 pages.

ERRATA

[Owing to some inconceivable misunderstanding, this volume was run off the press, and the type distributed, without the author's having had an opportunity of collating the printed proofs with his own manuscript. Hence this formidable, though incomplete, array of errata.]

(T., Top; F., Foot.)

Page.	Line.	Instead of:	Read:
10	Footnote.	See map, page 18	See map, Tay Tp., at end of volume
12d.	Title.	At Bastion D	At Bastion C.
14	Diagram.	Strike out all the title save :	"Diagram I." Cfr. p. 10 pl.
27	14 T	I "Là dessus	I. "Là dessus
36	Diagram.	Lagard's	Sagard's
41	6 T	(p. 721n., 794o.)	(Hist., p. 721n. 794o)
"	21 T	(See page 24)	(See Diagram III., p. 36 pl.)
45	15 F	Roche Daillon, 1637, in Sagard's Hist, p. 809, etc.	Roche de Daillon, 1627, in Sagard's Hist. du Canada, III., p. 809, etc.
"	13 F	1691, p. 362	1691, I., p. 362
45	12 F	Hist. du Canada, p. 413.	Hist. du Canada, II., p. 413
50	Title.	Harenhassa	Karenhassa
52	7 F	Sahouan ! (hold ! attend !)	Sahouan ! (hold ! wait !)
"	2 F	warm, with an	warm (*R. H. p. 117*)), with an
53	7 T	et Descouvertes (Quebec ed., etc...	et Descouvertes, IV. (Queb. ed., etc...
"	14 T	In the same Vol. IV.,	In Vol. V.,
56	3 F	La Roche Daillon	La Roche de Daillon
"	2 F	de Noué	de Nouë
58	11 F	crenha	arenha
59	9 T	Oron	Aron
"	13 T	Karonnion	aronnon
60	14 T	aaroSan	aarosan
"	15 T	Cfr. R. H.	Cfr. ahonh8i R. H.
61	23 F	IX.	IV.
64	Title.	Cahiague, The Narrows and Cahiague	Cahiagué, The Narrows and Contarea
65	7 T	Page 514. We arrived, etc	Page 514 (Tom. IV.). We arrived, etc.
66	Plate.	strike out last line of title.	
70	9 T	Ouentaronius	Ouentaronius (see map 6, pl.)
70	16 T	deéfense	défense
82	2 F	IV.	V.
83	1 F	Decreux	Ducreux
94	Plate.	[266a]	[94a]
"	"	*See page* 249	See pages 45, 249
98	3 T	In 1642 (p. 61, 1 col.)	In 1641 (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 1 col.*)
"	12 F	in 1640 (Ib. 70, I col.)	in 1639 (*Rel. 1640, 70, 1 col.*)
99	15 T	In 1640,	In 1639,
"	17 T	In 1642 (p. 61, I col.)	In 1641 (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 1 col.*)
101	7 F	St. Ignace I.	St. Ignace II.
105	13 F	a Nature	as Nature
107	29 T	pr wess	prowess
109	13 F	from St. Louis ;	from St. Louis (cf. Parkman in Jes. in N. A., p. 380) ;
116	16 F	hired men	*donnés*
121	2 T	add under the title :	(See map of Tay Tp. at the end of volume)
132	13 T	dehors. V. g. :	dehors, v. g. :

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.	Instead of :	Read :
135	7 T	this o e	this one
142	13 T	Toanché 1	Toanché 11.
150	Plate.	[160a]	[150a]
"	Title.	See page 151	See page 150,
"	Plate.	[160b]	[150b]
151	Footnote.	160a	150a
152	28 T	s e	site
153	6 T	ainct	sainct
155	14 F	hasenχ8a."	hasenχ8a " (id. ibid)
156	7 T	b ttre	battre
159	17 F	sw at-box	sweat-box
160	5 T	sebastianum	Sebastianum
"	8 T	elibano	clibano
"	10 T	con calefacto	concalefacto
164	8 F	catskin	cat's skin
190	8 T	one's shoulder	one shoulder
193	23 T	sæpins	sæpius
194	1 F	page 160b	page 150b
199	4 F	ab iota (i)	ab iota (,)
203	16 F	répendu	répandu
205	14 T	Reausoleil	Beausoleil
213	7 F	moutonnèes	moutonnées
214	8 T	Khionontaterronons	Khionontaterrhonons
216	5 F	Etionntates	Etionnontates
229	12 F	Dyer Bay	Dyer's Bay
232	22 T	Charlesbourg	Charlebourg
236	8 T	Raguenea's	Ragueneau's
241	6 F	senior	senior,
249	1 F	page 266a	page 94a.
256	Plate	Eugenie Falls	Eugenia Falls
269	2 F	Potrincourt	Poutrincourt
"	1 F	end of this volume	end of this volume, 403-407.
270	2 T	France, Quebec	France, 1611, Quebec
"	6 T	Potrincourt	Poutrincourt
273	17 T	Having arrived	"Having arrived
274	10 F	huietiesme	huictiesme
280	5 F	Nascent	nascent
281	17 F	his work	his (Sagard's) work
282	5 F	Ahaustic	Ahautsic
283	19 T	garcon	garçon
284	9 T	St. Francis to the young	St. Francis, to the young
286	1 T	Fathers Daillon and	Fathers de Daillon and
287	6 T	1625, 1629	1625-1629
"	8 F	Lalemant, superior,	Lalement superior,
288	10 T	d'Aillon	de Daillon
"	19 T	" "	" "
289	1 T	" "	" "
"	21 T	Caufestre	Gaufestre
"	18 F	devors	devons
"	10 F	fr. de Nouë	Fr. de Nouë
290	13 T	d'Aillon	de Daillon
"	19 T	" "	" "
"	12 F	further,	further on,
"	5 F	d'Aillon	de Daillon
291	6 T	d'Aillon's	de Daillon's
"	8 F	Sainct Louys d'où	Sainct Louys, d'où
292	9 T	letter ; he mentions	letter, he mentions
293	3 T	conversation	conversion
"	6 F	Nœes	Nœo
294	9 T	d'Aillon	de Daillon
"	14 T	" "	" "

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of :	Read :
294	24	T	20. Canots	20 canots
296	1	T	Sagard Dist	Sagard, Hist.
"	1	F	1217	1218
298	4	F	Le Jeune G. J.	Le Jeune S.J.
301	5	F	Nous n'auions	"Nous n'auions . . . .
"	4	F	pot hunting	pot-hnnting
303	12	T	[Ossossanë	[Ossossanë]
305	14	F	p. 33	p. 38
307	5	T	of La Rochelle "April 28, 1638 we are put . . .	of La Rochelle, April 28, 1638," we are put . . . .
"	6	T	we had concerning	we need concerning
309	18	T	the eye of	the eve of
"	22	T	Indians, with one of the hired men	Indians with one of the hired men,
310	2	T	Brebeuf	Brébeuf
"	18	T	took place at	took place on
"	7	F	Teanaostaiaë	[Teanaostaiaë]
"	1	F	conjunction	conjunctim
312	2	T	filched....parcel-consigned	filched....parcel consigned
313	18	F	Iroqois	Iroquois
"	20	F	1650. This	1650 (Jour. des Jés. 142, 143). This...
314	1	T	Atoronchrons	Ataronchronons
"	3, 4	T	Attinquenongnahae	Attinguenongnahac
"	12	T	Khinontaterons	Khinontateronons
"	3	F	ronnon. V.G.:	ronnon, v.g.:
315	12	F	every seven years"	"every seven years"
"	11	F	*bourgader*	*bourgades*
316	21	F	[arenta]	[Arenta]
317	6	F	6. St. Jacques, 7. St. Philippe, 8. St.	6. St. Jacques et St. Philippe, 7.
"	"	"	Barthélemy, etc.	St. Barthélemy, etc.
318	12	F	dederuat	dederunt
"	10	F	gents	gentes
320	17	T	names	name
321	3	T	adomnia	ad omnia
"	7	T	pharmac	pharmac.
"	8	T	negot	negot.
"	11, 12	T	p. 7) MS.	p. 7; MS.
"	17	T	Gulielmus Loisier (Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7)	same reference for the four names.
322	1	T	Ste. Agnes	Ste. Agnès
"	12	F	6. St. Jacques, 7. St. Philippe, 8. St. Barthélemy, etc.	6. St. Jacques et St. Philippe, 7. St. Barthélemy, etc.
323	2	T	Saint's	Saints
"	9	T	St. Guillaumee	St. Guillaume
"	15	T	Ste.	Sti.
"	23	T	name. Pagus	name, Pagus
"	24	T	1 col.	2 col.
"	30	T	d'Aillon	de Daillon
324	6	T	" "	" "
"	8	F	then at	the rest at
325			(pagination) 225	325
"	9	T	(Id. p. 82, 2 col., etc	(Id. p. 82, 2 col ; p. 58, 2 col. ; see also C.G.-LL. contemp. cop. p. 57 ; rec. cop. p. 46, where the distance given is 100 paces).
"	16	T	Tonuh-	Tontth-
326	4	F	faber lign	faber lign.
327	1	T	pannor,	pannor.
"	20	T	Missions	(strike out)
"	13	F	the wretched	this wretched
"	3	F	ignomineonsly	ignominiously
328	7	T		(Between 7 and 8 insert sub-title : Missions :

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of:	Read:
328	13	T	peoples. until	peoples until
329	11	F	A	AT
330	19	F	b fore	before
332	14	T	forty-five	twenty-five
"	17, 18	T	MS. Authen,..B essani.	MS. Authen. . . . Bressani.
"	31	T	" "	" "
"	28	T	Conture	Couture
333	11	F	30,000	30,000※
"	8	F	Des noyers	Des Noyers
334	8	T	Sartor	sartor
"	15	T	Sutor	sutor
"	18	T	"	"
335	12	T	(Id. ibid.)	(Id. ibid.):
336	3	F	the 23rd). Father	the 23rd), Father
337	22	T	sent on	absent on
339	7	T	1 col.)	1 col.):
340			Insert 1644 under line 7, T.	
"	12	F	for welfare	for the welfare
341	2	T	Glaiser	Glaises
"	1	F	De Brébeuf	de Brébeuf
342	15	F	Claude	Claudius
"	10	F	Petrinus ("Pierrot"),	Petrinus ("Pierrot") Cauchon (or Cochon)
"	9	F	Cauchon (or Cochon),	strike out.
345	3	T	A. 11, 1649,	A. 1649
"	13	F	consolaton	consolation
346	11	F	1645	1646
"	6	F	in 40th,	in 4 to
347	17	T	De Brébeuf	de Brébeuf
349	15	F	F. François Du Peron	F. René Ménard.
350	1	T	(1 col.),	(1 col. Rel. 1646),
"	9	T	F.....(no data available)	F. François Du Peron (probably)
351	12	T	ore	more
352	14	T	lend a hand to the paddle	lend a hand at the paddle
"	4	F	since	after
353	23	T	page 84,	page 84 (Rel. 1646),
"	3	F	Church	church
354	10	F	tour estre	tous estre
355	16	T	Du Peron François.	strike out
"	18	T	Ménard René	Joseph Antoine Poncet
"	15	F	Jean Boursier	Joseph Boursier
356	18	T	Ekarennindi	Ekarenniondi
"	8	F	Gillis Bacon	Gilles Bacon
358	9	T	(æt 14, Obit.; Archio. A Portf.	(æt. 14; vid. Obit.; Archiv. A
"	10	T	21, 13)	ann. 1696).
"	13	F	sou	son
360	9	T	harge	charge
"	17	T	of advantages	of the advantage
362	16	F	Flotilla	flotilla
363	2	T	fortnight six	fortnight to six
"	21	T	Arentel	Arentet
364	1	F	Sutor	sutor
365	9	T	Molére	Molère
366	1	T	cons	cons.
367	6	T	OR CAHIAGUE ABANDONED.	OR CAHIAGUE, ABANDONED
370	1	F	Nikikouec	Nikikouek
371	5	T	and were	and even
"	7	T	Lambeth	Lambton
"	13	T	Outaanak	Ontaanak
372	12	T	Cuog	Cuoq
"	20	T	achingot	ochingot

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of:	Read:
372	4	F	première Mission	Première Mission
373	2	F	FF. Bressani, Poncet, Chaumonot. . . .	FF. Bressani, Chaumonot. . . .
374	3, 4	T	exclusion of FF. Ménard and Bressani	exclusion of F. Ménard
"	5	T	FF. Poncet and Chaumonot	FF. Bressani and Chaumonot
"	18	F	There were	These were
375	19	F	Viedu	Vie du
"	13	F	Ekhiondatsaan	Ekhiondastsaan
377	19	F	sanitis	sanitatis
380	3	T	MS	MS.
383	10	T	about the first	in the beginning
"	18	T	to soon	too soon
"	8	F	us of	us to
"	1	F	Smithy	smithy
384	13	T	Léonardus	Leonardus
385	18	F	Adrien Bonin	Jacques Bonin
385	6, 7	F	sacrificed and later of Ste. Marie II.	sacrificed, and later of that of Ste. Marie II.
387	4	F	entirely	strike out
388	22	T	seen	said
391	21	F	Sept. mois	sept mois
392	12	F	(Ducreux, Hist. Canad. pp. 544-545)	strike out
393	4	T	them	these
"	20	T	Insert:	ST. MATHIAS AT EKARENNIONDI (see p. 399)
394	4	T	Ménard spoke	Ménard who spoke
"	14	T	1 col. farther away	1 col.; farther away
"	8	F	otherwi e	otherwise
395	15	F	Honareennhak	Honare'ennhak
396	8	T	of this volume	of this volume, p. 253.
"	11	F	Blacksmith	blacksmith
"	9	F	sacriston	sacristan
397	21	T	Winter	winter
400	21	F	[*Ekarennion di in the* spring.,	[*Ekarenniondi*] in the spring
"	16, 17	F	impenetrating	impenetrable
401	4	F	lay brothers	lay brother
403	2	T	. II. III.	I. II. III.
404	5	T	D'Aillon	de Daillon
407	Table III.		(At St. Joseph II. in 1645-1656) 16, 15	16, 24
"			(At St. Michel in 1645-1656) ?	15
446	"	"	same two corrections	
408	4	T	VOLUMES, CHAPTERS AND PAGES	VOLUMES AND PAGES
409	1	T	SHEWING	SHOWING
410—413	"	"	same correction.	
412	17	T	1 | ..... | ..... |	1 | " | 211
"	18	T	4 | ..... | ..... |	4 | " | 223
413	16	F	51	"
419	5	T	1,745,	1745
420	20	T	perfect	imperfect
"	10	F	"Quelle hure!"	"Quelle hure!" *
"	9	F	*Thereupon	Thereupon
421	postil		indigénes	indigènes
423	12	F	clev. ed. . . . Khioctoa	Clev. ed. . . . Khioetoa
425	24	F	Hurons	Hurons,
427	4	T	or being	or of being
428	15	F	light:" It is so	light: "It is so
429	19	F	a power, regulated	a power that regulated

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of:	Read:
429	3	F	as it ends	as its end
430	postil		S. Th. 22, Q. 84	S. Th. 2.2, Q. 84
"	1	F	but was,	but were
431	27	F	Attinquengnahac	Attinguenongnahac
"	2	F	Clev. ed. XIX., 129,	Clev. ed. XIX. 125,
435	1	T	Clev. Ed., 123	Clev. ed. XXXIV. 123
"	postil		"8endake Ehen" MS. cop. p. 226.	"8endake Ehen" p. 181.
436	postil	6,	Cley. ed.	Clev. ed
438	4	F	seventeen	fourteen
439	11	T	cut	eat
"	22	T	June 10th the pilgrim	June 10th, 1650, the pilgrim
440	19	T	See Ducreux's Maps	See Ducreux's general map
441	17	F	Kanducho	Kandoucho
446	Table III.		(at St. Joseph II., in 1645-46) 16, 15	16, 24
"			(at St. Michel, " " ") ?	15
448	8	T	examination	explanation
"	3	F	Ondastes	Andastes
449	16	T	1653	1654
"	17	T	boy	girl
			Lines 16, 17, 18, 19, should precede the foot of the page.	immediately 1657, i.e., the 10th from
"	19	T	But the Journal this year	1653.—The Journal this year
"	19	F	leagues *Rel. 1641:*	leagues (*Rel. 1641:*
450	7	F	Carayon-Prem. Miss.	Carayon, Prem. Miss.
452	1	F	as the sacrifice	at the sacrifice
453	18	T	greaty	greatly
"	29	T	Autobiographie), 174	Autobiographie, 174).
"	37	T	French Settlement	French settlement
"	2	F	then the Liege	then in the Liege
454	14	T	old	Old
"	26	T	*Rels. In*	(*Rels. In.*
455	22	T	Michael Bergeoin	Michel Bergevin
"	32	T	Charleshourg	Charlebourg
456	20	T	Tailhau	Tailhan
157	17	T	Oct. 16, 1634	Oct. 16, 1643

ERRATA IN SIGNS OR ACCENTS IN HURON WOADS.

45	1	F	ahonoȣan	ahonoȣan
46	1	T	Achen, dic. achien	Achen, dic. achien
52	4	T	Aron	Aron
54	13	F	Aton	Aton
58	8	F	Arenha	Arenha
61	2	T	andiata	andiata
140	18	F	aatïo	aatïo
"	17	F	aȣendïo.....andatsio	aȣendïo.....andatsïo
"	16	F	entiokȣio	entiokȣio
"	15	F	arihȣïo	arihȣïo
144	13	T	Arenda	Arenda

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.	Instead of:	Read:
144	17 T	Arenda...	Arenda
"	18 T	Arenda	Arenda
"	19 T	Arenda	Arenda
146	20 T	Arih8ton	arih8ton
150	14 T	andiata	andiata
151	21 T	ārao	arao
164	7 F	Ar	Ar
"	1 F	annonchi	annonchi
172	11 F	Ahouênda	Ahouênda
"	6 F	Aronto	Aronto
176	1 T	andatae	andatae
"	8 T	Andata	Andata
179	1 T	Aenrat	Aenrat
"	23 T	At	At
"	2 F	Aenrat	Aenrat
180	1 T	enk8ara	enk8ara
"	2 T	enh8ara	enh8ara
"	10 T	annonchia	annonchia
182	14 T	2. an "A," 3. an "e" 4. an "e"	2. an "A," 3. an "e," 4 an "e"
"	4 F	annonchia8sti	annonchia8asti
185	12 T	Ahona	Ahona
"	13 T	ia	ia
"	25 T	annenh8en	annenh8en
"	26 T	annenhoin	annenhoin
"	27 T	annonchiae	annonchiae
186	19 F	andatsa	andatsa
"	5 F	arih8a [arih8a	arih8a [arih8a
188	3 T	χa aotae	χ'aotae
"	19 T	annenrinnon	annenrinnon
"	29 T	achia	achia
"	5 F	ahontaarent	ahontaarent
190	10 T	enθona	enθona
"	5 F	a8i	a8i
193	17 T	Ata	Ata

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of:	Read:
193	28	T	Etiotétata	Etiotétata
"	2	F	oannon	oannon
194	1	T	sandaen, te sandaen	Sandaen, te sandaen
"	2	T	skSandaen	skSandaen
195	7	F	Aron	Aron
"	5	F	aentaron	aentaron
"	2	F	t'etiond(g)iaron	t'etiond(g)iaron
197	10	F	ahonohSi	ahonohSi
"	9	F	and(g)iohSi	and(g)iohSi
200	1	T	Aent	Aent
"	12	T	Aentonnion	Aentonnion
201	14	T	aiehSas	aiehSas
"	23	T	ahïsat	ahiSat
"	10	F	eθaukakSacha	eθaakakSacha
"	6	F	éti	éti
202	13	F	Aroni vel aharoni, aharen	Aroni vel aharoni, aharen
"	6	F	aennionraharoni (dic ennionron-n(g)iak	aennionraharoni (dic ennionron-n(g)iak
"	4	F	andechiaroni	andechiaroni
205	3	T	Ari	Ari
209	15	T	achionSendi'ti	achionSendi'ti
"	6	F	Achondi, Achrondi	Achondi, Achrondi
211	19	T	EnkSara	EnkSara
"	25	T	ara	Ara
"	31	T	ara	ara
"	9	F	0o	θo
212	12	T	Atsiara	Atsiara
213	7	T	ándich(r)a	andich(r)a
"	16	T	AïsSkara	AïSskara
"	18	T	And(g)iSskara	And(g)iSskara
214	9	F	Ate....Ate	Ate....ate
215	1	F	Ate...aata	Ate...aata
"	2	T	andionra	andionra
"	15	T	Eti	Éti
"	13	F	etiseti	etiseti

ERRATA.—*Continued.*

Page.	Line.		Instead of :	Read :
215	3	F	etionse	etionSe
"	2	F	andasa	andaSa
231	13	F	andia	andia
"	12	F	can-	ean-
232	17	F	ârenda	ârenda
"	7	F	âreda	ârenda
233	12	F	Ariti	Ǎriti
266	5	T	Onnontaeeronnon	Onnontaeeronnen
"	11	T	Te iatontarie	Te iatontarie
"	12	T	Teokiai	Te o'kiai
372	9	F	iatonk....ierhe	iatonk....ierhe
"	8	F	ionniak	ionniak
	2	F	ierhe	Ierhe
373	2	T	ierhe	ierhe
419	12	T	ahsênda	ahSênda
"	14	T	asenda	aSenda
"	20	T	at	at
"	8	F	ahsênda	ahSênda
430	7	T	Aronhia	Ǎronhia
"	15	T	aonstaisas	aonstaniSas

Identification of the Huron Village Sites of 1615-1650

PART FIRST.

I.

A WORD ON HURONIA PROPER.

Ste. Marie II. on Ahouendoë Island.
Ste. Marie I. or St. Joseph III.

I.

A WORD ON HURONIA PROPER.

The home of the Hurons during the first half of the XVII. Century was of very limited extent. From north-west to south-east it comprised a tract of country at most forty miles in length, with a width from south-west to north-east of less than twenty. Its western shore was washed by the waters of Nottawasaga Bay, a name given to the southernmost part of Georgian Bay, itself but a landlocked extension of Lake Huron towards the east. To the north, Huronia was separated from what is now the Muskoka District by Matchedash Bay, another inlet of Georgian Bay, into which flows the River Severn. This river in a circuitous course west, north-west and south-west, receives the outflow of Lakes Couchiching and Simcoe, the latter of which bounded Huronia to the south-east. Two lines, the one drawn across the map from the mouth of the Coldwater to a point on Couchiching Lake, a couple of miles north of the present town of Orillia, the other from the mouth of the Nottawasaga to a point on Simcoe Lake a mile or so east of Barrie, would, with the shore lines of Nottawasaga and Matchedash Bays, compass about the whole region in which lie scattered the towns and villages of Old Huronia.

A characteristic feature on the map of the Huron country which claims our particular attention, are the five streams emptying into Matchedash Bay, draining in their course the watersheds of the region. These are distinctly marked on Ducreux's inset map, though he has left them nameless. They will be of great assistance in the work before us. Their names on modern maps, beginning from the west, are Wye River, Hogg River, Sturgeon River, the Coldwater and the Severn.

The three principal defects of Ducreux's inset map may be noted at the outset. In the northernmost peninsula of Huronia he has set down one bay too many, or at least greatly exaggerated an indentation of the coast between what are now termed Thunder Bay and that of Penetanguishene. The bay at Arenta he has also increased in size beyond measure. The second defect is that he has forgotten to mark the "Narrows" which link together Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. But the most glaring defect is that the north-western shore-line of Lake Simcoe has been traced with a concave curve towards the lake instead of one

distinctly convex. This very regrettable malformation of outline has had the effect of cramping on the map the main portion of Huronia, and crowding together topographical features which should have been set down widely apart. To mention but one, the upper reaches of the Coldwater, near which "S. Iosephi" is placed, almost skirt the shore of Lake Simcoe.

With all its imperfections, however, the inset map of Ducreux is of incalculable worth as a guidance in identifying the Indian village sites. Without it a knowledge of their respective distances from Ste. Marie I., or from other well ascertained points, would be of little avail, seeing that we should still remain ignorant of the direction in which they lay.

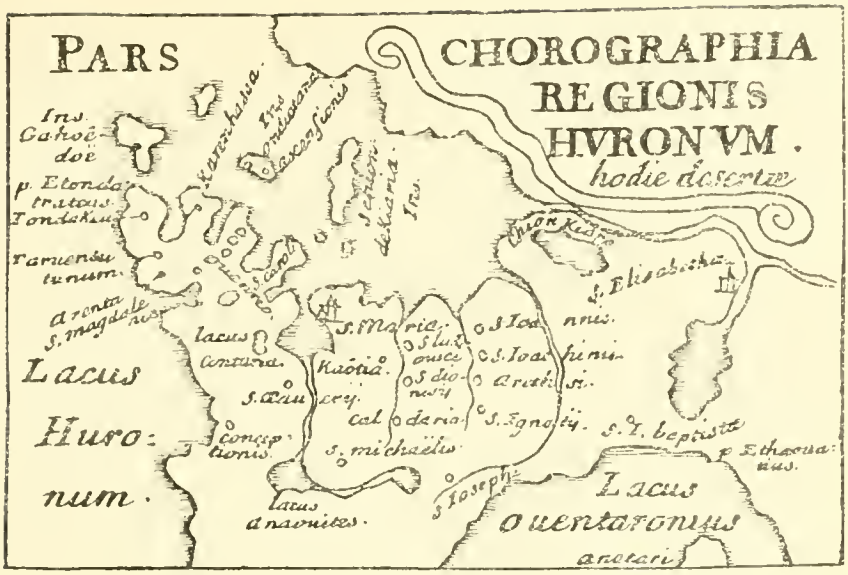
As to the relative position of the Hurons and their mortal enemies, the Five Nations or Iroquois, Huronia lay 150 miles about from the Senecas, who were the nearest, and 250 from the Mohawks, who were the most remote. The great barrier between them was the broad expanse of Lake Ontario, but an overland journey, no matter how lengthy or arduous it might be, was thought little of by the relentless Iroquois when there was a prospect of sating their thirst for the blood of the Huron.

Fort Ste. Marie II. on Gahoendoë, or St. Joseph's Island.

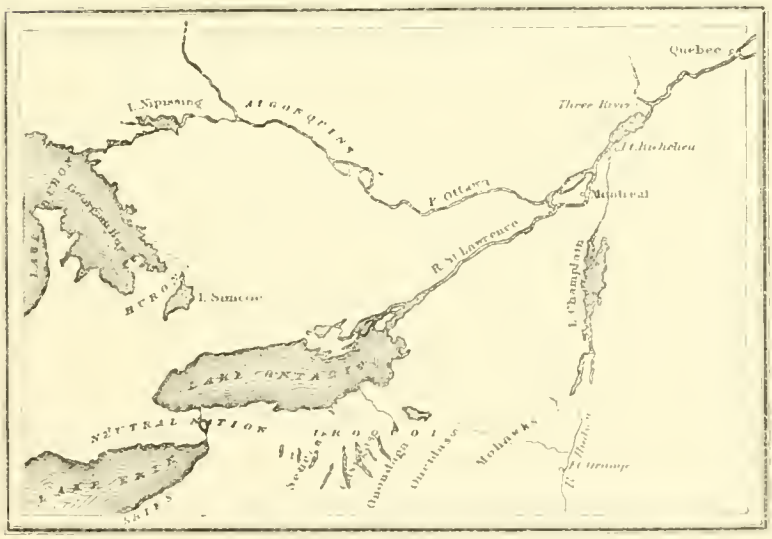
In a study such as the present, whose aim is to ascertain the relative positions of old Huron villages, and where one must needs proceed from the known to the unknown, it is not feasible to follow the chronological order. Two sites in Huronia are certain beyond all manner of dispute, Forts Ste. Marie I. on the mainland and Ste. Marie II. on St. Joseph's or Christian Island. The latter was the last refuge for the remnants of a defeated nation before they dispersed, and before the missionaries, with a number of Hurons not exceeding three hundred (Rel. 1650, p. 26, 1 col.; Ragueneau's Letter, Oct. 8, 1650; LL. to Gen., p. 35) set out, on June 10, 1650, on their long and sorrowful journey to Quebec (Rel. 1650, p. 1, 2 col.). Ste. Marie II. had sheltered the Fathers and their neophytes for one year against the Iroquois, but the thickness and height of its walls were of no avail against the inroads of famine.

The knowledge of the position of Fort Ste. Marie II. will be of no assistance in the prosecution of the work in hand, so it will be better to dispose of it for once and for all.

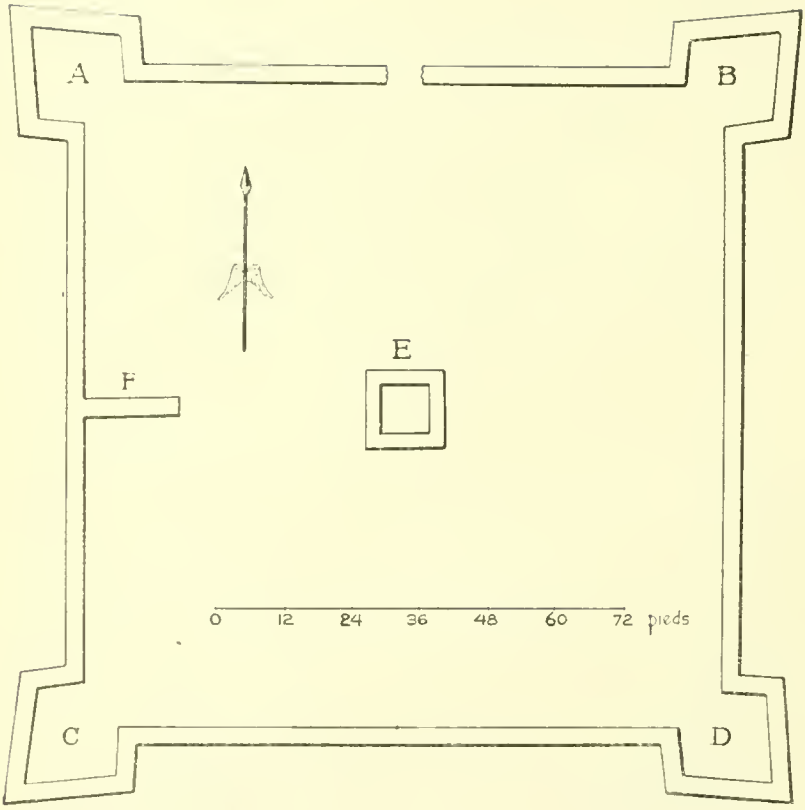
The remains of this Fort are visible even at this late date. The site is on the northern side of the great bay which indents the



Ducreux's Inset Map.



Relative positions of the Huron and Iroquois countries. (Parkman.)



Plan of Fort Ste. Marie II. on Christian Island. (By Fr. Martin, 1855.)

south-eastern coast line of Christian Island. The ruins lie about 120 feet from the lake shore.

There are two passages in the Relations referring to Fort Ste. Marie II., the first in Rel. 1649, p. 31, 1 col.: "Depuis deux mois ou enuiron que nous sommes entrez dans cette Isle, Dieu uous a si puissamment secourus, que nous croyons estre en estat d'vne iuste deffense, en sorte que l'ennemy auec tous ses efforts, nous est peu redoutable dans nostre Reduit; mais il regne dans toute la Campagne du continent voisin de nostre Isle, et en suitte il nous iette dans vne famine plus rude que la guerre. Les Hurons que nous auons suiuis ont quitté leurs terres aussi bien que nous, et en mesme temps il faut qu'ils se fortifient, et qu'eux et nous bastissions des maisons, etc."

The second is to be found on p. 3, 2 col., of the Rel. 1650: "Ces grands bois, qui depuis la Creation du monde n'auoient point esté abattus de la main d'auevn homme, nous receurrent pour hostes; et la terre nous fournit, sans la creuser, la pierre et le ciment qu'il nous falloit pour nous fortifier contre nos ennemis. En sorte que Dieu mercy nous nous vismes en estat de tres-bonne deffense, ayant basty vn petit fort si regulierement, qu'il se deffendoit facilement soy-mesme, et qui ne craignoit point ny le feu, ny la sappe, ny l'escalade des Iroquois."

Fr. Chazelle, S.J., in 1844, was probably the first who visited the sites of Ste. Marie I. and II. But Rev. G. Hallen, after a careful inspection of the ruins, in June, 1845, made a tracing of the forts. Fr. Felix Martin, S.J., gives the following description of what remained of Fort Ste. Marie II. in 1855: "This Fort is a square flanked by four bastions, and solidly built of stone and mortar. It is much more regular than that of Ste. Marie I. I had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the rules of the art of defence had been strictly followed in the construction of the flanking walls and of the faces of its bastions. The walls in their present state stand in some places nearly seven feet above ground. According to Father Ragueneau they were originally fourteen feet high. It is not easy to determine where the entrance was. There appear to be some traces of one in the middle of the northern curtain, where part of the wall had fallen, so as to be scarcely perceptible above ground.

"In the centre of the Fort there is a cistern, nine feet square, in solid masonry. Within, it is about four feet deep, and there are signs of its having once had a flooring in planks.

"A wall which extends some sixteen feet within the enclosure abuts at right angles on the western curtain. What its purpose

NOTE.—See colored sketch at page 12*a*.

was it would be difficult to say. Perhaps it was the end wall of some building adjoining the curtain and carried as far as the neighbouring curtain by means of a wooden structure.

"The sketch I give of the ruined Fort* is taken from a point on the prolongation of the line drawn through the salient point of bastion B [N.E.] (sur le prolongement de la capitale du bastion B). I had, however, to make a clearing in the thicket, which at present covers this deserted shore, so as to show in the distance a portion of the great bay which opens out before the Fort, and to mark on the horizon the southern point of the Island where the lighthouse is being built.

"There are traces of a moat around the Fort, but the trees which cover the site and the marshy nature of the ground in the immediate vicinity make it a difficult task to get at the dimensions.

"Our visit was too hurried, and we had not time to extend our researches beyond the Fort itself and follow the contour of the outworks thrown up for the protection of the Huron Village. We were assured that at a distance of five or six hundred feet north of the Fort there are ruins of other constructions apparently of ancient date, and which in all likelihood are to be referred to the same period Later on, no doubt, the cemetery where the numerous victims of those disastrous days were buried will be discovered.

"The time at my disposal was taken up in rectifying measurements and in examining the foundations of bastion C [S.W..]. They are bedded deep in the soil. The bond of the masonry affords evidence of careful workmanship and of skilled labour. What lent particular zest to our researches was the knowledge that Mr. Boucher of Penetanguishene had in 1848 found within bastion A [N.W.] interesting and very significant relics, etc." (MS. p. 88.)

Fort Ste. Marie I. or St. Joseph III.

Township of Tay, III. Concession, Lot 16; on the line subdividing the lot. It is the "S. Maria" of Ducreux's Map.

No doubt whatever can be entertained as to the site of the Old Fort of Ste. Marie I., for its ruins may yet be seen. The following quotations from the old records are given, not with the idea of making what is certain doubly sure, but rather to draw attention to the fact that its position is so accurately described in the Relations that even if there were not a vestige of it left it could be located without the least difficulty.

Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.: "Ce lieu est situé au milieu du pays. sur la coste d'vne belle riuiere, qui n'ayant pas de longueur plus

*See p. 12*b*.

d'vn quart de lieuë, ioinct ensemble deux lacs, l'vn qui s'estend à l'Occident, tirant vn peu vers le Septentrion, qui pourroit passer pour vne mer douce, l'autre qui est vers le Midi, dont le contour n'a guere moins de deux lieuës.

"Nous commençasmes dés l'Esté passé à nous y establir, et sur le milieu de l'Automne [1639] nous y transportâmes la residence que nous auions à Ossossarie, ayant differé d'y reünir pareillement celle de sainct Ioseph; mais dés le commencement du Printemps [1640] l'insolence des Sauuages nous a obligés de le faire bien plus tost que d'ailleurs nous n'auions resolu. Et ainsi nous n'auons maintenant dans tout le pays qu'vne seule maison, qui sera ferme et stable, le voisinage des eaux nous estans tres-aduantageux pour suppleer au manquement qui est en ces contrées de toute autre voiture, et les terres estans assez bonnes pour le bled du pays, que nous pretendons auec le temps y recueillir nous mesmes."

Rel. 1641, p. 71, 2 col.: ". . . . . selon la derniere et plus exacte obseruation qu'on a pû faire, nostre nouuelle maison de Saincte Marie, qui est au milieu du pays des Hurons, est à quarante-quatre degrez et enuiron vingt et cinq minutes d'esleuation . . . . .", *i.e.*, 44° 25′; but this would throw it too far south by, I should say, about 15′ 18″.

With our eye on Ducreux's Map, however, and with the description given in the Rel. 1640, we could not possibly miss the spot.

Chaumonot, in his Autobiography, (Cramoisy-Shea) p. 50, makes this allusion to the site of Ste. Marie I.: "Le canot sur lequel je m'embarquai étant conduit par six sauuages aborda le 10 Septembre [1639] au haut d'un petit lac nommé Isiaragui [or Tsirargi, al. Tsiaragui]. Il est au pays des Hurons. Depuis peu nos Pères avoient fait bâtir tout proche une cabane pour s'y loger."

With the exception of the error of latitude, each of these indications is correct as far as it goes. This is certainly encouraging at the outset; and I have no doubt but that whatever is to be found in the Relations concerning the sites of other places may be looked upon as equally reliable. What we have most to fear is the handling such indications received by the copyists and printers.

In 1855, Father Felix Martin, S. J., went over the ground occupied by Ste. Marie I.,* and I find the following in his manuscript notes relating to that expedition:

"After having doubled the eastern point of the Bay (Penetanguishene), we entered the inlet which on some modern maps bears the name of Christendom Bay. Directly in front of us, at the

*See page 12c.

head of the bay, lay the mouth of the River Wye. This stream, which might more correctly be termed a narrow strait than a river, leads to a small sheet of water called Mud Lake on account of its oozy bottom, which bears a great quantity of wild rice (folle-avoine). The sluggish current is barely perceptible. At a mile from its mouth, the river changes its course from N.N.W. to N.N.E.

"Fort Ste. Marie I. is situate on Lot 16 of the III. Concession of the Township of Tay.* At the present writing the ground is so thickly covered with trees that it is impossible to catch a glimpse of the Fort from the landing place, though it is only one hundred and fifty feet from the shore.

"Our first care was to map out the ground so as to locate the Fort correctly. Once we had cleared away the rubbish which obliterated the lines of the foundations it was an easy matter to trace the outlines and ascertain their dimensions.

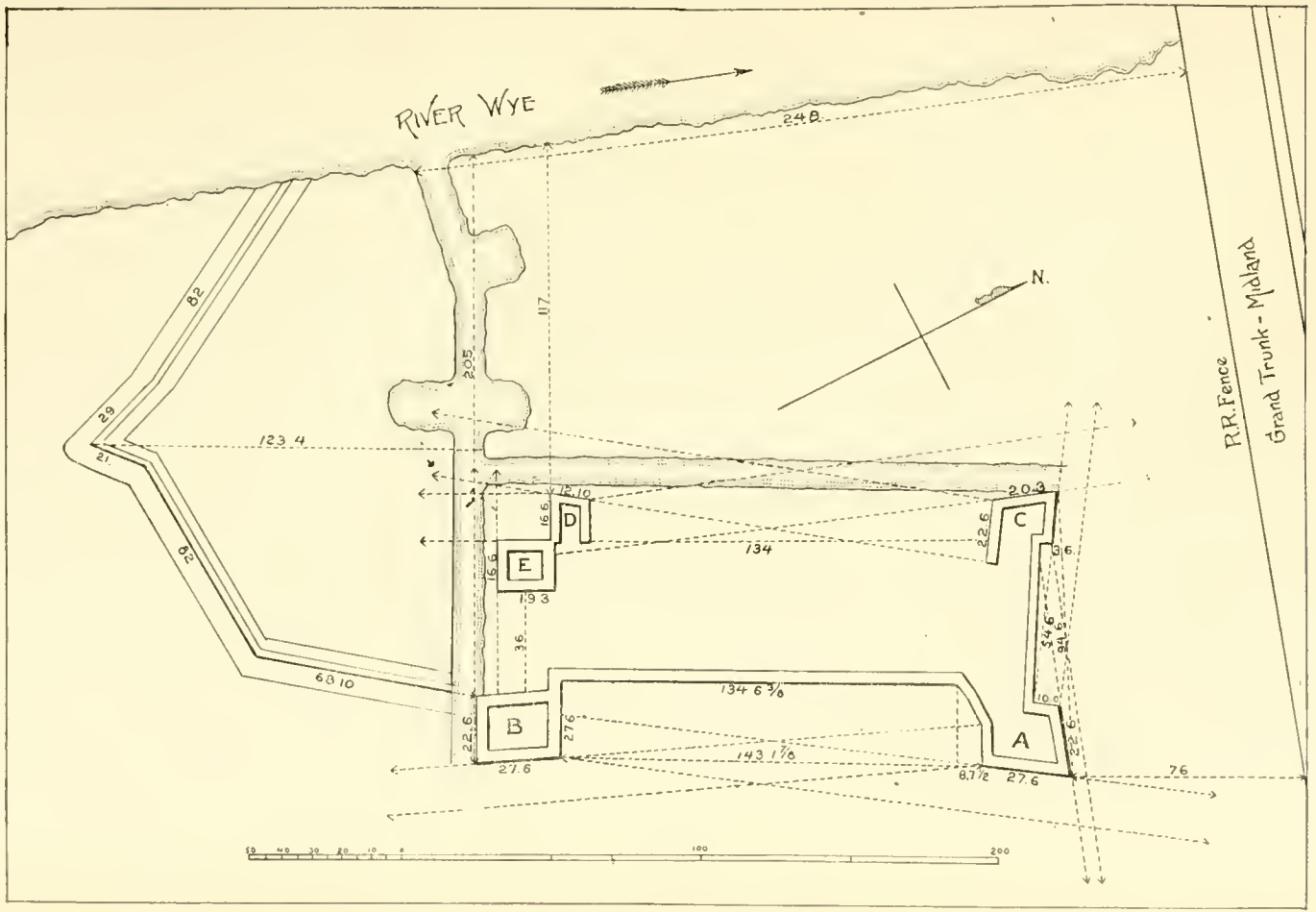
"The Fort is a creditable structure of stone and mortar, and the walls still show from two to four feet above ground. The masonry, executed in a workmanlike manner, gives evidence of having been done by skilled masons. As no stone is to be found in the neighborhood, the transportation of materials from a distance with the primitive means of conveyance available at the time must have greatly increased the difficulty of the undertaking.

"The shape of the Fort is an oblong rectangle with flanking bastions at the angles. Despite certain peculiarities of detail in its construction, the reasons of which are not easy to guess to-day, it is not hard to discern, in the carrying out of the plan, a careful application of the rules of military art.

"Two sides only show a continuous line of enclosure and a finished curtain. In the middle of the eastern curtain, which faces the open campaign, there seems to be a break, but as the break is regular it would lead one to suppose that it marks the spot where the postern was situated.

"The bastion B [South Eastern], closed on all sides, shows no traces of an opening on the ground level. But as this part of the wall must have been covered by the water in the moat, it is probable that the entrance to this bastion was on a level higher than what now remains of its ruins. The two curtains of the western and southern sides are no longer standing. Nor is there any trace of masonry. We ascertained by excavating at several points that there was no solid foundation along their lines. It may be presumed that these curtains consisted in a strong stockade. In fact, such an enclosure would have been quite sufficient for defence

*See map, page 18.



Plan of Fort Ste. Marie I. on the Wye.

against any approach from these two sides whence attack was less to be feared. In front of the two bastions C [N.W.] and D [S.W.] and along their very foundations, there stretches a trench of sufficient depth to protect the curtains, and which is plainly visible even now.

"The bastion C [N.W.], which is smaller than either A [N.E.] or B [S.E.], presents this peculiar feature, its southern face (*i.e.*, its flank), is thicker than the other sides and is prolonged into the interior space of the Fort and ends in a squarely built jamb. An excavation we had made at this point disclosed, at the depth of about two feet, a foundation bed with traces of a charred wooden floor. Several spikes were found, beaver bones and a piece of copper which might have belonged to some kitchen utensil.

"The bastion D [S.W.] is even smaller than the bastion C [N.W.] and is connected at one of its angles with a square shaped construction E [S.], which may have been the base of a tower, from which a good lookout could be had and the approaches watched. The anomalous conformation shown at this point was, no doubt, owing to some requirement entirely local, unknown to us now.

"In front of the bastions D [S.W.] and B [S.E.], and following the direction of the curtain which should have united them, there is a very wide moat. This must have been deep enough to allow of its being flooded with water from the river. In fact it extends to the river after making a bend towards the west. It not only served to cut off all access to the Fort, but must have been made use of also as a landing place and a shelter for the canoes of travelling parties of Indians. In three places it widens out into regularly shaped basins, doubtless to facilitate landing operations.

"Beyond this canal-shaped trench lies a wide area of ground which in turn is protected by a ditch and a low parapet in earth. Its outline may be easily followed by the eye. It shot out from the face of bastion B [S.E.] and, assuming somewhat the shape of a vast half-moon, died away at the riverside. I am inclined to believe that this enclosure was not simply an outwork intended to protect the approaches to the Fort, but that it was intended to afford the Indians, who repaired to this post in great crowds, a convenient and safe spot whereon to pitch their cabins." (MS. p. 63 *et.* ss.)

Note.—See colored sketch at page 12*d*.

CHRISTIAN ISLANDS.

Sketch by Father Martin in 1855. *See page 5.*

Ruins of Fort Ste. Marie II.
Sketch by Father Martin in 1855. *See page 8.*

Mouth of the River Wye.
Sketch by Father Martin in 1855. *See page 9.*

Excavations made at Bastion D.
Sketch by Father Martin, 1855. *See page 41.*

II.

TEANAOSTAIAE, OR ST. JOSEPH II.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Joseph II. or Teanaostaiae.
Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel or Scanonaenrat.
St. Michel to St. Joseph II.
Direction from Ste. Marie I.
A Chorographical Feature.
A Unique Bench-Mark.

Teanaostaiae or St. Joseph II., and Ossossane. Diagram I. By Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S. J., Montreal.

II.

THE OTHER POINT REQUIRED TO FORM A BASE LINE.

Teanaostaiaë, or St. Joseph II.

But besides Ste. Marie I. another point is required so that by joining the two we may have a base line to work from.

Teanaostaiaé, the chief town of the Nation of the Cord, or St. Joseph II., thus named as it replaced in the minds of the missionaries the abandoned *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I., is the point I have selected and is the first site I shall attempt to determine. With no co-ordinates at our command, since but one other point is thus far known, we shall have to rely on the distance and direction from Ste. Marie I., together with certain indications and peculiarities of site, whose cumulative evidence is not only strong, but may really bring home to us a moral certainty as to the spot where the village stood.

St. Joseph II. is especially remarkable for having been the scene of the fearful massacre of July 4, 1648, and of the heroic death of Father Antoine Daniel.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Joseph II. (Teanaostaiaë).

Six leagues from Ste. Marie I.:

Christine Tsorihia, a fervent Christian, dies at her village, presumably St. Joseph II., as the chapter treats of that mission, and according to her wishes previously expressed, is buried at Ste. Marie I. "Elle fut la seconde enterrée en nostre Cimitiere de Saincte Marie, y ayant esté transporté de son bourg où elle mourut, esloigné de six lieuës, ainsi que de son viuant elle l'auoit desiré." (Rel. 1644, p. 92, 2 col.)

Five leagues from Ste. Marie I.:

"Les Chrestiens qui sont morts tant au bourg de la Conception qu'au bourg de Sainct Ioseph, à cinq lieuës de nostre Maison, ont desiré estre enterrez chez nous." (Rel. 1644, p. 76, 2 col.)

The Fathers' Mission house was then at Ste. Marie, and the chapter is entitled: "De la Maison et Mission de Saincte Marie."

So in this one Relation of 1644 we have two estimates of the distance, one giving six and the other five leagues.

In the Relation 1646 (p. 79, 1 col.) we read: "The Father wishing to put his faith to a more severe test, and postpone for a while longer his baptism, told him to go to our house at Ste. Marie [I.] if he desired to be baptized. This was to impose a condition which the Father deemed impossible," [we are told that the postulant was old and infirm] "obliging him thus to undertake a journey of five or six leagues, in the most rigorous season of the year, and when the snow was three or four feet deep." In the beginning of the paragraph we are told that this octogenarian was from St. Joseph II.

This is a goodly array of authorities in favour of a distance of five, or of five or six leagues from Ste. Marie I., and were they the only ones in the Relations, and were I forced to accept them, I should be obliged, for my part, to abandon all hope of ever determining the site of St. Joseph II.

Providentially a way is left us of checking these figures. I find in contemporary records first a measure of distance given from Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel or *Scanonaenrat*, and secondly one from St. Michel to St. Joseph II. or *Teanaostaiae*. Now, taking the direct line or measure, as given above, from Ste. Marie I. to *Teanaostaiae* (St. Joseph II.), and the last two measures just mentioned, we should be able to construct a triangle with the three places mentioned at the angles. Not at all, the construction is impossible, for the sum of the two latter measurements is at the least three quarters of a league too short, that is, the two latter lines would not meet. Here are the authorities.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel or Scanonaenrat.

St. Michel was the name given to *Scanonaenrat* (R. 1639, p. 72, 1 and 2 cols.).

A palsy-stricken Indian, name Exouaendaen, but who had received the name of Michael at his baptism (Rel. 1646, p. 77, 2 col.) because he lived at St. Michel, made his way to Ste. Marie I., but it took him, we are told, fifteen hours to accomplish that journey, which was one of three leagues only. (Id. p. 78, 2 col.) Consequently, it was nine miles from Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel.

St. Michel to St. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaé.

"The town we lethought ourselves of first was *Scanonaentat* [*i.e. Scanonaenrat*], as much because it was one of the most consid-

erable of the country, forming by itself alone one of the four clans which go to make up the Huron nation, which we explained in Chapter I., as because it was but five quarters of a league (cinq quarts de lieuës) from our Residence of St. Joseph [II.]." It must be remembered that the first location of St. Joseph's Residence was *Ihonatiria* until the preceding year 1638, when it was transferred to *Teanaostaiaë*. (R. 1639, p. 72, 1 col.)

Father François Du Peron, in his letter dated La Conception, April 27, 1639, (Carayon—Première Mission, p. 180) makes the distance even shorter: "Our Fathers having reached the place called St. Michael's Mission, and having baptized two little children who were sick, set out with the intention of consulting with our Fathers at St. Joseph, one league distant."

Here we have a choice between two sets of conflicting statements. Which of the two is the more likely to be correct?

Of course I admit that I am biased, but not to the extent of rejecting very good authorities without very good reasons.

The first is that the compilers of the two Relations from which the passages quoted are drawn, and which give us the larger figures, either did not know the real distance or did not pretend to be very accurate.

This is patent of the Relation 1646, of which Father Paul Ragueneau was the compiler, that is of the part concerning the Huron Missions; and what I have said applies to him in this instance: for no man would use such loose terms as "un chemin de cinq ou six lieuës" unless he were uncertain, or were he certain, unless he did not aim at accuracy.

As for the two quotations from the Relation 1644, the one stating that the distance was six miles, the other that it was five, they are utterances of one and the same man, for Father Jérôme Lalemant was the compiler of that part relating to Huronia. So that the case is identically the same as the preceding, and we may set him down, too, as saying "five or six leagues."

Secondly, there is no hesitation in the statements of those who give the distances between the different points in the second set of quotations. Father Ragueneau, this time, says squarely that the journey from Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel was one of three leagues only. Father Jérôme Lalemant says rather quaintly that from St. Michel to St. Joseph II. there were "cinq quarts de lieuës;" while Father François Du Peron as unhesitatingly affirms that St. Joseph II. was one league distant from St. Michel. Here they all certainly intend to be precise.

Thirdly, for those who appreciate distances for having gone over them on foot, there is less room for miscalculation when the distances are short than when long. So that, even were there no quaver of uncertainty in their estimate, those guessing at the full distance from Ste. Marie I. to St. Joseph II. were less likely to be correct than the same persons, or others, pronouncing separately upon the distances from Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel and from St. Michel to St. Joseph II.

As a result of the foregoing deliberation I take twelve miles and a half as a radius from Ste. Marie I.

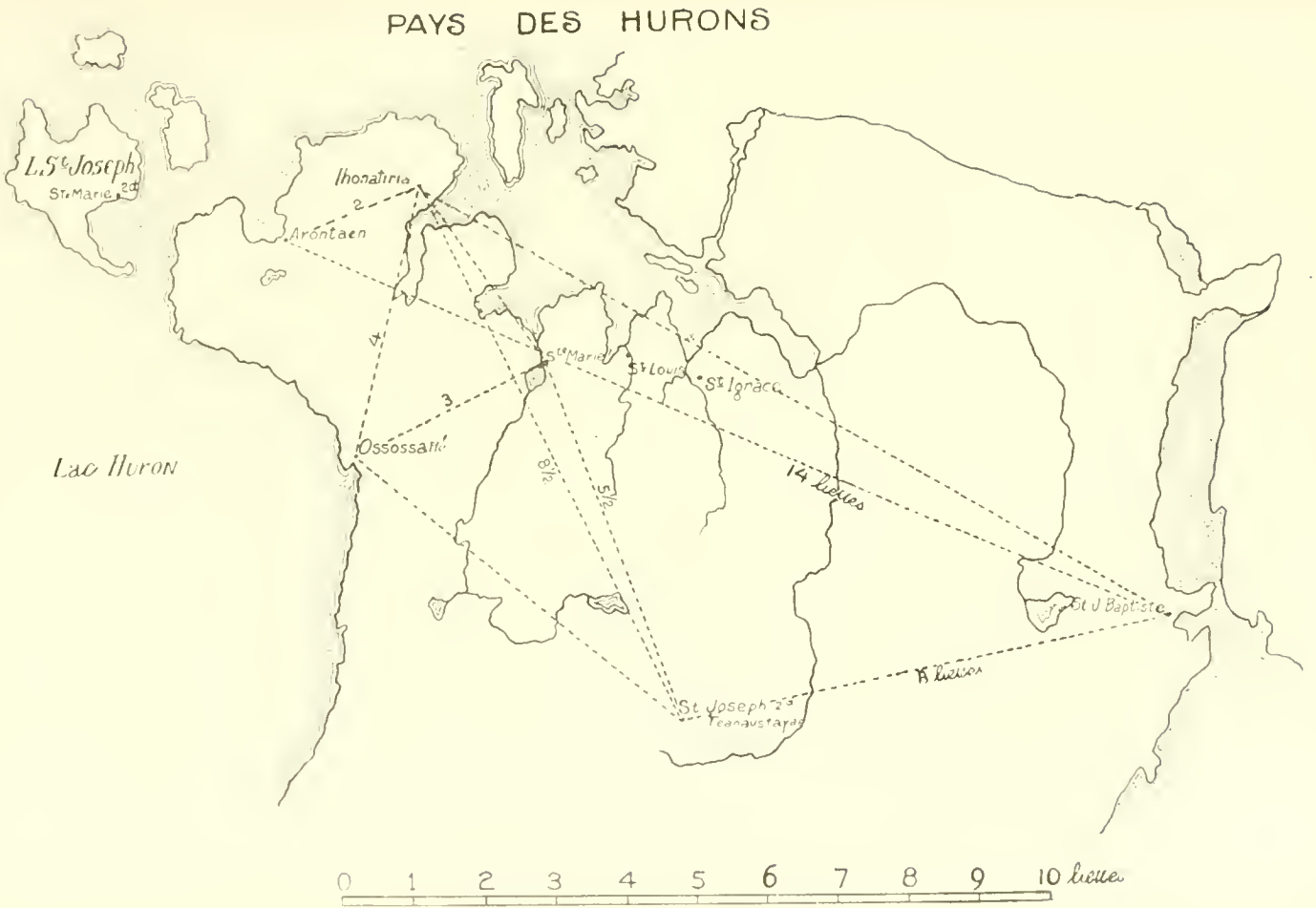
Direction from Ste. Marie I.

Having ascertained at what distance St. Joseph II. lay from Ste. Marie I., and not having any other co-ordinate to work by, the next best thing is to know in what direction it lay. This we must determine at least approximately, and then see if the spot indicated by distance and direction lies on or near the well known site of some remains of a Huron village, and if there be some chorographical feature peculiar to it alone.

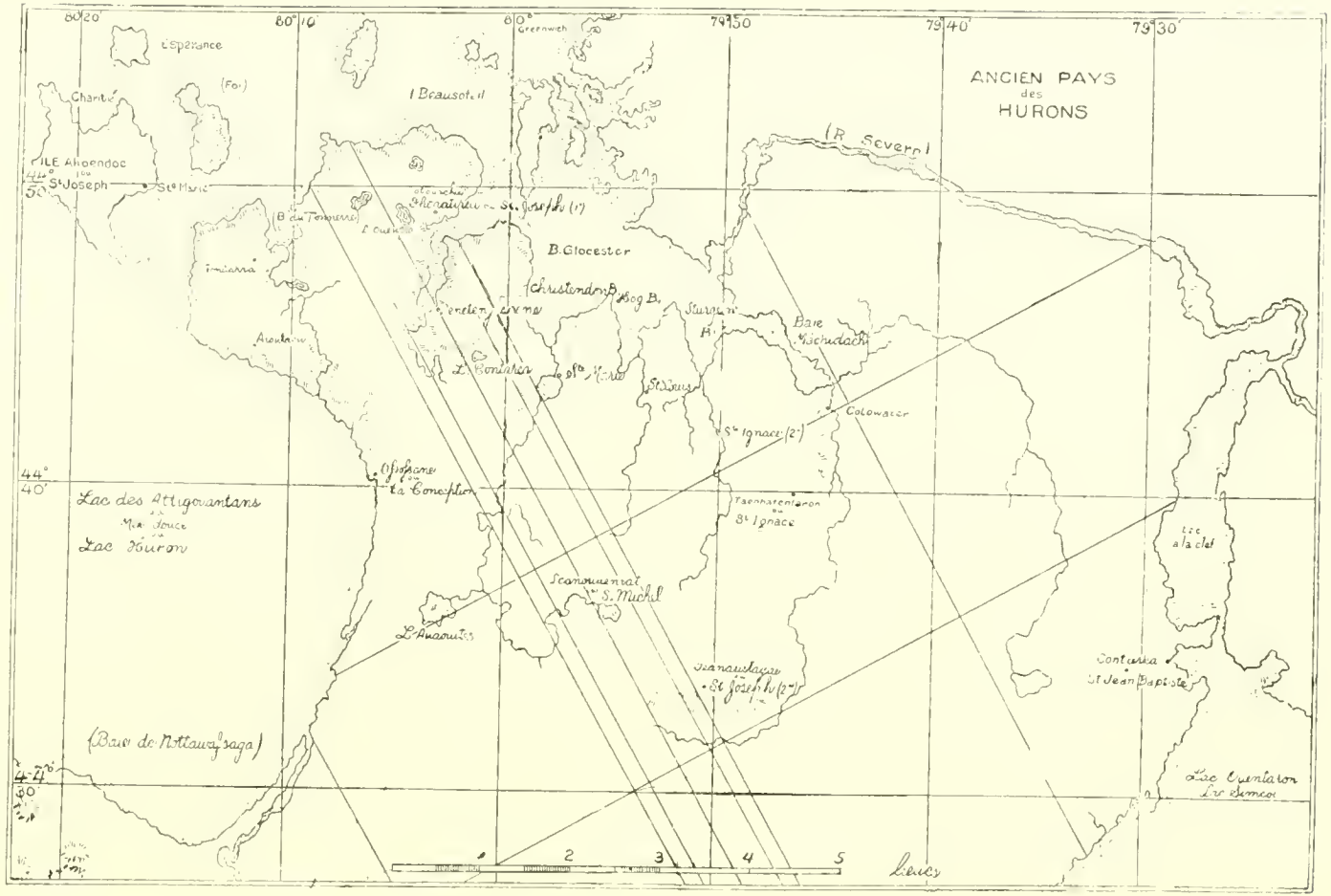
On Ducreux's Map the direction of Ste. Marie I. to St. Joseph II. is south-east by south, making with the meridian which passes through Ste. Marie I. an angle of 36°, about, but near enough for all practical purposes. Twelve miles and a half measured off on this line reaches to lot 8, concession V., Medonte, and the full four leagues and a quarter would reach to lot 7, same concession.

Nothing to my knowledge has been found on either of these lots to indicate Huron occupancy, but on the adjoining lot 7, concession IV., the most unmistakable signs of a populous Indian village having stood there had been observed more than fifty years ago. The direction to this spot is 32°.

The Rev. Father Felix Martin visited it in 1855, and what follows I have taken from his manuscript: "D'après ces données [he refers to the Relations] ce village [*Teanaostaiaë*] devait être dans le district de Medonté, à peu près au milieu de ce qu'on nomme aujourd'hui 'Irish Settlement,' à cause de la population irlandaise agglomérée sur ce point. J'ai visité cette position avec soin: il est hors de doute qu'il y a eu dans ce lieu un établissement sauvage considérable. On en voit encore des traces non équivoques.



Father Martin's First (Incomplete) Map of Huronia.



Father Martin's Second (Incomplete) Map of Huronia.

"Le sol est encore couvert de débris de poterie, travail des sauvages. . . . Les fragments de vase et le calumet que nous avons recueillis nous-mêmes, en remuant la terre avec un bâton, portent tous le même genre d'ornements.

"L'objet le plus curieux a été découvert à une petite distance de là, distance qui semble convenir à la cabane que les Missionnaires s'étaient faite près du village. C'est le reste du pied d'un chandelier ou d'une croix en cuivre. La charrue en retournant le sol, le fit sortir de terre. Il a du se trouver au milieu d'un violent incendie, car une partie du métal a été mise en fusion.

"Le site dont nous parlons, est d'ailleurs très favorable pour la défense. Il couronne la crête d'un coteau, du haut du quel la vue s'etend très loin sur une large vallée où coule la rivière qui se décharge à Coldwater.

"La carte de Ducreux favorise cette conjecture, et place en ce lieu le village de St. Joseph II." (Voyage et Recherches, MS. du P. Félix Martin, S.J., 1855, p. 92.)

Father Martin does not give the number of the lot, nor of the concession. To make sure there was no mistake, in 1903, in company with Father Nicholas Quirk, S.J., and J. C. Brokovski, Esq., Barrister, of Coldwater, I visited the spot. The farm, west half lot 7, concession IV., Medonte, is still in possession of the Flanagan family. Not only Mr. Flanagan (æt. 75), but also Mr. John P. Hussey (æt. 97) were present when I went over the ground. Both assured me that it was there that the half-fused stand of a brass candlestick or crucifix was found. Mr. Hussey had accompanied Father Martin in his explorations in 1855 through this part of Simcoe County, and in spite of his advanced age is still hale and hearty. I am in a position, therefore, to corroborate Father Martin's statements as given above.

Here, now, is what Mr. Andrew F. Hunter has to say of the locality: "On the west half of lot 7, concession 4,—Patrick Flanagan. This site is at the top of a very steep hill, 250 feet or more in height, at a distance of several rods south-east from the dwelling house, from which it is separated by a small ravine. Mr. Flanagan, senior, who cleared the land, informed me that it covered about two acres. When they first cleared the ground there were surface springs along the raised beach about 230 feet above the 'Algonquin,' but the water has lowered since the land was put under cultivation, and can now be found only by digging to a depth of twelve feet below the surface. There were thick deposits of ashes, in and near which he found many pottery fragments, pipes, stone axes, a copper or brass kettle (with a capacity of about six quarts), iron tomahawks, bone needles, etc. A pipe bowl found

here appears to have been used for holding hematite paint after it had lost its stem." (Medonte, Simcoe C., 1902, pp. 77, 78.)

A Chorographical Feature.

If we cast a glance at Ducreux's inset map[1] we see something very striking about the site of St. Joseph II. It lies very close to the upper reaches of the fourth stream, counting from the west, in the Huron country. In fact, it is the only one marked on the west bank of this river. It is needless to say that this fourth stream is the Coldwater.

The Flanagan farm is similarly situated, and near where the stream changes its course from north to east. It, moreover, tallies admirably with what Bressani in his Breve Relatione (Macerata, 1653) says of its site: "Comme il [l'ennemi] ne pouvait en approcher que par un côté, et par conséquent en se démasquant, à cause du site élevé de la place, les habitans, qui le voulurent, eurent le temps de s'échapper par l'autre côté" (per l'eminenza del borgo). (Orig. p. 106; French Translation p. 247.)

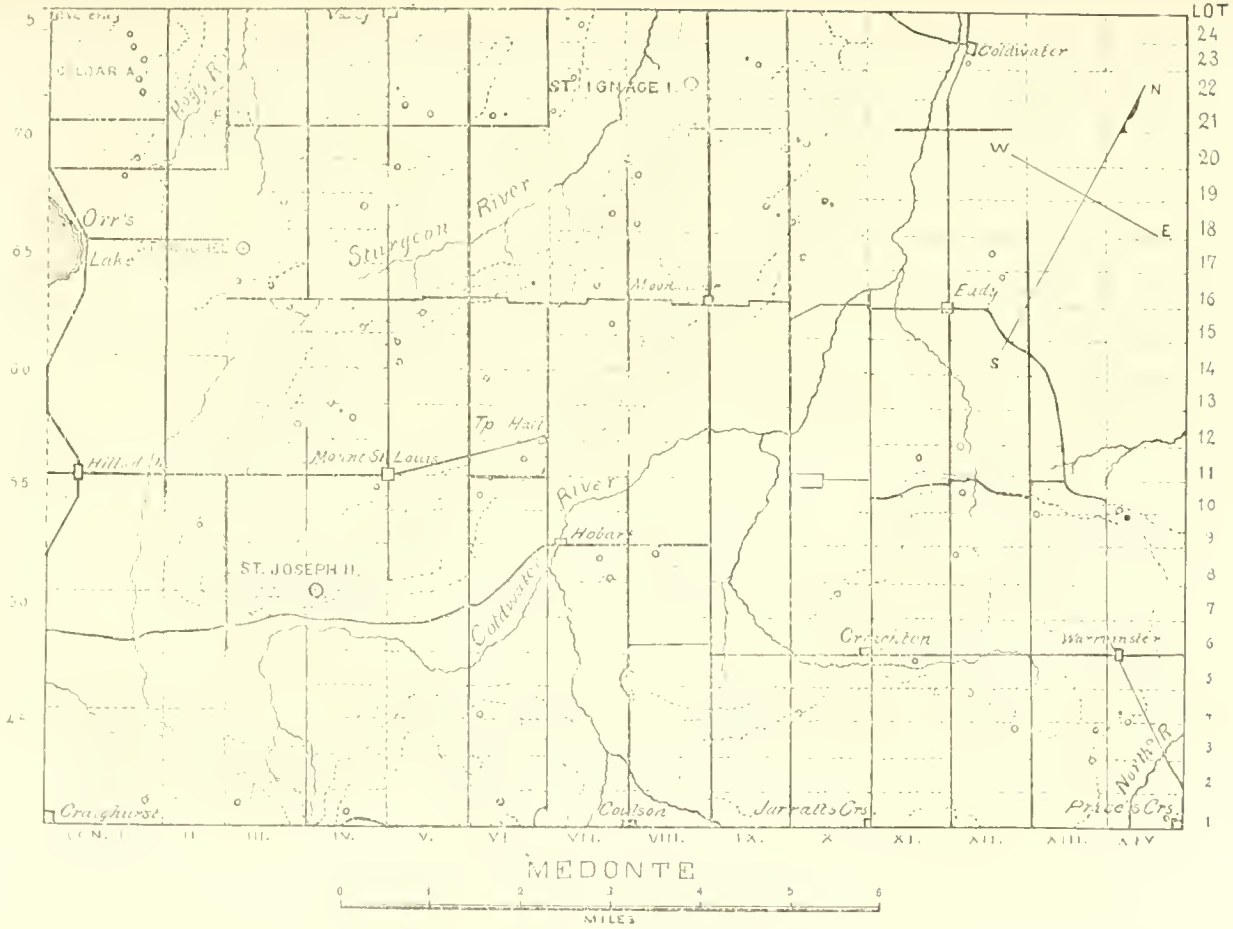
Another characteristic and geographical feature of St. Joseph II. is mentioned in Rel. 1641 (p. 74, 2 col.). Fathers de Brébeuf and Chaumonot had set out for the Neutral Nation: "Arriuez qu'ils furent à S. Ioseph ou Teanaustajae, dernier bourg des Hurons, etc." It was the last Huron town towards the south on the way to the Neutral Nation. Now, though many other sites of Indian villages have been found south of the Flanagan farm, and one (Con. I. Vespra and Oro, lot 35), directly on the way to the Neutral Nation, there is none, to my knowledge, occupying as commanding a position as Lot 7, Con. IV., Medonte, and which at the same time gives evidence that it existed while the French had dealings with the Hurons. That is to say, no metal relics have been found on their sites. Hence they are supposed to have antedated that period.

A Unique Bench-Mark.

But all, I think, will agree that what must be looked upon as almost as indicative as the name hung out at a wayside station, especially when we recall certain incidents occurring when St. Joseph II. was sacked and ruined, is the half fused metallic stand previously mentioned.

Let me quote from Parkman, and I regret I cannot give the passage in full. The Iroquois had carried the outworks, and Parkman continues:

[1] See page 6.



LOT
Coldwater
ST. IGNACE I.
Sturgeon River
Orr's Lake
Eady
Tp Hall
Mount St Louis
Hobart
ST. JOSEPH II.
Coldwater River
Crachton
Warminster
North R.
Craighurst
Coulson
Jarratts Crs.
Price's Crs.
N
S
E
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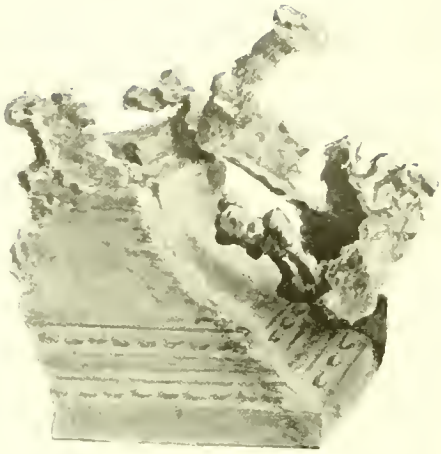
MEDONTE
MILES



1

3

2

4

1. Fused base of brass Crucifix. 2 and 4. Pipe bowls. By Father Martin, 1855. (From a coloured sketch. 3. Fragment of Vase.

"The fierce yell of the war-whoop now rose close at hand. The palisade was forced, and the enemy was in the town. The air quivered with the infernal din. 'Fly,' screamed the priest, driving his flock before him. 'I will stay here. We shall meet again in Heaven.' Many of them escaped through an opening in the palisade opposite to that by which the Iroquois had entered; but Daniel would not follow, for there still might be souls to rescue from perdition. The hour had come for which he had long prepared himself. In a moment he saw the Iroquois, and came forth from the church to meet them. When they saw him in turn, radiant in the vestments of his office, confronting them with a look kindled with the inspiration of martyrdom, they stopped and stared in amazement; then recovering themselves, bent their bows and showered him with a volley of arrows, that tore through his robes and his flesh. A gunshot followed; the ball pierced his heart, and he fell dead, gasping the name of Jesus. They rushed upon him with yells of triumph, stripped him naked, gashed and hacked his lifeless body, and scooping his blood in their hands, bathed their faces in it to make them brave. The town was in a blaze; when the flames reached the church, they flung the priest into it, and both were consumed together." (The Jesuits in North America, 1868, p. 376.)

What I wish to draw your attention to here is that the lifeless body of Antoine Daniel was thrown into the burning church. From Relation 1649 (p. 5, 1 col.) we learn something of the intensity of the heat of that conflagration. The Fathers regretted that "Le corps de son seruiteur [the servant of God, Father Daniel] fust traitté si indignement après sa mort, et tellement reduit en poudre, que mesme nous n'eussions pas eu le bonheur d'en pouuoir recueillir les cendres."

How seldom it happens that even in the conflagration of our modern edifices a human body is reduced to impalpable dust. But nothing short of this intense heat could have reduced the brass relic to the state in which it was found, leaving, however, enough of one angle intact to show that the base was rectangular.

Prescinding from our knowledge of the historical events connected with the locality, an inspection of the sketch of the relic would suffice to convince us that it is a half-melted rectangular stand, resembling, perhaps, more that of a crucifix than ought else. Such a base precludes the idea of a portable crucifix; while if it belonged to a candlestick, it would be far too elaborate for anything of that kind in use in a missionary's wretched cabin. In either supposition it could only find place on an altar.

Finding it among the refuse of an Indian village site, dating back a couple of centuries, as proven by the forest growth which

covered the spot, we would naturally be led to ask ourselves how it became fused. The idea of such an attempt, as a metallurgical experiment, on the part of savages must be set aside. They would have prized the original too much as a rare curiosity to try to destroy it; while had they intended to do so they would hardly have known how to proceed so as to effect their purpose.

Everything therefore points to its accidental destruction, and that in a conflagration. In the supposition, which I hold as correct, that it passed through the fires of the burning church of St. Joseph II., or *Teanaostaiaé*, all is easily explained. In the confusion and hurry, when other church ornaments were being seized upon by a scuffling rabble of Iroquois, thrown down and concealed by the altar drapery or other objects, it lay unnoticed until the advancing flames drove the profaners from the sanctuary.

As final conclusion: if the Flanagan farm, lot 7, concession IV., Medonte, is not the site of St. Joseph II., or *Teanaostaiaé*, let those who would contend for some other site explain away the proofs alleged above. I shall now without further delay proceed on my work of triangulation; and if such triangulation solves the puzzling problems of Huron chorography, not only as no other hypothesis has yet done, but satisfactorily, it will be the best proof that the base line from which I start is correct in its length and bearings, namely, a line of about 12½ miles at an angle of 32° S.E. from the meridian of Ste. Marie I.

III.

ST. MICHEL OR SCANONAENRAT.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel.

St. Joseph II. to St. Michel.

OSSOSSANE.

Ste. Marie I. to Ossossanë.

St. Joseph II. to Ossossanë.

IHONATIRIA OR ST. JOSEPH I.

St. Joseph II. (Teanaostaiaë) to Ihonatiria.

Ossossanë (La Conception) to Ihonatiria.

KHINONASKARANT OR QUIEUNONASCARAN.

Ihonatiria to Khinonaskarant.

Dault's Bay and Point Varwood, Site of La Rochelle or Ossossane.
Sketch by Father Martin, 1855. *See page 26.*

Penetanguishene Bay. Otouacha Cove to the Right.
Sketch by Father Martin, 1855. *See page 59.*

III.

ST. MICHEL OR SCANONAENRAT.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Michel or Scanonaenrat.

Rel. 1646, pp. 77, 78, 2 col. The passages have already been quoted and give a distance of three leagues only. Nine miles from Ste. Marie I., measured off on the line joining it and St. Joseph II., terminates at the east end of lot 17, concession III., Medonte, and on the west half of the same lot and concession stood a Huron village, thus noted in Mr. Andrew F. Hunter's Medonte (p. 74): . . . . "site on west half of lot 17, concession 3, Franklin Bell. Villars Cripps was one of the first occupants of this farm, and found pottery fragments, pipes, iron tomahawks, etc., in abundance, especially when he cleared that part of the land on which the village was situated."

St. Joseph II. to St. Michel.

Rel. 1639, p. 72, 1 col. "Cinq quarts de lieuë." One league and a quarter.

Letter, 1639, Apr. 27, by François Du Peron. One league.

Both passages have already been quoted. The exact distance, however, between the two sites is three miles and three quarters; the remains of St. Michel lying less than half a mile to the west of the straight line passing through Ste. Marie I. and St. Joseph II. It is to be remarked that there are several other sites in the immediate neighbourhood, not so extraordinary a fact seeing that *Scanonaenrat* constituted one whole clan by itself.

This is about the only instance where I have been forced to deviate from Ducreux's inset map,* on which St. Michel is placed between what are now Cranberry and Orr's Lakes; but this position is indefensible no matter which data we choose from contemporaneous records.

Ossossanë or La Conception or La Rochelle.

That *Ossossané* went by these names at the time the Jesuit missionaries laboured in Huronia is evinced by several passages in the Relations (R. 1633, p. 38, 1 col.; R. 1635, p. 30, 2 col.:

*See page 6.

R. 1636, p. 92, 1 col., etc.), but nowhere more clearly than in Brébeuf's letter to the General, dated *Ihonatiria*, May 20, 1637 (See Carayon, "Première Mission," p. 160): "Dans ce moment nous formons une nouvelle résidence dans le village que nous [Français] nommons La Rochelle et les Sauvages *Ossossané* . . . nous l'appellerons la Résidence de l'Immaculée Conception."

The sites of all Huron villages were changed about every ten or twelve years (Rel. p. 131, 1 col.), and *Ossossané* was no exception to the rule. The change was prompted by scarcity of fuel, and at times, in stress of war, to secure a better defensive position. We know that *Ossossané* changed sites at least three times, but was never moved far from where it originally stood. Brébeuf (Rel. 1635, p. 30, 2 col.) alludes to this moving to and fro, and gives it as a reason for not immediately settling there in preference to *Ihonatiria*: "Besides this village" [*Ihonatiria*], he says, "there was no other save La Rochelle in which we felt any inclination to settle. And this had been our idea all along for a year past. . . . . But taking into consideration that they [of La Rochelle] were to change place the coming spring, as they had done in the past, we did not care to build a cabin to last but the winter." Here were three changes, and another is mentioned as having taken place at the time of Joseph Chihouatenhoua's death. (Rel. 1641, p. 65, 2 col.)

Father Charles Garnier, in a letter to his brother Henri (Imm. Conception, April 28, 1638, LL.G., p. 38), referring to what was probably its original site, says: "This town has been named by the French La Rochelle, as it was formerly situated on a height with a circling moat around it, the handiwork of nature." Now as La Rochelle is a fortified seaport town in France, from which many of the early French colonists sailed, there would have been an entire lack of appropriateness in the appellation had not *Ossossané* been a fortified village on the lake shore, reminding them somewhat of the fortress of Old La Rochelle in its general aspect. There is a most interesting description of the fortifications of *Ossossané*, as they were then being completed, in the same missionary's letter to his father in 1638, but which can scarcely find room here.

Ste. Marie I. to Ossossané.

There has never been any serious divergence of opinion as to the probable site of *Ossossané*. All place it in the vicinity of Varwood Point, owing no doubt to its well defined position on

Note.—See colored sketch, page 22*a*

Ducreux's inset map on the shore of Nottawasaga Bay. The small bay immediately to the west of it is Dault's Bay. The convex almost semi-circular projection of land, as delineated on the inset map, is Varwood Point, while the bold headland to the south-west is marked Spratt on the older maps, and Six-Mile Point on the more modern. The outlines are exaggerated and the intervening projection in the shore line between it and Spratt's Point has no real existence. But *Ossossané*, in spite of these slight choregraphical distortions, is unmistakably set down to the south-east of Ste. Marie I., and it is in that direction it must be sought for. Father Martin, I believe, was the first, while on the spot in 1855, to recognize Point Varwood as the site of the Huron La Rochelle.

Rel. 1644 (p. 75, 2 col.) places it at nine miles from Ste. Marie I. "Là dessus elle monte en canot, arriue le mesme iour au bourg de La Conception [*Ossossané*] et sans s'arrester en sa propre maison fait à pied trois lieuës qui luy restent, et vient se rendre icy." The chapter treats of the "maison et mission" of Ste. Marie I.

Rel. 1640, (p. 103, 1 col.). "Dimanche dernier il [that is, Joseph Chihouatenhoua] estoit venu en nostre maison [Ste. Marie, founded about mid-summer, 1639; see R. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.], esloignée maintenant de la sienne d'enuiron trois lieuës." Joseph's dwelling was at La Conception or *Ossossané*: R. 1641, p. 63, 1 col., "C'est de ce bourg de la Conception . . . . qu'estoit . . . . Ioseph ChihSatenhSa." See also R. 1639, p. 70, 2 col.

I shall take this second estimate of "enuiron trois lieuës," or about nine miles, and a radius of eight and two-thirds is about nine miles. With a centre at Ste. Marie its arc strikes land at Point Varwood.

St. Joseph II. to Ossossané.

Rel. 1639 (p. 66, 1 col.). The heading of chapter V. makes it certain that in 1639 the residence of St. Joseph was at the town of *Teanaostaiaé*: "De la Résidence de S. Ioseph au bourg de *Teanaustayaé*, etc."

Letter of François Du Peron to his brother, dated from La Conception (*Ossossané*), April 27, 1639. It contains the following statement: "We are here to the number of ten missionary Fathers, in two residences, one named the Conception of Our Lady, the other St. Joseph: these are five or six leagues distant one from the other." (Carayon, "Première Mission," p. 172.)

The Father does not pretend here to be very accurate, but roughly speaking the distance was, according to him, fifteen or eighteen miles from St. Joseph II. to *Ossossané* or La Conception.

An arc with a radius from St. Joseph of eighteen miles would meet the arc with a radius of eight and two-thirds in the waters of Lake Huron, but very near the coast line, three miles north-west of Point Varwood. The bearing of this intersection from Ste. Marie I. would be almost due west, not at all in the direction it lies on Ducreux's inset map.

An arc of fifteen miles and a half radius from St. Joseph II. would intersect the arc from Ste. Marie just on the shore of Point Varwood, and this would fulfil the conditions of the length given as something between fifteen and eighteen miles.

Round Point Varwood, the original site of La Rochelle, are closely grouped all the successive sites of *Ossossané*.

Ihonatiria or St. Joseph I.

I regret exceedingly to have to differ from my betters, but I cannot see my way in placing *Ihonatiria* on the west shore near the entrance to the inner bay of Penetanguishene. It is there that Father Martin has placed it on his map on the division line between lots 1 and A of concession XVII. in Tiny Township, with *Otouacha* to the north-east opposite the southern extremity of Beausoleil Island. Parkman's *Ihonatiria* is located very much in the same place.

One of the reasons for not admitting the correctness of this localization is that it does not seem to take into account the indication so clearly given in Rel. 1637 (p. 149, 2 col.). The Relation is written by Father François Joseph Le Mercier, and is dated from *Ihonatiria* June 21, 1637. One of the evil spirits of the country is supposed to be speaking to a sorcerer: "Mais il faut que tu sçaches, luy dit-il, que le plus meschant de tous [all the other demons] est celuy d'*Ondichaouan* (qui est vne grande Isle que nous auons icy [at *Ihonatiria*] a nostre veuë.)"

According to Ducreux's inset map the only large island of which the Fathers might possibly catch a glimpse from Father Martin's *Ihonatiria* is the one marked *Schiondekiaria*, whose modern name is Prince William Henry or Beausoleil Island; while in sight of the northern mainland Ducreux places a large island, to-day Giant's Tomb, with the indication *Insula Ondiatana*, an Indian name in a Latin garb, but to what extent modified it is difficult for us now to guess.

Parkman's Map of Huronia.

Decomposing the two names, we have:

1.	*Ondia—echi—ǫ8an*	The Island (Insula)	"Beyond our Point"
2.	*Ondia—ǫte—ǫ8an*		"Present at our Point" (i.e. seen, in sight)

1.

Ondia, a point of land (Radices Huronicæ, 1751, p. 295, 2 col.).

Echi, adverbium loci, beyond (Elementa Grammaticæ Huronicæ, 68).

ǫouan, belonging to one, one's own (R. H. 1751, p. 157.)

Ondia, in the compound word goes first, (Observanda in Compositione—"1° Substantivum semper præit." Elem. Gram. Hur. p. 66).

The final "a" is elided as well as the initial "e" in *Echi* (Id. 2°, p. 66), and we have *Ondichi*, whose final "i," by the same rule, is also elided before *ǫouan* and we have *Ondichaouan* Ins., *i.e.* The island "Beyond our Point."

2.

Ondia, same as above.

ǫte, être présent ut sic, to be present. (R. H. 1751, p. 200, N° 89, Cfr. p. 201, 1°). Hence to be in view of.

ǫouan, same as above.

Ondia compounded with *ǫte* gives *Ondiate*, and this in turn with *ǫouan*, *Ondiataouan*, whose syncopated form is *Ondiatan* (Elm. Gram. Hur., p. 66, 7° and 8°), Latinized as *Ondiatanus*, and agreeing with Insula, *Ondiatana*. The only difference between this name and what appears on Ducreux's map is the "a" in *Ondia*, which is changed to "o" in deference to some rule with which as a mere tyro I am not conversant; or may it not be a misprint in the inscription on the map? *Insula Ondiatana* would be equivalent to "The Island present, or in view of our Point."

The first and last roots in the two names are the same, and the middle ones, though different, give about the same meaning to the compound word. I take it, therefore, that the island went by either name. As *Ondichaouan*, in the Relations, it is said to be "a big island which we have here [at *Thonatiria*] in sight"; and

as *Ondiatana* it is set down on Ducreux's inset map so as to be in view only from the north shore, and not from any point on the western shore of Penetanguishene Bay.

I infer that *Ihonatiria* lay somewhere along the north coast of the peninsula or of what the Fathers called "La Pointe." I shall now proceed to show that by triangulation this conclusion is confirmed, and that the approximate site of *Ihonatiria* is ascertained. Nothing, however, can as yet be discovered of its remains, as all that part of the peninsula is thickly wooded.

St. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaé, to Ihonatiria, St. Joseph I.

The base line is from *Ossossané* to St. Joseph II.

Rel. 1635 (p. 39, 1 col.). "On January 19 I set out for the dwelling of Louis de Saincte Foy, distant seven or eight leagues from our village."

"Our village" at that date was *Ihonatiria*. The account, in which the above quotation is found, is dated from there, May 27, 1635, see page 42.

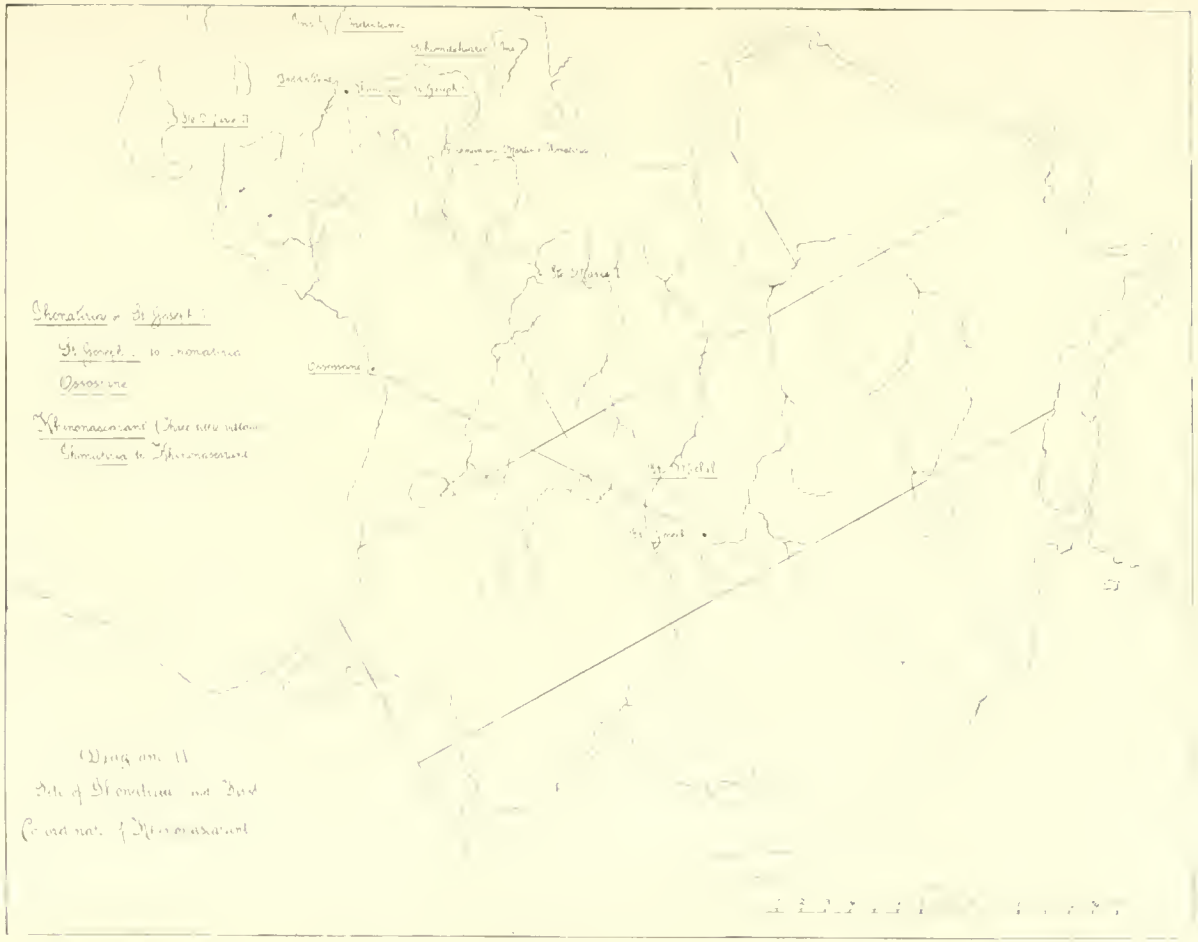
The dwelling of Louis de Ste. Foy was at St. Joseph II., or *Teanaostaiaé*. That his father lived there is evident from a passage in Relation 1637, p. 107, 2 col.: but the fact is made clear for himself from Father Charles Garnier's letter to his own father, dated *Ossossané*, 1638: "We are on the point of moving our residence of St. Joseph [I.] from the little village called *Ihonatiria*, where it now is, to the largest town of the country, called *Teanaustayaé* [*i.e.*, St. Joseph II.]. This is the native place of Louis de Ste. Foy, whom you may have seen in France eight or nine years ago."

The radius I take from St. Joseph II. is the full measure of eight leagues, or twenty-four miles.

Ossossané to Ihonatiria.

Rel. 1636, (p. 134, 1 col.): "They proceeded by short journeys; the inhabitants of our village [in 1636, *Ihonatiria*] took three days to make four leagues and to reach *Ossossané*, which we call La Rochelle, where the ceremonies were to take place."

Rel. 1637, p. 156, 1 col. Father François Le Mercier, writing from *Ihonatiria* (Cfr. R. 1637, p. 179, 2 col.), says: "Ce nous fut vne belle leçon, de voir vn vieillard âgé de plus de 60 ans entreprendre 4 grandes lieuës en la saison la plus fascheuse de l'année, en esperance de manger vn morceau de viande." The starting point was *Ossossané* (Id. *ib.*, p. 154, 1 col.).



Site of Ihonatiria and First Co-ordinate of Khinonascarant.
Diagram II. By Rev Father A. E. Jones, S.J

Ihonatiria.
On the Bluff near Todd's Point.

Rel. 1637 (p. 139, 2 col.): "The 9th [Dec.] Father Superior returned to *Ossossané* with F. Pierre Chastelain and Simon Baron. I shall say nothing here to your Reverence of the difficulty of the journey, as you know well in what state the roads must be at this season. I merely add that there was question of four leagues only and yet the day was not much too long to cover that distance." The residence of the Fathers of St. Joseph I., whence the Superior set out, was still at *Ihonatiria* in the beginning of June, 1638, but they were on the point of moving it to *Teanaostaiaé*, known as St. Joseph II. (Rel. 1638, p. 59, 1 col.)

On this authority I take a radius of four leagues only from *Ossassané* and its arc intersects the arc of the twenty-four mile radius from St. Joseph II. exactly at Todd's Point, in the immediate neighbourhood of which *Ihonatiria* must be placed.

KHINONASCARANT (Relations) OR QUIEUNONASCARAN (Sagard).

How important so ever *Khinonascarant* may have been at the time of Brother Sagard and Father Joseph Le Caron, the Recollet missionaries, it seems to have dwindled greatly and to have been split up into three small villages during the years that elapsed between their sojourn, 1623, and 1637, when it is mentioned in the Relations.

Ihonatiria to Khinonascarant.

Rel. 1637 (p. 128, 1 col.): "Le douziesme, Le Pere Pijart fit vne course à *Khinonascarant*, ce sont trois petites bourgades à deux lieuës de nous," that is, from *Ihonatiria*, for the Fathers had not yet abandoned that village. (Id. p. 167, 2 col.)

Consequently, whatever other distance we may find in the old records from any other place, *Ossossané* for instance, the arc of the circle, with that distance for radius, must intersect the arc having for radius a length of two leagues, and it goes without saying, this intersection should take place on *terra firma*.

IV.

SAGARD'S EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE.

Ossossanë and St. Gabriel same as La Rochelle.

First Village—La Rochelle or Ossossanë.

Second Village—Khinonaskarant.

F. Jos. Le Caron's dwelling at Carhagouha.

Ossossanë to Khinonaskarant. I. Side.

CARHAGOUHA.

Khinonaskarant to Carhagouha.

Thunder Bay to Carhagouha.

TOANCHE I.—THIRD VILLAGE.

Ossossane to Toanchë I. II. Side.

Khinonaskarant to Toanchë I. III. Side.

IV.

SAGARD'S EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE.

Ossossane and St. Gabriel Same as La Rochelle.

In the various attempts to reconstruct the map of Huronia it is strange that so little has been made of Sagard's Triangle. Without it the task would be impossible. With it, though the length of its sides is exaggerated, we are able to solve the problem or at least bridge over its most difficult gap. This is owing to the fact of the approximate equality of its sides, upon which he insists.

What is more, we can, with little difficulty, establish the identity of the three villages, which marked its angles in Sagard's time with three villages mentioned in the Relations.

In 1623, Brother Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, a Recollet, was sent with Father Nicholas Viel to New France. They reached Quebec on June 28, and after resting a few days there, at the convent of their Order, they set out together with Father Joseph Le Caron for the Huron country. The particulars of the journey and an account of subsequent events are recorded in Sagard's "Histoire du Canada et Voyages" (Paris, Sonnius, 1636), which was reprinted by Tross (Paris, 1866).

The missionaries had embarked in different canoes and did not reach their destination at the same time. Sagard's party of Indians, which was from *Ossossanë* (La Rochelle), landed at noon on August 20, and, to all appearances, at some point either on Penetanguishene or Midland Bay, whence they all struck across the country for the shores of Lake Huron, or rather that portion of it now known as Nottawasaga Bay. But as the Indians counted upon outstripping him on the march he was sent on ahead, and, as might have been expected, he lost himself in the unfamiliar wilderness. He wandered aimlessly from midday until near sunset, at which time he must have been sadly out of his reckoning, and south of *Ossossané*, though then heading due north: for, on reaching a point where two trails crossed each other, he tells us that he providentially chose the one to the left "du costé de la Mer Douce" (198, new edition, 206 old edit.). Pressing hurriedly onwards, he shortly found his companions quietly waiting for him under a tree.

"Nous poursuivismes nostre chemin iusques à un petit hameau (p. 199 n., 207 o.—) . . . . Le Soleil commençoit desia à quitter

nostre orison et nous priuer de sa lumière, lorsque nous partismes de ce petit hameau, une partie de nos hommes se séparèrent après leur auoir fait la courtoisie de quelques fers à flesches, puis mon Sauuage et moy auec un autre tinsmes le chemin de *Tequeunoikuaye*, autrement nommé *Quieuindohian*, par quelques François La Rochelle, et par nous la ville de sainct Gabriel, pour estre la première ville du pays dans laquelle ie sois entré [for it will be remembered Sagard's name was Gabriel], elle est aussi la principale, et comme la gardienne et le rempart de toutes celles de la Nation des Ours, et où se décident ordinairement les affaires de plus grande importance. Ce lieu est assez bien fortifié à leur mode, et peut contenir enuiron deux ou trois cens mesnages, en trente ou quarante cabanes qu'il y a." (Hist. du Can., p. 200 n., 208 o.).

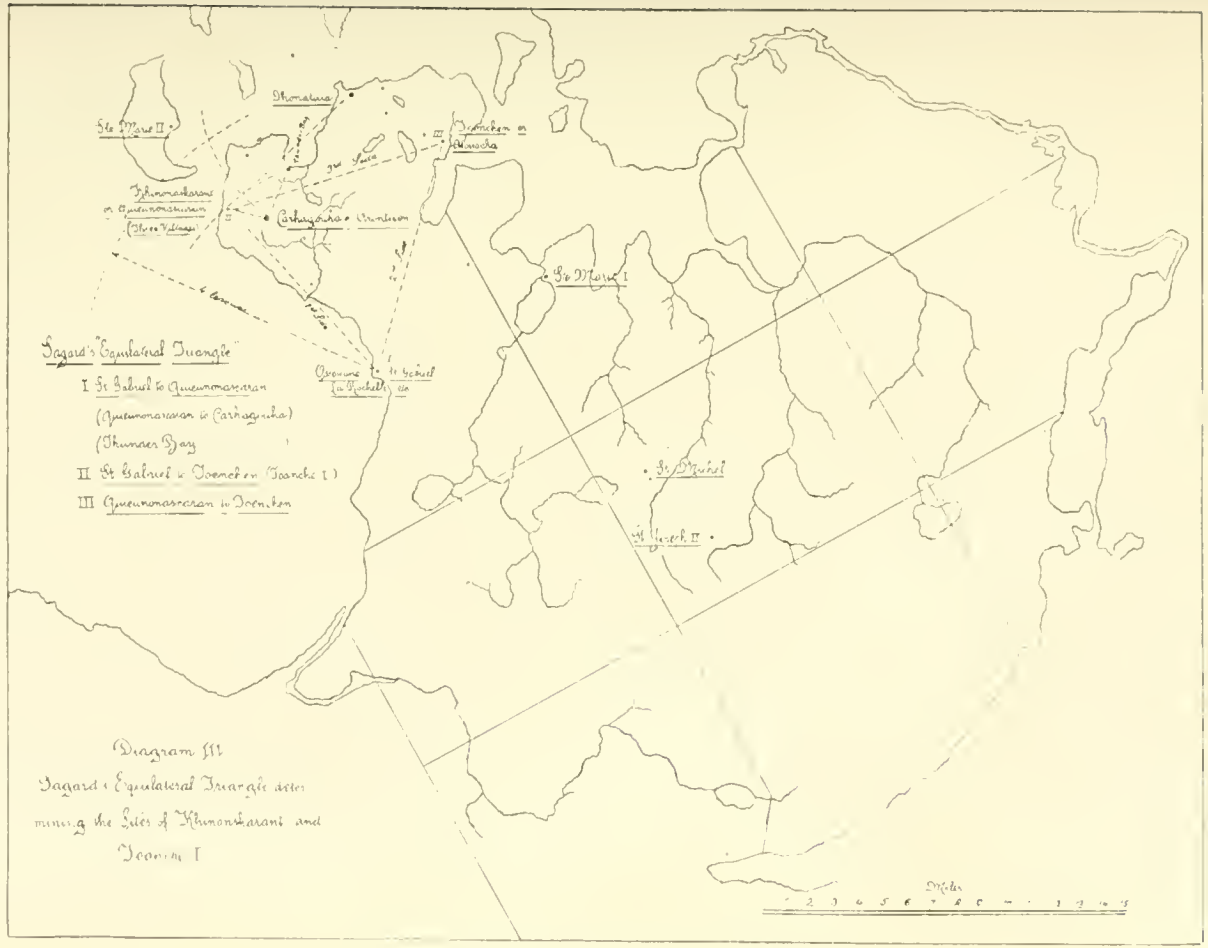
From the foregoing passage we learn that Sagard's *Te-queuneu-ku-aye*, otherwise *Qui-euin-do-hian*, named by him St. Gabriel, was called by the French La Rochelle.

The Jesuits' *Ossossané*, named by them La Conception, was still called by the French down to their day La Rochelle. (Brebeuf's Letter to the General, dated *Thonatiria*, May 20, 1637; see Carayon, Première Mission, p. 160): "Dans ce moment nous formons une nouvelle résidence dans le village que nous nommons La Rochelle, et les sauvages *Ossossané* . . . . nous l'appellerons la Résidence de l'Immaculée Conception."

Several passages in the Relations attest also to the fact that *Ossossané* was called La Rochelle by the French. Rel. 1633, p. 38, 1 col.; Rel. 1635, p. 30, 2 col.; Rel. 1636, p. 92, 1 col., etc.

Consequently *Te-queun-oi-ku-aye* or St. Gabriel was the same village as *Ossossané*, or La Conception, whose bearings and distance from Ste. Marie I. and St. Joseph II. have already been determined. But to return to Sagard's narrative.

"Il se passa un assez long-temps apres mon arriuée auant que i'eusse aucune cognoissance, ny nouuelle du lieu où estoient arriuez mes confrères, iusques à un certain iour que le Père Nicolas accompagné d'un Sauuage, me vint trouuer de son village, qui n'estoit qu'à cinq lieuës de nous (p. 206 n., 215 o.). . . . . Le lendemain matin nous primes resolution le Père Nicolas et moy auec quelques François d'aller trouuer le Père Ioseph à son village esloigné du nostre 4 ou cinq lieuës, car Dieu nous auoit fait la grace que sans l'auoir prémédité nous nous mismes à la conduicte de trois personnes, qui demeuroient chacun en un village d'égale distance les uns des autres, faisans comme un triangle, etc." (p. 207 n., 216 o.).



Lagard's Equilateral Triangle. *See page 37.*
Diagram III. By Rev. Father Jones, S.J., Montreal.

In the closing phrase, where Sagard mentions the three persons living in three distinct villages, he evidently did not intend that the words "at equal distances one from the other" should be taken rigorously, for he has just told us that Father Nicholas' village was but five leagues from his (*Ossossanë*), and that Father Joseph's was four or five. What the distance was between the two villages where Fathers Joseph and Nicholas were respectively quartered he does not give us in figures; but states that it was about the same as the other two distances given.

The First Village of the Equilateral Triangle.

There can be no dispute as to the name of the first village, that of Brother Sagard; it was called after him St. Gabriel, and, as he has told us, it bore also the names of *Qui-cuin-do-hian*, La Rochelle and *Te-queun-oi-ku-aye*, which latter appellation was used also by Champlain, though spelt a little differently, *Te-quen-on-qui-aye* (Tome IV., p. 28, n.; p. 516 o.).

Identical with the *Ossossané* or La Rochelle of the Relations, its position has already been determined from Ste. Marie I. and *Teanaostaiaé* or St. Joseph II. We know from the Relations that *Ossossané* had changed its site three or four times (R. 1635, 30, 2 col.; R. 1641, 65, 2 col.), but these different sites were never far removed from the vicinity of Dault's Bay or Point Varwood.

The Second Village of Triangle—Nearest which Village was Father Joseph Le Caron's Dwelling?

To prevent confusion, this point must be settled beyond doubt before proceeding further.

Roughly speaking, he had taken up his abode at *Khinonascarant*. For, Sagard in his Grand Voyage (p. 64 n., p. 93 o.) says: "Ie pris congé d'eux [the inhabitants of St. Gabriel, La Rochelle or *Ossossané*], leur donnant espérance de revenir en bref, ainsi ie partis avec le bon Pere Nicolas, et fusmes trouver le Pere Ioseph qui demeuroit à *Quieunonascaran.*" From this I infer that it was this village Sagard had in mind when he stated the distance between St. Gabriel's and Father Joseph Le Caron's Village. But if we wish to be absolutely correct the answer must be somewhat modified by what follows.

Brother Sagard, in company with Father Nicholas Viel, undertakes a journey to Fr. Joseph's village. "Not having found Fr. Joseph," he says, "in his little hamlet, we went and found him half a league from there at the town of *Quieunonascaran*" (*Khinonascarant*) (Hist. p. 209 n., 218 o.). The spot where they finally built their cabin was a pistol-shot from the town. (Ib. p. 213

n., 222 o.). Chrétien le Clercq, Récollet, in the following passage enables us to identify the locality with that occupied by Fr. Joseph, in Champlain's time: "Quoique les Sauvages ne fussent animez d'aucun principe de religion: on ne peut exprimer la joye qu'ils reçûrent de reuoir le Père Ioseph qui les venoit visiter avec deux de ses Frères conformément à la parole qu'il leur avoit donné en les quittant. Il trouva encore son ancienne cabanne ou habitation, dont les François s'estoient servi en son absence sur un petit coteau au bas duquel couloit un agréable ruisseau, etc." (Premier Établissement de la Foy; Paris, Amable Auroy, M. DC. XCI., Tome 1, p. 248.)

Referring now to Champlain's account, we find that Fr. Joseph lived at *Carhagouha*: "De là ie me fis conduire à *Carhagouha*. . . . auquel village estoit le Pere Ioseph demeurant [this was in August, 1615], et que nous y trouuasmes, estant fort aise de le voir en santé, ne l'estant pas moins de sa part, qui n'esperoit rien moins que de me veoir en ce païs. Et le 12 iour d'Aoust, le R. P. célébra la saincte Messe, et y fut planté vne Croix proche d'vne petite maisonnette, séparée du village que les sauuages y bastirent pendant que i'y seiournay, etc." (Œuvres de Champl. IV., p. 28 n., 516 o.)

Therefore Fr. Joseph's "village" or "hameau" was really *Carhagouha*, and his "maisonnette" was "séparée" or built outside the village proper.

It might possibly be suggested adversely in spite of what precedes that the Missionaries' cabin or "maisonnette" in 1623 was not the same as that one Champlain had seen built in 1615.

Chrétien le Clercq (Établissement de la Foy; Paris, Amable Auroy, Tome 1, p. 249), relating Father Joseph's return to Huronia, in 1623,* proceeds thus: "He found yet standing his

*Mr. Eug. Réveillaud, the editor of Le Tac's posthumous papers, in a foot-note to page 118, is certainly wrong in substituting the year 1624 for 1623, as the one in which Sagard set out for Canada. He bases his correction on a date given in "Le Grand Voyage." The date 1623 is as positively given in "Historie du Canada." If Sagard contradicts himself we must have recourse to some other test to determine which of his assertions is correct. On page 197 n., 205 o., of his "Histoire," he very deliberately says: "Deux iours auant nostre arrivée aux Hurons, nous trouuasmes la mer douce, sur laquelle ayans trauersé d'Isle en Isle, et pris terre au pays tant désiré par un iour de dimanche feste sainct Bernard, enuiron midy, que le soleil donnoit à plomb: Ie me prosterné deuant Dieu, etc."

The Church in Sagard's time kept the festival of St. Bernard on August 20, as she does to this day. Sagard says, in the above quotation, that the festival of St. Bernard fell on a Sunday in the August of the year of his arrival among the Hurons. The 20th August 1623, fell on a Sunday, while in 1624 it fell on a Tuesday. The inference is that 1623 is the correct date of Sagard's arrival in Canada.

former habitation or cabin which the French had occupied during his absence; it was on a hill-side, and in the hollow before it flowed a delightful little stream. This dwelling, which was once more put into good shape, was twenty-five feet long by twelve or fifteen wide, and shaped like a garden arbour; without, it was sheathed in bark, and within, lined with boards; the latter material serving also in the construction of three partitions, etc."

Sagard (Histoire, p. 213 n., 222 o.) speaks as if the construction were entirely new: "Our cabin was built a pistol-shot from the village, on a spot which we ourselves selected as being most commodious. It was on the rising slope of a hollow through which ran a charming and limpid brook. From this we drew water to quench our thirst and to boil our sagamity, save during the heavy snows of winter when, on account of the bad state of the roads, we used snow from the vicinity of our cabin to prepare our food, and thank God, we were none the worse for it, etc." And further on: "Our poor cabin might have been about twenty feet long by ten or twelve wide, and resembled in shape a garden arbour. It was covered all over with bark except at the ridge, where a slit extended the whole length to let out the smoke (p. 214 n., 223 o.) . . . . "Around our dwelling, though the soil was poor and sandy, we laid out a little garden, and closed it in with a paling to prevent the free ingress of children" (p. 215 n., 224 o.).

The description given in "Le Grand Voyage" (p. 67, n.) does not differ materially from the above; but instead of a pistol-shot, he says the distance between the village and the cabin was two flights of an arrow; while in qualifying the soil his expressions are a little stronger: "though the land," he says, "was wretchedly poor and one of the worst spots and least valued in the whole country."

From the above quotations we glean the following facts. First on his return to the Hurons in 1623, Father Joseph restored and reoccupied the same cabin he had dwelt in during his previous sojourn in the country (*i.e.*, in Champlain's time, in 1815). Second, the little hamlet of Father Joseph was situate one half league from *Khinonascarant*, and his cabin, the same as just mentioned, was one pistol-shot from "la Bourgade." The word "bourgade" evidently does not refer to *Khinonascarant*, for there would be a discrepancy in the distances given by the same author. It refers, consequently, to the "hamlet." Third, Champlain says the "maisonnette" was "séparée du village," while the only village mentioned in the context to which he possibly could allude was *Carhagouha*. The latter, therefore, during the seven or eight years which elapsed from the time of Champlain's visit, must

have dwindled into a small hamlet, *i.e.*, from 1615 to 1623. Fourth, as Father Joseph's cabin was one half league from *Khinonascarant*, and but a pistol-shot from *Carhagouha*, the two centres of population must have been about half a league from each other. I say centres of population, for the appellation *Khinonascarant* was given to three villages separated by short intervals.

Finally, though Father Joseph Le Caron lived nearer *Carhagouha*, it was really *Khinonascarant* that marked one apex of Sagard's Equilateral Triangle, and consequently it was the Second Village.

Ossossané to Khinonascarant.

First Side of Triangle.

It is not likely that any difficulty will be found in recognizing in *Quieunonascaran* the *Khinonascarant* of the Relations. The two forms must be pronounced as a Frenchman would pronounce them. The final *t* in the latter form is as silent as the *t* in "enfant," which, as far as the sound goes, might still be written as formerly, "enfan." The syllables contained in *onascaran* are common to both. The French "qui" is identical in sound with our English word "key," so that the sole difference would lie in the *eu* in the name as given in Sagard. By pronouncing *khin* as if it were written *keyhun* we make it as near an approach as possible to Sagard's *quieun*. In the introduction to his manual of Huron phrases (p. 6 n.), the author himself formulates this premonitory remark: "Il ne se faudra point estonner si en voyageant dans le pays on trouve . . . . qu'une mesme chose se dise un peu différement, ou tout autrement en un lieu qu'en un autre, dans un mesme village, et encore dans une mesme cabane."

Just as Brother Gabriel Sagard had given the name of his patron St. Gabriel to the town of *Tequeunoikuaye* (*Ossossané*) which he first entered, and where he dwelt for a time, so was the name of St. Joseph's mission given to the place which Father Joseph le Caron had selected for his habitation. But this St. Joseph of the Recollets must not be confounded with *Teanaostaiaï* or the St. Joseph II. of the Jesuit Relations.

It will now be in order to add a word anent this mission house of Le Caron. Though it was situate but a few rods from *Carhagouha*, and about two miles from *Khinonascarant*, yet, in contradistinction to the two other missions (of St. Gabriel and St.

Nicolas) *Khinonascarant*, the principal town under his jurisdiction, was called Father Joseph le Caron's "Bourg," or simply the mission town of St. Joseph.

Thus we see Sagard writing during his return trip to Quebec: "Nous renuoyâmes quérir un canot en nostre bourgade de S. Ioseph" (p. 721 n., 794 o.). This was after Brother Sagard had taken up his abode with Father Joseph, for previous to that date "nostre bourg" meant for him St. Gabriel. And further on: "Auant partir de là, mes Sauuages y affichèrent les armoiries du bourg de S. Ioseph, autrement *Quieunonascaran*" (*Khinonascarant*) (p. 732 n., 805 o.). A third passage where the two names are ascribed to the same place occurs on page 694 n., 763 o.: "Cette pesche du petit poisson se faict en commun, qu'ils partagent entr'eux par grandes escuellées, duquel nous auions nostre part comme bourgeois de leur bourgade sainct Ioseph ou *Quieunonascaron*" (*Khinonascarant*).

Let us now consider the length of the first side of the triangle, that is the distance from *Ossossané* to *Khinonascarant*. Sagard says it was four or five leagues. Now as four or five leagues taken as a radius, the centre of whose arc is *Ossossané*, cannot possibly intersect the arc with a two league radius from *Ihonatiria*, (see page 24), unless it be in the waters of Lake Huron, evidently the distance in a straight line is too great, and must necessarily be shortened until an intersection becomes possible on dry land. This would occur about midway between Clover (otherwise Cedar) and Cockburn Points, and the measure thus rectified would stand as nine and one-fifth miles instead of 12 or 15 or 4 or 5 leagues.

Of course, it must be understood throughout that all measurements are taken as the crow flies, so that it is quite possible the windings of the trail around natural obstacles might have tended very materially to lengthen the distances of the three villages one from the other.

All things, therefore, duly considered, the *Quieunonascaran* of Sagard or *Khinonascarant*, the triple village of the Relations, stood midway between Clover and Cockburn Points, near the strait severing the Island of *Ahouendoë* (Christian or St. Joseph's Island) and Huronia; say on the XVIII. and XIX. concessions of Tiny and west of lot 20.

CARHAGOUHA.

I must interrupt for a brief moment the discussion of Sagard's Triangle to dispose of *Carhagouha* before leaving the neighbourhood.

A pistol-shot or twice the flight of an arrow from it stood Father Joseph Le Caron's maisonnette, and I hope presently to make good the assertion that it stood north of the town. But the probable position of the town itself has been fairly well determined.

Khinonascarant to Carhagouha.

Sagard (Hist. du Can., p. 209 n., 218 o.): "N'ayant pas trouué le Père Ioseph dans son petit hameau," which Champlain, as will be remembered, informed us was *Carhagouha* (Tom. 4, p. 28 n., p. 516 o.), "nous le fûmes trouuer à demye lieuë de là, au bourg de *Quieunonascaran* . . . ." The two villages lay, therefore, a mile and a half apart.

Thunder Bay to Carhagouha.

It is satisfactory to be able to state that the distance between these two points confirms what has gone before, namely, that the adjacent town, *Khinonascarant*, could not have stood any farther north than where it has been set down. The rather lengthy passage from Sagard that I am about to quote gives us to understand, if it does not tell us in as many words, that the "maisonnette" or cabin of the Recollet missionaries was "une bonne demie lieuë" from a deep inlet which can be none other than Thunder Bay.

Let me first sum up what we are certain of already: *Khinonascarant* was two leagues from *Ihonatiria*, and one half league from *Carhagouha*. It was nine and one-fifth miles from *Ossossané;* and though it was called "La Mission de St. Ioseph" or "Le Bourg de St. Ioseph," from its being in Sagard's time the principal village of that part of "the Point," the mission house was half a league away and within a pistol-shot of a "little hamlet," that is to say, *Carhagouha.*

From the extract I am about to give this much is added to our knowledge, namely, that *Khinonascarant* had a port or landing place, where there were no habitations, and that the mission house was "one good half league" from the landing, and consequently *Carhagouha* stood at about that distance from the same landing. Where that landing place was it is not said, but the different particulars entered into point to Thunder Bay.

Histoire du Canada, Sagard, p. 582 n., 636 o.: " . . . . ie partis du bourg de S. Ioseph auec le Capitaine Auoindaon au mois d'Octobre, et nous embarquasmes sur la mer douce [Lake Huron], moy cinquiesme dans un canot, où après auoir longtemps

nauigué et aduancé dans la mer par la route de Nord, nous nous arrestames et primes terre dans une Isle commode pour la pesche, où des-ia s'estoient cabanez plusieurs Hurons, qui n'attendoient rien moins que nous." . . . .

"Cette mer douce de laquelle tant de personnes sont désireuses de sçauoir, est un grandissime lac qu'on estime auoir près de trois cens lieuës de longueur de l'Orient à l'Occident, et enuiron cinquante de large, et fort profond, car pour le sçauoir par expérience nous iettames la sonde vers nostre bourgade assez proche du bord en un cul de sac, et trouuasmes quarante-huict brasses d'eau, . ." (p. 589 n., 644 o.).*

"Un mois et plus s'estant escoulé, on commença de penser de nostre retour, comme le grand poisson du sien, ... mais comme il fut question de partir, le Lac s'enfla si fort qu'il fist perdre aux Sauuages l'espérance d'ozer s'embarquer ce iour-la, craignant le danger eminent de quelque naufrage par la tourmente qui s'alloit renforcant . . . . (p. 590 n., 646 o.).

". . . . ie leur dis qu'ils deuoient partir, et que dans peu la mer calmeroit à leur contentement, ... Si tost que la flotte fut en mer, ô merueille du tout puissant, les vents cesserent, et les ondes s'acoisèrent calmes et immobiles comme un plancher, iusques au port de S. Joseph, où ie rendis grâces à Dieu, etc." (p. 592 n., 647 o.).

In Sagard's "Grand Voyage" (p. 183 n., 162 o.), there is a different reading which makes the distinction clearer between the town of *Khinonascarant* and the landing place. But both versions state that as night had fallen, and the Indians had much to carry, they pitched their wigwams there on the shore, intending to proceed next day to the village. This shows that there was no village near the spot, but that it was a mere landing place without a sheltering roof: "A peine les canots furent-ils en mer, que les vents cesserent, et la mer calma comme vn plancher, iusques à nostre desembarquement et arriuée à nostre ville de *Quicunonascaran*. Le soir que nous arriuasmes au port de cette ville, il estoit pres de trois quarts d'heure de nuict et faisoit fort obscur, c'est pourquoy mes Sauuages y cabanerent: "mais pour moy, etc."

*This measure, as most of Sagard's, is greatly exaggerated. There is no bay or "cul de sac" anywhere along the shores of northern Huronia having a depth of 48 fathoms (brasses). By far the deepest bay, however, is Thunder Bay. About its middle point it measures 9 or 10 fathoms in depth, and at its opening about 19 or 20. To find a depth of 40 fathoms, in this part of Georgian Bay, we should have to take our soundings at a point two miles north of Faith or Beckwith Island and one mile five-eighths east of Hope Island.

But to return to the account as given in the "Histoire": "Il estoit nuict fermée auant que nous y pusmes prendre terre, et puis mes gens estoient tellement embarrassés de leurs poissons et filets qu'ils furent contraints de cabaner là iusques au lendemain matin qu'ils se rendirent au bourg, mais pour moy qui n'auois rien qui me pust empescher d'aller que deux petits poissons qu'ils m'auoient donné ie partis de là et m'en allay seul trauers les champs et la forest en nostre cabane, qui en estoit à une bonne demie lieuë esloignés i'eu bien de la peine de la trouuer à cause de la nuict, et m'esgarois souuent, mais la voix de quelques petits Sauuages qui chantoient là és enuirons me radressoit, autrement i'estois pour me voir coucher dehors, et me repentir de m'estre mis en chemin" (p. 592 n., 647 o.).

In what precedes, Sagard gives an account of a fishing excursion of his Indians whom he accompanied, and here is how it may be understood. They start out from *Khinonascarant*, and crossing over land to Thunder Bay, embark for the islands along Parry Sound, where they spend a month. In Sagard's remarks on the depth of Lake Huron, he mentions a sounding of 48 fathoms taken "vers nostre bourgade assez proche du bord en cul de sac," *i.e.*, "pretty near the shore in a landlocked bay lying in the direction of our village." A "cul de sac" is, properly speaking, a blind alley, a road with no thoroughfare or way through; but we have scarcely an equivalent for Sagard's expressions as used here in connection with an estuary or inlet which promises at first a free passage through, but which suddenly comes to an abrupt ending. This "cul de sac" would be no misnomer for Thunder Bay, which, from the island where Sagard was encamped, lay towards, or as you draw near to *Khinonascarant*.

They return by the same route and land at the head of Thunder Bay after dark. The Indians had their provision of fish, their nets, etc., to carry home, and would have no little difficulty in packing them up in the dark. So they camp on the shore for the night. Had there been a village in the neighbourhood they would, according to custom, have quartered themselves without ceremony on the inhabitants. Sagard is less encumbered, he has only two small fishes to carry, and as there was but "one good half league," or about two miles of a tramp before him, sets out in the dark for the mission house near *Carhagouha*.

One can hardly be taxed with drawing conclusions too hastily if it is inferred from what has just been read that the village of *Carhagouha* lay about two miles in a southerly direction from Douglas or Thunder Bay. The intersection of the two arcs, the one with a radius of a half league or a mile and a half from *Khi-*

nonascarant, and the other with a radius of "une bonne demie lieuë" or, say, two miles from Thunder Bay marks the site of *Carhagouha* on lot 20, concession XVII. of Tiny Township.

Mr. Andrew F. Hunter, in his monograph on the Indian remains in Tiny, has this to say:

"On lot 20, concession XVII.—a farm now (1898) occupied by Telesphore Desroches, but formerly by James Drinnan—is the site of another Huron village. The usual ashbeds, with their contents, are to be seen, but no bonepit has been discovered." I would here state that ossuaries were never established in, or in the immediate vicinity of villages yet inhabited. When found on a village site, one may conclude that the village site antedates that of the bonepit.

As for the mission house which stood on the outskirts of *Carhagouha*, it must have lain to the north and perhaps a little to the west, since Sagard when returning from the landing on Thunder Bay, and in quest of it, did not evidently pass through the town to reach it.

Let me now resume our discussion of the good Brother Recollet's Equilateral Triangle.

TOANCHE I.

Third Village of the Triangle.

The name of this village is written in different ways. We have *Toanché*, Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.; *Toenchen*, Sagard, Grand Voyage, p. 78 new, 114 old; *Toanchain*, letter of Fr. Joseph de la Roche Daillon, 1637, in Sagard's Hist., p. 809 n., 892 o.; *Tonachin*, evidently a misprint for *Toanchin*, in the same letter in Le Clercq's Etablissement de la Foy, edit. 1691, p. 362; and *Troenchain*, Sagard, Hist. du Canada, p. 413.

As the meaning of the name *Toanché or Toanchain* will be of some service in the present disquisition, I proceed to give its derivation. *Te-oßan-achien*, and by the rules of compounding words (Huron Grammar, p. g. 66) contracted to *Toanchien*.

1. *Te*. Among the Adverbia Negandi (Id. p. 70), I note the following:

"*Stan* vel *stena*, non (solitarie); *Stante* vel *te*, non [English, no. not.] (junctum alicui voci)."

2. "*Oßan*, in compositione et aliquando extra, retirer de l'eau [Radices Huronicæ, 1751, p. 243], v. g. *ąaroßan*, lever un ret qu'on a mis à l'eau; *ahonoßan*, retirer un canot de l'eau."

3. "*Achen*, dic. *achien*, extr. vel int., quelque chose être mauvaise, méchante, ne valoir guère ou rien du tout; être mal fait, mal tourné, n'être bon à rien, et multa ejusdem generis quae ad contemptum pertinent, v. g. *Okendiati iSachien n'ondaie* cela est tout à fait méchant, ne vaut rien; *Te Sachien n'ondaie*, cela n'est point mauvais, etc., etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 50, No. 14.)

So that *Te-oSan-achien*, *Toanchien*, would mean "not a bad landing or landing place."

But was *Toanche* I. really the Third Village of the Triangle?

That there was a village which in relation to Father Viel was termed "son village" we have seen already, for in a passage quoted above this clause appears: "Le Père Nicolas accompagné d'un Sauuage, me vint trouuer de son village," which was five leagues, he told us, from St. Gabriel (p. 207 n., 216 o.). It is equally certain that *Troenchain* was called the town of St. Nicholas by the Recollet missionaries. Sagard writes: "Il me sòuuient qu'estant à la bourgade de Sainct Nicolas, autrement de *Troenchain*, etc." (p. 413 n., 446 o.). Now though I do not find it explicitly stated that St. Nicolas was Father Nicholas Viel's village, nevertheless, as Father Joseph Le Caron's village was St. Joseph, and Brother Gabriel Sagard's St. Gabriel, and as it is a fact that Father Nicholas Viel had "his village," and that *Troenchain* bore the name of St. Nicholas, the deduction that Father Viel's village was *Troenchain*, if not rigorously conclusive, is morally certain by analogy.

Later on, as we shall see, Brébeuf enables us to identify *Troenchain* with *Toanché* I.

La Rochelle or Ossossané to Toanché I.

Second Side of Triangle.

Let us not forget that La Rochelle or *Ossossané* was the first village of the Triangle, *Khinonascarant* the second, and now *Toanché* I., third village of the Triangle, claims our attention. We have considered the First Side, that joining *Ossossané* and *Khinonascarant*, and found that between these two fixed points its length is not four or five leagues, Sagard's estimate, but a little over three, or, to be accurate, nine miles and one-fifth.

In the order in which I have taken the sides it is the line joining the village of *Toanché* I. with *Ossossané* which forms the Second of the Equilateral Triangle. Sagard evidently thought it a little longer than the one we have considered, for he assigns five leagues to it, while for the *Ossossané-Khinonascarant* side he

hesitates between four and five. The corrected measurement of this latter line, reducing it to nine miles and one-fifth, calls for a proportional reduction in the length of the side joining *Ossossané* and *Toanché* I., if anything approaching an equilateral triangle be the desired result. So that the radius I shall use will be ten miles. The arc of this radius from *Ossossané* would strike land on the west shore of the outer Bay of Penetanguishene, about lot A, XVI. concession of Tiny, otherwise on the tract of land marked on some maps as the Triangle Redoubt.

Khinonascarant to Toanché I.

Third Side of Triangle.

As *Khinonascarant* and *Toanché* I. are already determined, we have but to join these two points and we have our third side of the approximate Equilateral Triangle. This last side stretches across the peninsula of what the Jesuit missioners were wont to call "La Pointe," and measures nine miles or three leagues. And this completes our study of Sagard's Triangle.

The approximate equality of the sides has been preserved, at least as scrupulously as it was by Sagard; and in the variation of their relative lengths that chronicler has been closely followed. His sides, in the order in which they have been taken, are respectively of 4 or 5 leagues, 5 leagues, and the third not given in figures, but said to be of about the same length as the others.

If I have differed from him in the length of the first side, *Ossossané* to *Khinonascarant*, it was because well ascertained limits, determining its extremities, made a curtailing of its length imperative. This linear measurement once ascertained beyond doubt a proportion has been kept, which gave us in miles for the three sides respectively, and in the order already given, 9 1-5, 10, and 9.

I would remark that though Sagard may be unreliable when appreciating distances, by the mere mention of the triangle being about equilateral, a guess where one would be less likely to err than in judging distances taken separately, he has rendered us an invaluable service. It has determined the sites of villages, whose position was hitherto a mere surmise, and will be of no little help when there will be question of deciding where Champlain landed in Huronia.

V.

ARONTAEN, OTHERWISE CARHAGOUHA.

Ihonatiria to Arontaen.

Arontaen and Carhagouha same as Carantouan.

Taruentutunum but another form.

TONDAKHRA OR TONDAKEA.

Arontaen to Tondakhra.

Pagus Etondatrateus.

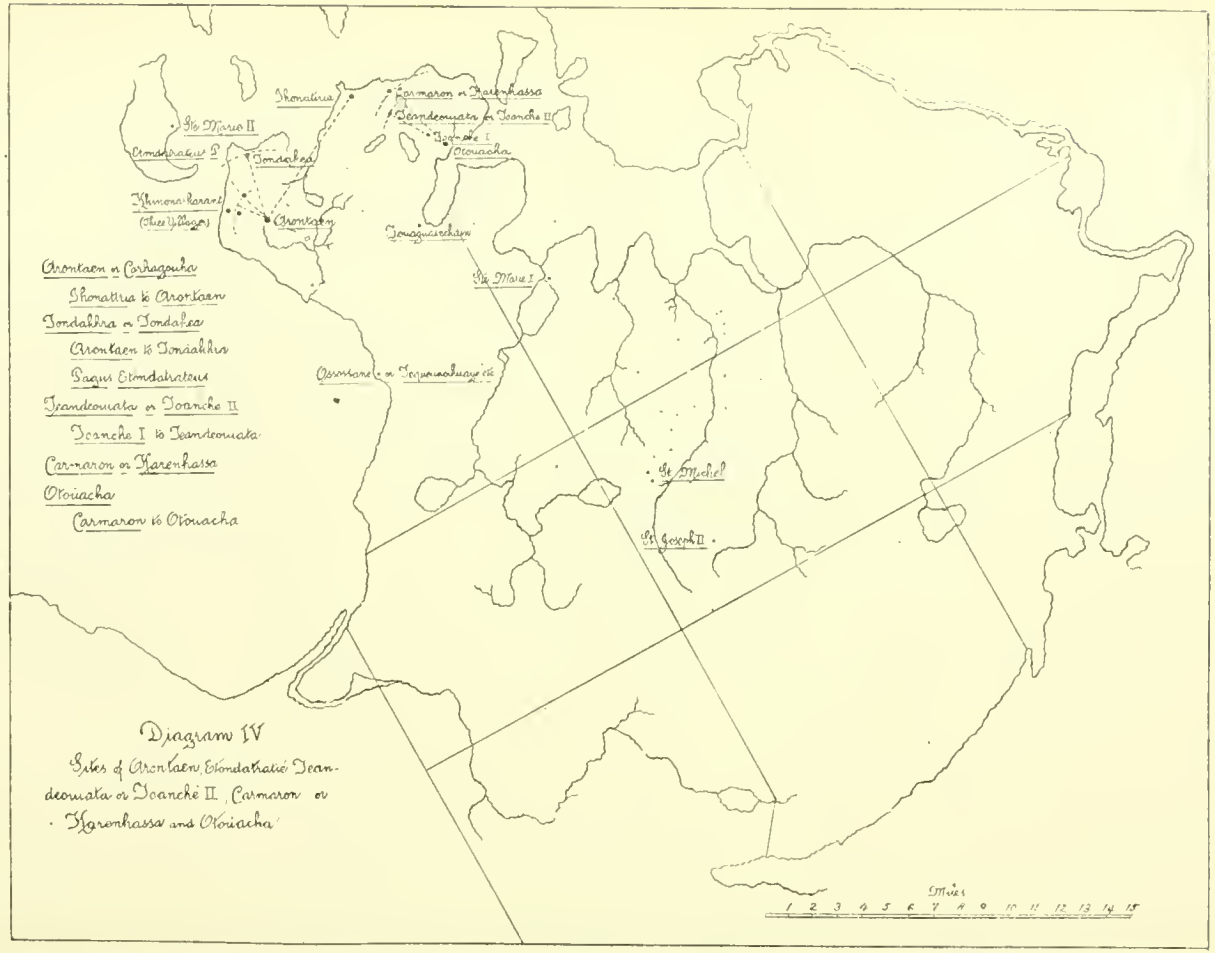
TEANDEOUIATA OR TOANCHË II.

Toanchë I. to Teandeouiata.

CARMARON OR KARENHASSA.

OTOÜACHA.

Carmaron to Otoüacha or Toanchë I.



Sites of Arontaen, Etondatratie, Teandeouïata or Toanché II., Carmaron or Harenhassa and Otoüacha.
Diagram IV. By Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S.J., Montreal.

V.

ARONTAEN.

The *Arontaen* of the Relations was no other than the *Carhagouha* of Champlain.

This proposition will not be rejected when three facts are made clear:

First, that it lay on the same arc of the circle as *Khinonascarant*, with a radius of two leagues from *Ihonatiria*. It will be remembered that *Khinonascarant* lay two leagues from *Ihonatiria* and one half league in a westerly direction from *Carhagouha*.

Secondly, that its synonym *Karontaen* is the equivalent of *Carantouan*, which latter Champlain uses indiscriminately for *Carhagouha*.

Finally, that *Taruentutunum*, which on Ducreux's map occupies exactly the same position which has been shown to belong to *Carhagouha*, is but a modified Huron form of *Karontaen*, or *Carantouan*, but further disguised by its Latin dress.

I.

Ihonatiria to Arontaen.

Rel. 1636 (p. 133, 1 col.): "Vn des plus riches, [an inhabitant of *Ihonatiria*], craignant qu'il ne luy arriuast quelque malheur transporta sa Cabane à deux lieuës de nous, au village d'*Arontaen*." The Fathers lived at the time at *Ihonatiria*.

Rel. 1637 (p. 110, 1 col.). An unfortunate Iroquois prisoner was brought to *Onnentisati*, where a council was held to determine his fate: "La resolution prise, il fut mené à Arontaen, qui est vn bourg esloigné de nous enuiron deux lieuës."

The arc of a circle with a two leagues' radius and centre at *Ihonatiria* has already done its share in determining the position of *Khinonascarant*. It passes also through lot 20, concession XVII., Tiny, which has been shown to be the site of *Carhagouha*, while from the above quotations it stands to reason that *Arontaen* must be placed on the same arc.

II.

The Names Arontaen and Carhagouha are Interchangeable.

Karontaen is the synonym of *Arontaen*. In Potier's Radices Huronicæ, 1751, p. 188, No. 46, we read "*Aron* vel *Karon*, 1° active, mettre de travers, 2° neutraliter, être de travers. Saepe ponitur impersonaliter et cum *Te* dualitatis." In Potier's Elementa Grammaticæ Huronicæ (p. 156, 1 col., 21 line) he translates *Karontaen* by "détroit." In this case it would point to the straits between Christian Island and Huronia proper.

Karontaen is the equivalent of *Carantouan*, which latter is not a correct spelling of a Huron word, for: "*C* semper est junctum cum *h*, et hae duae litterae simul junctae pronunciantur more Gallorum, v.g., *chiean(g)nionk*, tu fais chaudière; et aliquando ut *C* italicum ut *chioens*. aegrotas." (Elem. Gram. Hur., p. 1.) In other words, there is no hard *C* in Huron, it is replaced by *K*. Hence *Karantouan* and not *Carantouan*. Moreover, as the Hurons had no nasal sound for "*on*" as the French have, the *Karon* (in *Karontaen*) was pronounced very much as a Frenchman would pronounce the *Karan* (in *Karantouan*). The two words assume now almost an identical aspect, *Karontaen* and *Karontouan*, the terminations alone being different.

I might go further, but for present purposes it is not at all necessary, not to say that juggling with words soon becomes tedious; and without invoking the famous dictum "les voyelles comptent pour rien et les consonnes pour peu de chose," I shall merely repeat what Sagard has to say in the preface to his vocabulary (p. 6): "il ne se faudra point estonner si en voyageant dans le pays [Huronia], on trouue cette difficulté, & qu'une mesme chose se dise un peu differemment. ou tout autrement en un lieu qu'en un autre, dans un mesme village, & encore dans une mesme Cabane." If I remember well, Brébeuf somewhere makes the same remark. While Father Pierre Potier, who spent nearly forty years among the Hurons, furnishes us with an instance of faulty audition with regard to this very termination *ouan*. On page 101 of his MS. grammar, 1745, which embodies his own, together with the accumulated knowledge of all his predecessors, the Huron exclamation *Sahouan!* (hold! attend!), which must have passed current through many generations, stands corrected; a line is drawn through the last syllable, over which is written between the lines *oin*. The same word is similarly corrected in his Observationes in Adverbia, p. 73, 4°. Likewise we find the verb *ąndaouan*, to be comfortably warm, with an *e* marked over the last syllable as a direction for its proper pronunciation.

It would seem, from what precedes, a legitimate conclusion to say that we are not very far astray in maintaining that *Karontaen* and *Carantouan* are one and the same word, and that *Arontaen* is the same village as *Carantouan*.

We have yet to make good that this latter form, *Carantouan*, was used indiscriminately for *Carhagouha* by Champlain.

In his Voyages et Descouvertes (Quebec Edit., 1870, upper pagination 29, lower 517) this passage occurs: "Et voyant vne telle longueur qu'ils apportoient à faire leur gros, & que i'aurois du temps pour visiter leur pays: ie me deliberay de m'en aller à petites iournées de village en village à *Cahiagué*, où debuoit estre le rendez-vous de toute l'armée, distant de *Carhagouha* de quatorze lieuës, etc."

In the same Vol. IV., in Champlain's Voyages de La Nouvelle France, a parallel passage occurs, in all the same, word for word, as the above with a few variants of spelling or punctuation, save that instead of saying "distant de *Carhagouha*" it substitutes "distant de *Carantoüan* de 14 lieuës, etc.," p. 251, lower 907. Therefore the two appellations are used indiscriminately, and thanks to this second reading we are able to establish the identity of *Carhagouha* and *Arontaen*.

III.

Taruentutunum.

Taruentutunum would seem to be but another name for *Carhagouha*, *Arontaen* and *Karontaen*.

Taruentutunum [oppidum] must first be divested of what is foreign to the Huron idiom before any attempt is made to resolve it into its component roots. The final *um* is the Latin termination; and as there is no simple *u* in the Huron alphabet this letter, where it occurs, must be replaced by *8* or *ou*. The resulting form is *Tar8ent8t8n*, which may be decomposed thus (Gram. Hur., p. 66):

Te-ar8entaen-8t8n.

Te. Potier, as we have just seen, in speaking of *Aron* or *Karon*, added "Saepe ponitur impersonaliter et cum Te dualitatis," hence *Tarontaen*.

"*8ton* (et *8tonnion*), multiplicativum, significans multitudinem rerum quae suo situ eminent, v.g., *aront8ton*, la multitude des arbres; *onnont8ton*, quantité d montagnes, etc." It is used after all sorts of nouns. The identity of *8ton* and *8t8n* is presumed on

account of the facility with which the Hurons replaced the *o* by the *8* and vice versa: "*o* et *8* aliquando promiscue adhibentur" (Gram., p. 1).

Arontaen and *Ar8entaen* are still different in appearance, and though the *8* in the latter might be replaced by *o*, the *e* remains unaccounted for; nor have I found any other root at all appropriate whereby its presence could be explained. What I really think is that *Taruentutunum* should have been written *Taront8tonum*.

Why the multiplicative should have been tacked on is another question satisfactorily to be solved only under the supposition that *Karontaen* (détroit) does not derive from *aron* or *karon* but from *aronta*, a tree (R. H. 1751, p. 293, 1 col.), and *aen*, être à bas, à terre, gisant, etc." (Id. p. 61). *8o aek8atien te karontaen*, asseions nous sur l'arbre qui [est] à bas" (Id. ib.). In which case *Karon*—or *Taront8tonum* [oppidum] would mean: The town where many trees lie felled.

But the all-important point remains, and that is that *Taruentutunum* on Ducreux's map occupies precisely the same position as *Arontaen* or *Carhagouha*. Like lot 20, concession XVII., Tiny, it lies about midway between Thunder Bay and the coast line of Nottawasaga Bay. This alone, without having recourse to the etymology of the word, ought to be sufficient to establish beyond cavil its identity.

TONDAKHRA OR TONDAKEA.

Tondakea is the spelling on Ducreux's map, *Tondakhra* that of the Relations (Rel. 1637, p. 112, 1 col.). It is not a compound word, as most of the names of Huron towns, but simply two words in juxtaposition: *Aton*, a verb, with a number of cognate meanings, among which "s'évanouir, être évanoui, s'effacer, se dissiper, etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 34, No. 6) to fade away, to vanish, to lose itself, etc.; and "*ondechra* (*atondecha*) terre, païs" (R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.), land, country. It consequently means the land gives out, vanishes, fades away. It is the Finisterre or Land's End of the Hurons.

Arontaen to Tondakhra.

Rel. 1637(p. 112, 1 col.). "Et puis il fallut partir pour aller à *Tondakhra*, qui est à vne lieuë d'*Arontaen*." It lay, therefore, three miles from *Arontaen*, *Carhagouha* or *Taruentutunum*. The direction on Ducreux's map is north and a little to the west. With the said length taken in this direction we land upon a site thus

described by Mr. Andrew F. Hunter: "On the farm of Wm. H. Richardson, east half lot 19, concession XX., there is the site of a village, evidently of Hurons with whom the early French traders had come into contact. It extends across the XXI. concession line into the farm of John McLellan, sr., the two parts together covering a space of about five acres.

"In company with A. C. Osborne, of Penetanguishene, on Sept. 2nd, 1898, I visited this site, its existence having been called to my attention a few days before by Geo. E. Laidlaw, of Balsam Lake. Its situation is on a kind of high lake terrace or plateau, overlooking Georgian Bay, with Beckwith Island just opposite. The land had been cleared about four years previous to our visit, and it was during this operation that the first evidences of Huron occupation had been observed. These consisted of the usual ash-beds containing pottery fragments in abundance and other relics common to such sites, etc.". (Huron Sites—Township of Tiny—A. F. Hunter, 1899, p. 10).

As no other village site has been found in this neighbourhood, and as *Tondakea* is marked in this vicinity by Ducreux, not to speak of its correct distance from *Arontaen*, and direction from *Taruentutunum*, I, without hesitation, take it for *Tondakhra*.

Moreover, the only other Indian establishment mentioned in the Relations, and likely to be found in this quarter, is the Iroquois fort alluded to in Rel. 1651, p. 5, foot of 1st col.: "Sur la fin de l'Automne vne autre troupe d'Iroquois tirerent vers cette Isle à dessein d'enleuer le reste des Hurons qui l'habitoient, ils firent vn fort en terre ferme vis à vis de l'Isle, pour prendre ceux qui en sortiroient." But this, I should imagine, ought to be found more to the west on the shore of the strait facing Christian Island.

P. Etondatrateus.

Such is the inscription on Ducreux's inset map opposite the extremity of land to the north of *Tondakea*. The *P.* certainly does not stand for *promontorium*, or we should have *Etondatrateum*. It stands for *pagus*, and the Huron form of the proper noun is *Etondatatie*, and the whole means the district of Land's End. The Huron appellation is compounded of *Eti*, *onda*, and *atatie*.

Et, a prefix of time or place: "vocabulo incipienti a vocali vel *h* praefigitur *et*, et *h* pro nihilo habetur, etc.' (Gram., p. 24, 6°).

Onda (*atonda*), espace de temps, de lieu (R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.), from which *ondia* [pronounced *ondgia*] pointe de terre. (Id. ib.)

Ątatie "(lat. circa) ex. gr. *ąndaouatatie*, le long du fleuve; *annentratatie*, le long du rivage (ab *ątatie* in fine; vid. *ąta*)" (Gram., p. 75). We are referred to *ąta* by the Grammar and in the Radices (p. 198, No. 84) I find "*ąta*, in compositione et extra (le bout, l'extrémité de quelque chose)" and as a derivative, on the following page, "*ątatie-* significat le long du bout, l'étendue du bout, item la fin approcher, etc." Compounded, according to rule (Gram., p, 66) we have *Etondatatie*, and for the *r* which is inserted see (R. H., p. 290, 2 col.) "*Ąnnent* extra compositionem, *Ąnnentra* vel *annentrata* vel *ąnnentara*, in compositione: le bord de l'eau, la grève."

TEANDEOUÏATA OR TOANCHÉ II.

Toanché I., as we have seen, was about nine miles from *Khinonascarant* and ten from *Ossossané*. The arcs of these radii intersect in lot 1, concession XVII., Tiny, so that the village stood somewhere in this neighbourhood. Until all this part of the township is cleared of forest it will not be an easy task to determine exactly where. I shall make use, however, of this point of intersection to locate approximately the position of *Teandeouiata*.

Toanche I. to Teandeouiata.

Let us take de Brébeuf's narrative of his second arrival in Huronia, animadverting in a general way that he set foot on *terra firma* at what he calls "the port," in other words the landing place of old *Toanché*; for more than a month and a half he was the guest of Aouandoïé, a well to do villager of *Teandeouiata* or new *Toanché*, and when he had managed to get all his scattered Frenchmen together, he built his cabin within what I might term the civil jurisdiction of *Teandeouïata*, but at a little distance from it, that is to say at a spot to which he gave the name of *Ihonatiria*.

Rel. 1635 (p. 28, 1 col.): "I'arriuay aux Hurons le cinquiesme d'Aoust [it was in 1634] . . . . Ie pris terre au port du village de *Toanché* ou de *Teandeouïata*, ou autresfois nous estions habituez." He alludes to his sojourn at old *Toanché*, when he had for companions Rev. Father de La Roche Daillon, a Recollet, and Father Anne de Noué, a Jesuit . . . . "mais ce fut auec vne petite disgrâce . . . . (2 col.) . . . . le mal estoit, que le village

de *Toanché* auoit changé depuis mon départ, et que ie ne sçauois pas bonnement en quel endroit il estoit situé, et que ce riuage n'estant plus hanté, ie ne pouuois pas bien m'asseurer du chemin" . . . . .

On the refusal of the Hurons to show him the way, for they all set out for their own distant villages, he starts alone: "ie m'en allay chercher le village, que ie rencontray heureusement enuiron à trois quarts de lieuë, ayant en passant veu auec attendrissement et ressentiment le lieu où nous auions habité et celebré le S. sacrifice de la Messe trois ans durant, [1626-1629] conuerty en vn beau champ, comme aussi la place du vieux village, où excepté vne cabane rien ne restoit que les ruines des autres . . . . (p. 29, 1 col.) . . . . Ie me logeay chez vn nommé Aouandoïé, lequel est, ou au moins a esté vn des plus riches des Hurons . . . . car leur village, nommé *Teandeouïhata* (sic), ayant esté bruslé par deux fois, il n'y a eu en toutes les deux fois, que sa seule maison exempte de l'embrasement."

. . . . (p. 29, 2 col.) . . . . "Ie me logeay donc chez cet homme, où ie demeuray auec nos deux Pères et vn de nos gens, l'espace de plus d'vn mois et demy iusques à ce que nous nous transportasmes en nostre nouuelle cabane."

After having described his welcome, and the adventures of his companions in their upward journey to the Huron country, Brébeuf adds: (p. 30, 2 col.) . . . . "Estans en fin tous ralliez, nous prismes resolution de nous habituer icy à *Ihonatiria*, et y bastir nostre cabane."

From these excerpts we glean the following helpful facts:

Toanché I. had had a landing place dignified by the appellation of "port" by Brébeuf, but of which he gives no name. Hence *Toanché I.* was not on the very shore, but a little inland and necessarily on the higher land skirting Penetanguishene Bay to the west.

Teandeouita was the name of the new *Toanché*, and lay three quarters of a league from *Toanché I.*, evidently in the direction of *Ihonatiria*, for it was in its immediate vicinity; so much so that Brébeuf speaks of it almost as the same village, though he gives it a distinct name.

Taking these details into consideration, I should say that *Teandeouïta* was situated not far from lot three, concession XIX., Tiny, and *Toanché I.* very near lot 1, concession XVII., while the nameless landing place must have stood near the mouth of the little stream which takes its rise in lot D, concession XVIII.,

and empties into Penetanguishene Bay through the Triangle Redoubt as marked on some maps, but which would be, if prolonged, lot A, concession XVI., Tiny.

CARMARON, KARENHASSA.

At this stage in the reconstruction of the map of Huronia, it is necessary that I should draw attention to the name of a village mentioned by Champlain: I refer to *Carmaron*, which as it is written by the great explorer, cannot possibly be a Huron word, and yet under his pen it is evidently intended as such.

First, there is no hard *C* in Huron. "*C* semper est junctum cum *h* et hae duae litterae simul junctae pronuntiantur more Gallorum, v.g. *Chiean(g)nionk*, tu fais chaudière, et aliquando ut *C* italicum, ut *chicons*, aegrotas" (Potier, Gram., p. 1). It is the *K* that takes the place of the hard *C*: "*K* et χ sonant ut *Kh*, v.g. χ*a*, hic, haec, hoc, dicitur *Kha*" (Gram., p. 1).

Secondly, the sound and the letter *M* are wanting in Huron: "Hurones carent litteris B, F, L, M, P, Q, U, V, X." (Id. ib.) What word, then, does *Carmaron* stand for?

I should say that written in a cursive hand, the first member of the small *m* was intended for an *e* or an *i*, and the former rather than the latter, as the dot over the *i* could not easily have been overlooked by the typographer. So that the first part of the word should have read *K-a-r-e-n*, while the last part could very correctly have been *aron* as printed. We should then have had *Karenaron*.

Now, on Ducreux's inset map, on the north shore of the mainland beyond Penetanguishene Bay, we find a place marked *Karenhassa*. The two names differ in their terminations *aron* and *hassa*.

The etymology of the first half of the two words is the same. The word is formed of χ*a* and *crenha*. "χ*a* hîc, hûc, hâc, hinc, ibi" (Gram., p. 85), there, là "*K* et χ sonant ut *Kh*, v.g. χ*a*, hic, haec, hoc, dicitur *Kha*" (Id. p. 1).

"*Arenha*, cime d'arbre" [tree tops, tips] (R. H. 1751, p. 292, 2 col.).

Hence *Ka-arenha*, *Karenha* (Gram., p. 66).

The termination *asa* is from "*aïa* vel *iskaia*, diminutivum formatum a praecedenti [i.e. *a*], extra et intra compositionem. In compositione ponitur *aïa* pro singulari et *asa* pro plurali" (R. H. 1751, pg. 1). "*S* nunquam pronunciatur ut Z, licet inter duas vocales, sed ut duplex *ss*, v.g. *Asara* [*assara*], anse de chaudière"

(Gram., p. 1). Joined, the two parts of the word make *Karenassa*, or with the aspirate *h*, *Karenhassa*, meaning at the place of the little tree tops, or pointed trees, for instance, spruce, cedar, pine, hemlock, etc.

So far for Ducreux's *Karenhassa*, which finds no counterpart in the Relations, and now let us turn to Champlain's *Carmaron*, or correctly *Karenaron*, mentioned by no other author.

Its first part, *Karena*, is the same as in the above.

Its second is "*Oron*, multiplicativum (a primitivo *ar*) extra et intra . . . . 2° être distant l'un de l'autre, être à quelque distance de lieu, de temps, être multiplié en divers endroits, lieux" (R. H., p. 169), with the meaning of spaced, set out at intervals, etc. (Cfr. also its derivative, *Karonnion*, p. 170.)

Hence *Karenaron*, meaning the place of the many separate tree tops, and, as it were, the pointed tips of the trees at intervals, standing out sharply against the sky-line, possibly as seen from the lake. I am inclined to infer that *Carmaron* and *Karenhassa* were one and the same place.

I would not have it thought that I look upon my conclusion as mathematically proven, but it seems to me that all points to the identity of *Carmaron* and *Karenhassa*.

Judging from its position on Ducreux's map, I think that its site is not far from lot 2, concession XX., Tiny, about a mile and a half east of *Ihonatiria*. Thick woods cover its site at the present day.

OTOUACHA.

This is the spot where Champlain landed in Huronia in 1615. The particulars which are of immediate concern to us in Champlain's narrative are the following. (Œuvres IV., p. 26-514.)

. . . . "Nous arrivasmes en la contrée des Attigouantan à vn village appellé *Otoüacha*, qui fut le premier iour d'Aoust . . . (p. 27), le lendemain, ie feus à vn autre village appellé *Carmaron*, distant d'iceluy d'vne lieuë . . . . Le chef du dit village me pria fort d'y seiourner, ce que ie ne peu luy accorder, ainsi m'en retournay à nostre village."

Where did this village of *Otoüacha* stand? The question would be satisfactorily answered if I could make out that it was one and the same as *Toanché I.*, or at least was the nameless landing place of Brébeuf. I candidly acknowledge that I do not see how it can be apodictically proven, though there are not wanting reasons which make it highly probable.

Note.—See colored sketch at page 225.

To what extent etymology may be helpful in this case may be seen from what follows.

Otoüacha means the double landing place and derives from the roots, *Oti*, *OSan* and *acha*.

"*Oti*, inchoativum, causale. Significat in compositione cum nomine annentara [Cfr. R. H. 1751, p. 290, 2 col.: *annentra*, vel *annentrata* vel *annentara* in comp. et *annent* extra. Le bord de l'eau, la grève] arriver au bord de l'eau—par terre [for *par terre* is added by Potier to limit the signification of *ahannentaroha*, from the same root *annentara*, "il arrive au bord de l'eau par terre" see eleven lines above]. So analogously with *OSan* (R. H. 1743, p. 183).

"*OSan*, (R. H. 1751, p. 243 . . . . in compositione et aliquando extra, retirer de l'eau . . . . v.g. *aaroSan*, lever un ret qu'on a mis à l'eau; *ahonoSan*, retirer un canot de l'eau (Cfr. R. H. 1751, p. 242).

"*Acha* (R. H. 1743, p. 3) cum *te* affirmativo dualitatis praefixo, sive *KS-acha* per contractionum pro *te Sacha*. Habet significationem alteram neutram alteram activam. Quando habet neutram significationem tam extra quam intra compositionem, quelque chose être double: extra compositionem quidem ut: *te Sacha*, cela est double, etc."

Now these roots may coalesce in two ways so as to result either in *Otouacha* or *Otouancha*. The rule governing either transformation runs thus (Gram. Hur., p. 66, 2o): "Ultima vocalis substantivi perit, et consonans adjectivi vel verbi quae initialis est eliditur, sive, quod idem est, perit vel ultima primi verbi [word] littera, vel prima littera secundi verbi [word]." Thus:

Ot(i)-*oS*(an)-*acha*, OtoSacha.

Ot(i)-*oSan*-(a)*cha*, OtoSancha.

Toanché derives also from three roots, *Te-oSan-achien*, and means "Not a bad landing place." But this we have seen already, and I shall not dwell upon it further, except to say that though the first and last roots in the two words may differ, *OtoSacha*, or *Otouancha* could very well have passed gradually into *Toanché*. Father Potier (Gram. Hur., p. 1) informs us: "*o* et *S* [*i.e.*, *ou*] aliquando promiscue adhibentur," and thus we would have *Otoancha*. Then again, nothing would be easier than that the final *a* should become *é*. The same authority (Gram., p. 87) in reference to the interrogative *annen?* ubi? quo? unde? explains the use of the affix *ae*, without the diaeresis, or practically pronounced *é*; v.g. "*annen ihentron?* ubi est?" the answer is "*andatae*, in pago," at the village, and many other like examples. Nor is it necessary that a question should be asked, for we have at least one

instance of its use in the name of a Huron village. I refer to *Andiataë*, from *andiata*, a bridge (R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.), meaning *at* the bridge; so *Otoancha*, with the affix *Otoanchaë*, or *Otoanché*, at the double landing place. And finally to get rid of the initial *o*, we would have but to invoke the eighth rule, in compounding words: "Saepe fiunt erases unius vel plurium syllabarum, v.g. . . . . *hiennonsteen*, ils ont leurs cabanes proches l'une de l'autre, pro *te hiennonchiandeen*."

Before dismissing this subject, let me remark that the original *OtoSancha*, without mentioning the successive stages it has gone through, differs but little more from *Toanché* than the many variants of the name found in the same or in different authors.

Were I now to have recourse to authorities, I find they favour the theory that *Otoüacha* either occupied the same position as, or was indeed no other than *Toanché*. There are but two, to my knowledge who have touched upon the subject, M. l'Abbé Laverdière and Father Félix Martin, S.J. The latter, in his manuscript notes, takes it for granted that the two names applied to the same place, while on his unpublished map he sets *Otoüacha* down just where Sagard's triangle has determined its site. M. l'Abbé Laverdière in a foot note (p. 26 upper, 514 lower) in Tom. IX. of his edition of Champlain's Works, says: "*Otoüacha* est probablement le même que *Toenchain*, ou *Toanché*." But authorities in these matters, unless good reasons are forthcoming have little weight.

The first more valid proof I would allege is custom. It is certain that down to Father de Brébeuf's time there was no other landing made use of by those who came up to Huronia save *Toanché*, and for this reason it would seem more than likely that Champlain's *Otoüacha* was indeed *Toanché*.

But, granted that *Carmaron* and *Karenhassa* were the same, what to my mind would be the most cogent reason follows. *Carmaron*, as we shall presently see, was one league from *Otoüacha*. With this length for radius, and a centre at Ducreux's *Karenhassa*, the arc would strike the shore line either at Thunder Bay or Penetanguishene Bay, and the latter near the spot where the port or landing place of *Toanché I.* is set down. A landing effected at Thunder Bay would have brought Champlain so near *Carhagouha*, Father Joseph Le Caron's dwelling place, that it is inconceivable he should not have visited his old friend at once instead of proceeding to *Carmaron*. Within the limits of my hypothesis, this latter consideration is sufficiently convincing to exclude the possibility of *Otoüacha* being situated on Thunder Bay.

CARMARON TO OTOÜACHA.

About three miles: "Le lendemain, ie feus à vn autre village appellé *Carmaron*, distant d'iceluy [*Otoüacha*] d'vne lieuë" (Œuvres de Champlain, Tom. IV., p. 27-515).

VI.

COUCHICHING, CHAMPLAIN'S "LITTLE LAKE."

CAHIAGUÉ.

"The Narrows" at Couchiching Lake to Cahiagué.

Carhagouha or Arontaen to Cahiagué.

Cahiagué and St. Jean-Baptiste identical.

St. Jean-Baptiste not on the very edge of Lake Simcoe.

With Ducreux's shore line corrected St. Jean-Baptiste would lie near Hawkestone.

ST. ELIZABETH.

CONTAREA OR CONTAREIA.

Contarea remote from "Lacus Contarea."

Contarea quite distinct from St. Jean-Baptiste.

Ihonatiria to Contarea.

Champlain's "Little Lake" not Bass Lake.

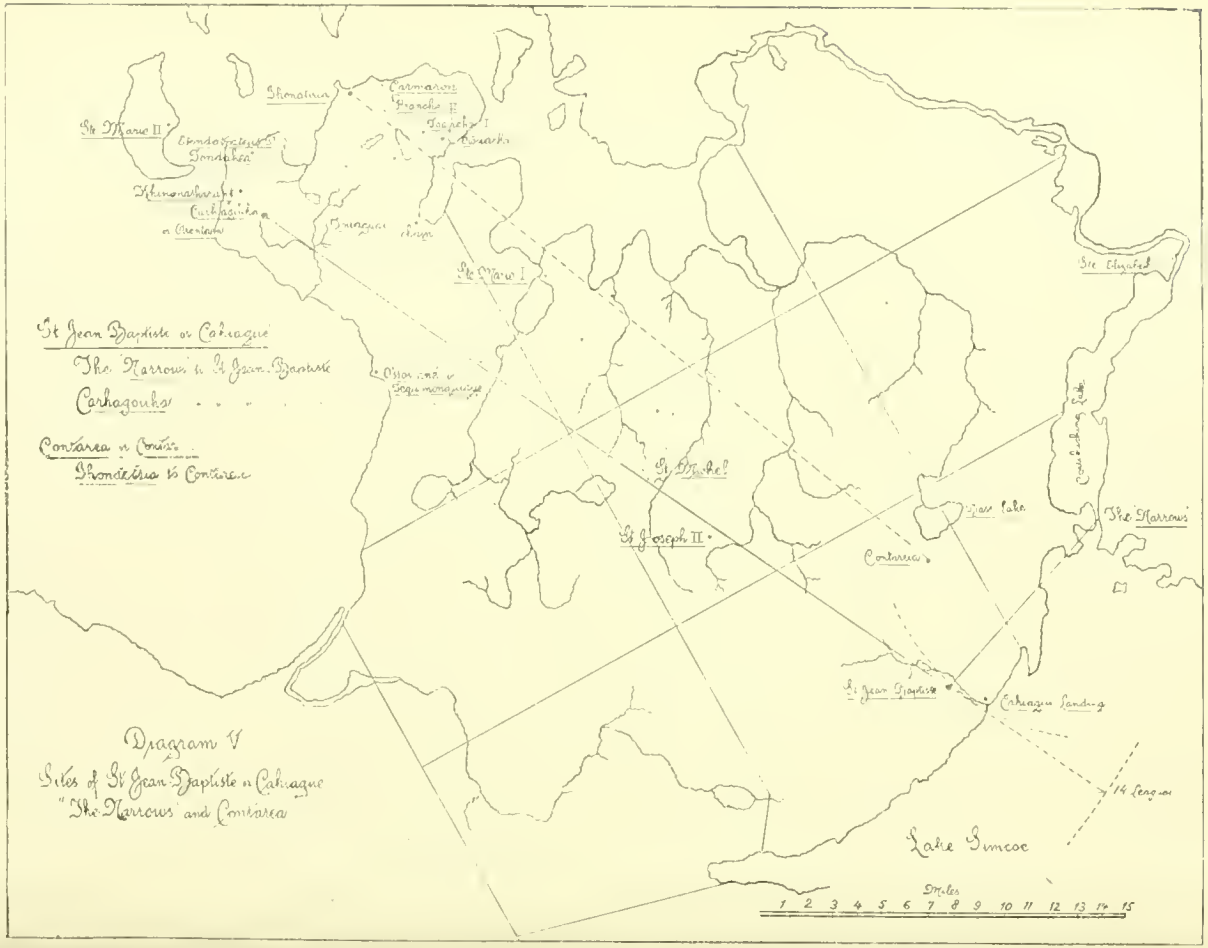


Diagram V.—Sites of St. Jean-Baptiste or Cahiague, "The Narrows" and Cahiague.

VI.

COUCHICHING, CHAMPLAIN'S "LITTLE LAKE."

Following the usual highway of those days, that is proceeding up the Ottawa and down French River, Champlain crossed Matchedash Bay and set foot in the country of the Attigouantans or Hurons. Here are some extracts from his journal:

Page 514. "We arrived at the country of the Attigouantans at a village called *Otoüacha*, this was on the first of August. . . . On the morrow (Aug. 2) I went to another village called *Carmaron*, about one league from the former (p. 27-515) . . . . The chief of the said village begged me to remain there, in this I could not yield to his wishes, so I returned to our village [*Otoüacha*]."

This much we have seen, and commented on, let us now follow him on his journey. . . . . "The next day (Aug. 3, 1615) I started for another place called *Touaguainchain* (p. 28-516), and to still another called *Tequenonquiaye* [St. Gabriel or *Ossossané*] in both of which we were most graciously received. . . . . Thence I had myself conducted to *Carhagouha*, inclosed by a triple palisade of timber thirty feet high, which served to defend and protect it. At this village Father Joseph [a Recollet] lived, and there we found him. . . . . Seeing that they of *Carhagouha* took so much time to get the bulk of their expeditionary force under way, I determined to journey on by short stages, from village to village, to *Cahiagué*, which was to be the trysting place for all the army; it lay 14 leagues from *Carhagouha* (29-517) . . . . and we set out on August 14, I and ten of my companions. I visited five of the principal villages, all inclosed in wooden stockades, while on my way to *Cahiagué*, the principal town of the Country, where there are two hundred rather large sized cabins. . . . . The whole of the country through which I passed overland is twenty or thirty leagues in extent" (p. 518).

Page 520. "On August 17, I arrived at *Cahiagué* . . . . (p. 522) we left the village [*Cahiagué*] on September 1, and passed on the shore of a little lake [Couchiching], three leagues distant from the said village. Here there are extensive fisheries. . . . . There is another lake [Simcoe] communicating with it which is 26 leagues in circumference, and it flows into the little one at the spot where the great fisheries mentioned are carried on by means

of a number of weirs which almost completely close the narrows, leaving only small openings where the nets are set, and in which the fish is taken. Both these lakes empty into the Mer Douce," *i.e.*, The Fresh Water Sea, Lake Huron.

It would be impossible to describe with greater precision and accuracy the relative size and position of these two lakes, the greater one, Lake Simcoe, flowing through the narrows at Orillia into the smaller one, Couchiching, and then emptying by way of the River Severn into Matchedash Bay, an inlet of Lake Huron.

But it is now the small lake and the narrows with which we are most concerned—the narrows at which even to the present day odd stakes of the old weir are drawn out of the ooze.

CAHIAGUÉ.

The "Narrows" at Couchiching Lake to Cahiagué.

I shall take up for discussion the latter part of the preceding quotation, the order the most convenient for my present purpose. "Nous passames," says Champlain, "sur le bord d'un petit lac distant du dit village [*Cahiagué*] de trois lieuës." Nothing could be clearer. The Little Lake, that is Couchiching, where the Fisheries were, was three leagues from *Cahiagué*. Consequently, when our explorer says "nous passames sur le bord d'un petit lac" he evidently does not mean that all his journey lay along the Little Lake; but after having travelled three leagues he passed along its shore and reached the spot "où il se fait de grandes pescheries." It stands to reason now, that if we wish to determine the spot where *Cahiagué* stood we must take for centre the shore at Orillia, and with a radius of nine miles describe our arc towards the west, for Champlain was coming down from the north-west, visiting in his zigzag course the five palisaded villages of the Hurons. This arc in its sweep downwards intersects the convex shore line of Lake Simcoe at the present village of Hawkestone, and somewhere along this curve the site of *Cahiagué* must be placed.

Carhagouha or Arontaen to Cahiagué.

Champlain's computation of the distance from *Carhagouha* to *Cahiagué* was forty-two miles: "ie me deliberay de m'en aller à petites iournées de village en village à *Cahiagué* . . . .distant de *Carhagouha* de quatorze lieuës" (Œuvres de Champlain, Tom.

Oro Township.
Map by Rev. A. E. Jones, S.J., Montreal.

IV., p. 29-517). He meant apparently as the crow flies, for on the following page (30-518) he adds, I must say a little ambiguously, "Tout ce pays où ie fus par terre contient quelque 20 à 30 lieuës." This may either refer to his circuitous journey ("où ie fus par terre") or to the whole stretch of the Huron country ("tout ce pays"). But what we have to deal with at present is the direct distance. Now, the very greatest measure across the Huron country is a line from north-west to south-east from Point Clover, better known now as Cedar Point, to the shore line of Lake Simcoe at Hawkestone, measuring at most thirty-eight and three-quarter miles, say forty in round numbers. It has been clearly shown, however, that *Carhagouha* lay a few miles to the south-east of Cedar Point. From *Carhagouha*, as already determined, to the same point on Lake Simcoe, the distance in a straight line is thirty-five and one-half miles. Were we to take as radius the full fourteen leagues of Champlain, otherwise forty-two miles, the two intersecting arcs would mark a point in Lake Simcoe some four and three-quarter miles from the shore. The mouth of Hawkestone Creek is consequently the site of the "port" or landing place of *Cahiagué*, and the remains of a Huron village have been found on the spot, which is thus described by Mr. Andrew F. Hunter in his monograph on Oro Township (p. 32): "On the west halves of lots 24 and 23, concession XII. [Oro]. This was a famous Indian landing-place at the outlet of Hawkestone Creek. . . . . William Hodges, the occupant, who has lived there since his birth in 1834, ploughed up some stone fire-beds, pottery fragments, iron tomahawks, etc. These were on the west side of the outlet of the creek. . . . . Similar remains have been found on the Capt. Davis farm, on the east side of the creek's outlet; and also at places nearer the creek itself."

Cahiagué itself lay a little inland and a shade west of the arc of the circle from the "Narrows." Lot 20, concession XI., of Oro, which I visited in May, 1899, and where I counted on finding some traces of the old Huron village, is covered with forest growth. This is on the high ground north of Hawkestone, and till the ground is cleared no satisfactory search can be made.

But of the adjoining farm, to the west, and just a little, as I said, beyond the reach of the arc from the "Narrows," Mr. Andrew F. Hunter, in the above mentioned monograph, p. 31, has this to say: "On the east half of lot 20, concession X, William Laughead. When Edward H. Allingham lived on this farm he found a few relics—a piece of a sword (rapier), two stone skinners, steel hunting knife, clay pipe—just enough to show occupation during the French period. The place is quite wet,

and apparently unfit for permanent habitation, etc." But it shows more, it shows the passage at least of French soldiery, and the rapier might very well have belonged to one of Champlain's companions.

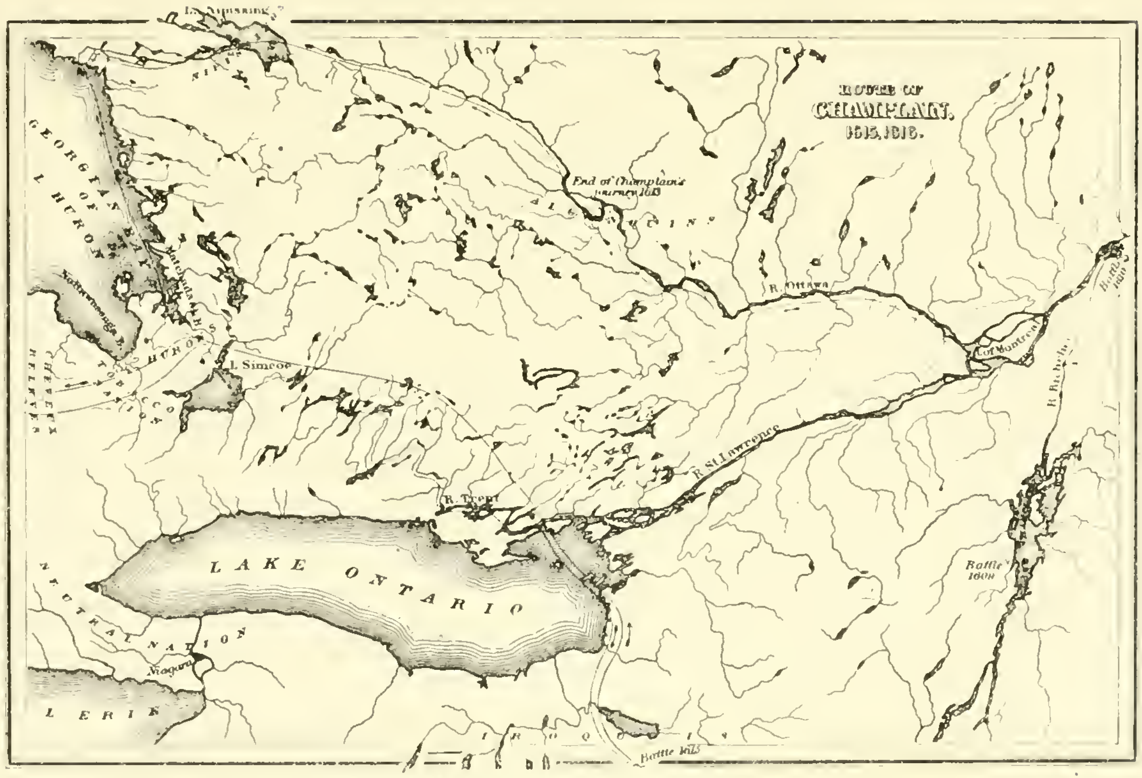
Cahiagué the same as St. Jean-Baptiste.

Recourse must again be had to the account of Champlain's diary. From it we glean that he sojourned longer among the inhabitants of *Cahiagué* than at any other town of the Huron country. In 1615, he spent ten days at *Carhagouha*, but remained at *Cahiagué* and its immediate vicinity from August 17 to September 10, without counting the time he spent there on his return from the Iroquois. In the Rel. 1640 (p. 90, 1 col.), Fr. Jérôme Lalemant, under the heading "De la mission de St. Jean-Baptiste aux Arendaronons," establishes the identity of *Cahiagué* with St. Jean-Baptiste: "The Arendaronons constitute one of the four nations which, strictly speaking, are called Huron. It is the most eastern of all. . . . . It is where the late Monsieur de Champlain sojourned the longest on the occasion of his journey up here some twenty-two years ago [more correctly twenty-five years ago], and where his great name is still a living remembrance in the minds of these barbarous tribes."

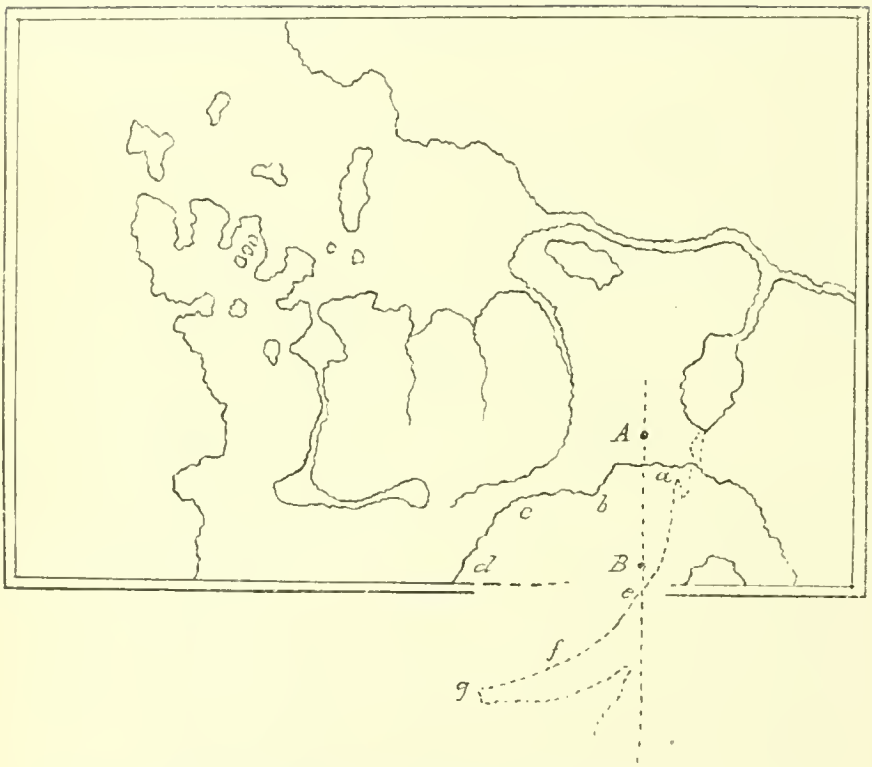
To corroborate this view, that of the identity of *Cahiagué* and St. Jean-Baptiste, it must be remembered that Champlain incidentally told us that *Cahiagué* was "le principal village du païs" (op. cit. p. 30-518), while Fr. Jérôme Lalemant (Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col.), speaking of the new mission among the Arendaronons, tells us "Ils [the Fathers] firent leur premiere demeure et la plus ordinaire dans le bourg le plus peuplé de S. Iean Baptiste, etc." Of course in a quarter of a century a Huron village could undergo great changes, but we have no hint given us anywhere that such had been the case with the great centre of population of the Rock Clan or Arendaronons. So it may safely be presumed that what was the most populous village in Champlain's time remained still the most populous in Jérôme Lalemant's time, in other words *Cahiagué* was no other than the St. Jean-Baptiste of the Relations.

St. Jean-Baptiste not on the very edge of Lake Simcoe.

And now that this fact may be looked upon as established, I wish to add that the supposition that *Cahiagué* lay a little inland, and as a consequence had a landing place, is not a gratuitous one



Parkman's Map of Champlain's Expedition in 1615.



Hawkestone, the Site of Ducreux's St. Jean Baptiste.

a, b, c, d. Incorrect concave shore-line of Lake Simcoe as given by Ducreux.
A. Ducreux's site of St. John Baptiste crowded to the north by the faulty shore-line.
a, e, f, g. Dotted line, showing the correct convex shore-line.
B. Position of Hawkestone, the site St. Jean Baptiste would occupy if moved south to about the same relative position from Lake Simcoe.
Map by Rev. Father Jones.

as evinced by a passage in the Relations dealing with St. Jean-Baptiste.

As was intimated by Champlain of *Cahiagué*, so also was St. Jean-Baptiste a palisaded town situated not far from a lake. The passage which I shall quote proves this, but proves also that one might be outside its line of fortifications and yet be at a certain distance from the lake shore, though that distance is not specified. The citation is taken from Relation 1640 (p. 92, 2 col.), and runs thus: "Certains supposts du diable confirmoient toutes ces médisances, asseurant auoir veu en songe des robes noires, maintenant hors la palissade du bourg, ores sur le bord du lac, qui déueloppoient de certains liures d'où sortoient des estincelles de feu, etc." "Some agents of the evil-one gave consistency to these calumnies by asserting that they had seen in their dreams black robes, now without the palisade of the town and anon on the lake shore, busied turning the leaves of certain books, whence sparks of fire shot out, etc." This is taken from a chapter entitled "On the Mission of St. Jean Baptiste among the Arendaronons" and refers to the slanders which gave rise to the sudden revulsion of feeling in the village with regard to the ministrations of the Fathers. They had been welcomed with the utmost cordiality when they first came to reside in the village, but this feeling, owing to the most silly rumours, had changed in a moment to distrust and bitter aversion.

In explanation of the quaint phraseology it would be well to add that the Fathers were reciting together their breviary, and as they turned the leaves the sun struck on the gilt edges, and the glinting rays, together with the movement of their lips, were taken by the superstitious red-men for spells and incantations.

The inference to be drawn is that since a distinction was clearly made between the precincts outside the ramparts and the borders of the lake, the town of St. Jean-Baptiste was situated a little inland, not far, since the fathers found it convenient to repair thither occasionally to recite their office.

With correct shore-line Hawkestone and St. Jean-Baptiste occupy about the same site.

Were there any doubt left as to St. Jean-Baptiste being none other than the former village of *Cahiagué*, a name which had gone entirely out of use since Champlain's time, and which we find nowhere mentioned in the Relations, a study of Duereux's map would convince the most incredulous. Remember first that the distances given by Champlain (fourteen leagues from *Carhagouha* and three from the smaller lake, *i.e.*, L. Couchiching), fix

beyond question the site of *Cahiagué* in the immediate vicinity of Hawkestone. Now, had Ducreux's Lake *Ouentaron* (Simcoe) been outlined as it should have been, that is with a convex instead of a concave shore line facing Lake Simcoe, and had he placed his "S. I. Baptistæ" neither further east nor west, but as near to the remodeled convex shore line as it is to the concave one, the village would stand, as near as can be computed, where Hawkestone is now situated, due south of the site of "S. I. Baptistæ," just about where the "a" is in *Ouentaronius*.

I shall quote but one more passage relative to St. Jean-Baptiste; it is taken from Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.: "Les Arendaenronnons, qui estoient à nos frontieres vers le costé de l'Orient, que nous appellions la Mission de Saint Iean Baptiste, ont receu tant d'eschecs ces dernieres années, qu'ils ont esté contrains de quitter leurs pays, trop exposé à l'ennemy, et se retirer dans les autres Bourgs plus pleuplez qui sont aussi de meilleure deéfense."

This migration took place either towards the close of 1647 or very early in 1648, for Fr. Ragueneau's prefatory letter bears the date of April 16, and the last facts recorded in the post-scriptum transpired May 11, 1648. The bulwark of the Huron villages had ceased to exist.

I should not have tarried so long in studying the position of St. Jean-Baptiste had it not been that both Father Martin and Parkman seem to have gone astray, the former in locating St. Jean-Baptiste, on one of his unpublished maps, on the southwestern outskirts of the present town of Orillia, and on a second map on Shingle Bay south of the town; while Parkman places St. Jean-Baptiste as far north as Washago and some five or six miles to the west of it. In this position it would be pretty close to the spot occupied on Ducreux's map by St. Elizabeth. For this reason I shall take up immediately the subject of St. Elizabeth's site, and point out a statement in the Relations which most probably misled him. As for Father Martin's site of St. Jean-Baptiste, holding as he did that it was one and the same with *Cahiagué* and *Contarea*, I shall defer speaking of it until treating separately of the latter Huron town.

STE. ELIZABETH.

On Ducreux's map "S. Elizabetha" is set down in what would now be the vicinity of Washago P. O., in the Township of North Orillia, a little to the south and west of that village. It may be observed that it is not marked, on the same map, like the other Indian villages, whose sites are indicated by a small circle,

but by what resembles a little chapel somewhat similar to that which marks the site of Ste. Marie I. on the Wye. This distinction must have had some special significance which might imply that there was a scattered mission in that region with no permanent village as its headquarters; or perhaps it was to indicate the intention of the Fathers of building later on the spot a permanent residence which might serve as a rallying centre for the wandering bands of the Algonquins, just what had been done at Ste. Marie I. for the more sedentary Hurons. This much is certain, Ste. Elizabeth was not a Huron but an Algonquin mission, undertaken for the benefit of the Atontrataronnons of the St. Lawrence valley. The other missions for the Algonquins were St. Esprit, for such as came to Huronia to winter from the eastern shore of Lake Huron and the Nipissing district, and St. Pierre for those of the north shore and Manitoulin Island.

It was not a permanent village, so we must not be misled when we see it, in conjunction with St. Joachim, termed a "bourg" (Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col., p. 94, 2 col.), for we are sufficiently put on our guard by what we are told in the Relation of 1644 (p. 100, 2 col.): "Les Iroquois qui se font craindre sur le grand fleuue de S. Laurent, et qui tous les hyuers depuis quelques années ont esté dans ces vastes forests à la chasse des hommes, ont fait quitter aux Algonquins qui habitoient les costes de ce fleuue, non seulement leur chasse, mais aussi leur païs, et les ont reduits cet hyuer à se ranger icy proche de nos Hurons pour y viure plus en asseurance; si bien que s'estant trouué vne bourgade entiere de ces pauures Nations errantes et fugitiues auprés du bourg de Sainct Iean Baptiste, nous nous sommes veus obligez de leur donner quelque assistance, et de ioindre pour cet effet au P. Antoine Daniel qui auoit soin de la Mission Huronne, dont i'ay parlé dans le Chapitre precedent, le P. René Menard, qui ayant suffisamment l'vsage de l'vne et l'autre langue, auoit en mesme temps le soin de cette Mission Algonquine, à laquelle nous auons donné le nom de Sainct Elizabeth.

"Dans ce ramas de peuples qui d'ordinaire n'ont point d'autre maison que les bois et les fleuues, il s'est trouué dix ou douze Chrestiens, etc."

This winter encampment in 1644 was near St. Jean-Baptiste, and the distance is given in 2 col. of the following page: " . . . . d'autres le venoient trouuer reglément tous les soirs et matins, quelque orage et tempeste qu'il y eust au plus fort de l'hyuer, quoy que ces cabanes Algonquines fussent esloignées du bourg de S. Iean Baptiste vn quart de lieuë de tres-mauuais chemin." The neighbourhood, however, seems to have been a favorite one for

their winter camping ground, for we read (Rel. 1640, p. 94, 2 col.) that four years previously the Algonquins had been near there: "Vn capitaine des Algonquins qui hiuernent à vn demy quart de lieuë d'ici, nous vient chercher en haste, etc." The "d'ici" refers to St. Jean-Baptiste, as may be seen by turning to the head of the chapter on page 90.

The incidents related in the passages from which I have quoted took place in 1640 and 1644. Ducreux's inset map, though draughted many years earlier, is dated 1660, and on it Ste. Elizabeth and St. Jean-Baptiste are set down at points very remote from each other. It would, therefore, be more in keeping with this fact to suppose that towards the close of the Huron Mission the wintering grounds for the bulk of these Algonquin wanderers were rather to the north than to the south of Lake Couchiching.

When Parkman placed St. Jean-Baptiste, on his map, as far north as Ste. Elizabeth is on Ducreux's, and some four or five miles west of the same site, he was no doubt influenced by the consideration that part of North Orillia was a rocky region, and that St. Jean-Baptiste was the great village of the "Nation of the Rock;" that, moreover, the territory of the Arendaronons was the most easterly portion of the Huron country. But, in all probability, the main reason was the statement in the Relations that the Algonquin "bourgade," in 1644, and St. Jean-Baptiste were but a quarter of a league apart. If it were this that really determined him, and I can find no other indication given bearing on the point, he followed Ducreux in one particular but departed from him in another. The position he assigns to St. Jean-Baptiste is indeed near Ducreux's Ste. Elizabeth, but more than the whole length of Lake Couchiching intervenes on Ducreux's map between Ste. Elizabeth and the site the latter marks as that of St. Jean-Baptiste.

In the first place, it should be remembered that there is no reason assigned in the Relations or elsewhere, as far as I am aware, for the appellation of "The Nation of the Rock" being applied to a particular branch of the Huron family. The word *ârenda* certainly means a rock. Potier (R. H. 1751, p. 292, 2 col.) translates it "rocher, roc;" but whether the word referred or not to some particular rock, or to a rocky country, or to the power of resisting attack, in the same sense that the name "Stonewall" was given to the Confederate general, we have no intimation. So that we can no more answer the question why the Arendaronons bore that name than if we were asked why one of the other nations was called "The Nation of the Cord." And, by the way, it will not

be uninteresting to note that the equivalent in Huron for cord (R. H. ib.) is also *arenda*, but without the circumflex.

Secondly, any site in the eastern part of Oro, or in North or South Orillia, would make of St. Jean-Baptiste the most easterly "bourgade" of the Huron country.

As for the last reason suggested, that is, the supposed proximity of Ste. Elizabeth to St. Jean-Baptiste, it can have little weight once the nature of the mission of Ste. Elizabeth has been well understood. The visiting Algonquins were placed under the patronage of that Saint, and wherever they settled down for the winter months, the spot necessarily became the centre of the mission of Ste. Elizabeth. But they were a restless, roving tribe at home, and they could be said to have been very little else when abroad. The Relation of 1642 (p. 93, 2 col.), hits off the character of this nomadic nation in a single paragraph: "C'est vne vie errante de gens dissipez ça et là, selon que la chasse et la peschе les meine, tantost dedans les bois, tantost sur les rochers, ou dans les Isles au milieu de quelque grand lac, tantost sur le bord des riuieres, sans toict, sans maison, sans demeure asseurée, ny sans recueillir rien de la terre, sinon ce qu'elle donne en vn Païs ingrat à ceux qui ne l'ont iamais cultiuée. Il faut suiure ces Peuples si on veut les rendre Chrestiens; mais comme ils se diuisent toujours, on ne peut se donner aux vns, qu'en s'éloignant des autres."

Thus the Relations themselves afford a solution to the apparent contradiction between their own statements that in 1640 and 1644 St. Jean-Baptiste and Ste. Elizabeth lay close to one another, and the fact that they are placed so widely apart by Ducreux. For in view of the roaming and inconstant habits of the Algonquin tribes, there is no inconsistency in maintaining the absolute correctness of the two sites (of St. Jean Baptiste and Ste. Elizabeth) given by Ducreux, provided we refer them to the last years the Fathers remained in Huronia, and in supposing that in previous years the mission centre of Ste. Elizabeth was the camping ground described as being close to the Arendaronon village of St. Jean-Baptiste in the vicinity of Hawkestone.

CONTAREA.

There are three distinct spellings given of this name in the Relations: Contarrea, Relation 1636, p. 94, 2 col., and p. 111, 2 col.; Kontarea, Rel. 1642, p. 74, 1 col.; and Contareia, Rel. 1656, p. 10, 1 col.

Two erroneous notions entertained by some authors must be dispelled before any attempt is made to determine its exact position. Not a few have fancied that it should be set down on the maps in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lacus *Contarea* of Ducreux, while others have imagined that *Contarea* was but another name for *Cahiagué* or St. Jean-Baptiste.

Contarea was not in the neighbourhood of Ducreux's lake of that name.

The "Lacus *Contarea*," set down on Ducreux's map, is indeed liable to mislead the chartographer by suggesting that vicinity as the most likely region wherein to locate the site of the village of that name. The appellation is generally taken as designating Lake Semple, owing to its position on the map. We have here another instance where etymology can be of great assistance to us.

In R. H. 1751, p. 295, Potier gives *Ontara*, a noun, with the meaning a lake, a sea, and we find a note by him (Gr., p. 156, 2 col.), wherein he tells us that the Hurons called all lakes indifferently *Ontare*, with one exception: "Ils appellent ainsi tous les lacs à l'exception du lac Supérieur qu'ils nomment *OkSateenende;*" while elsewhere (Gr., p. 60) he renders the word *Ontare*, taken singly and impersonally, "il y a un lac." Among the adverbs of place (Gr., p. 85), I find *Xa*, hic, huc, hac, hinc, ibi." Using it as a prefix, we have *Xontare*, signifying "There is a lake there," or "Where there is a lake," and which very naturally would have been printed in the Relations not with the Greek *X*, but with a C or a K. Compounding, now, the latter word with the second root *ea*, water (R.H., p. 294, 2 col.), the result is *Kontare-ea*, *Contarea*. "There is a watery lake there," or "Where there is, etc." This would sound very absurd in English, but the redundancy is quite in keeping with the genius of the Huron language: "Junguntur aliquando," says Potier (Gr., p. 80), "duo verba idem significantia."

Should we wish to reach the form *Contareia*, found in Rel. 1656 (p. 10, 1 col.), we have but to add to *Contarea* the diminutive termination *aïa* (Rad. Hur., 1751, p. 1), and we have *Contarea-aïa*, or *Contareia*, "There is a little lake there," or "Where there is, etc."

Therefore, from the mere fact that we find a lake "*Contarea*" marked somewhere on the map, we are not to conclude that a village bearing a similar name should occupy contiguous ground, especially when the etymology of the word shows it to be of so

generic a character that it might be applied to every lake. "Lacus *Contarea*," in fact, is very much the same thing as "Lake Lacus."

In any case, *Contarea* did not lie in the vicinity of "Lacus *Contarea*," for, in Rel. 1642, p. 74, 1 col., it is said to be the "principal bulwark of the country": "Les Hurons eurent cet Hyuer vne veritable crainte, en suite d'vne fausse alarme qui leur estoit venuë, qu'vne armée d'Iroquois estoit sur le point d'enleuer le bourg de *Kontarea*, principal boulevard du Païs. Ceux de la Conception [*Ossossanë*] nous firent demander si nous ne les Baptiserions pas tous lorsque l'Ennemy paroistroit, etc." Now, there was no village lying so near Ste. Marie I. which, at that date, could in any sense be termed "the bulwark of the country." Nor was there question of La Conception (*Ossossané*), which in fact was strongly fortified, as it is mentioned in the same breath as distinct from *Kontarea*; while on Ducreux's map, Lacus *Contarea* is a long way from the site he marks as that of La Conception. To be styled the principal bulwark of the country, the town should have been situated somewhere along the frontier most exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois. Two Huron strongholds alone could, at the time the Relation was written, lay claim to that dangerous distinction, *Teanaostaiaë* (St. Joseph II.) and St. Jean-Baptiste, unless there was a third, by name *Contarea*, quite distinct from those mentioned.

But apart from this reasoning, we have it very expressly stated that *Contarea* was the last of the Huron towns, and a day's journey from the Nation of the Bear, among which the Fathers were residing in 1636: "Ie n'ay que faire de parler du danger qu'il y a du costé des ennemis, c'est assez de dire que le treiziesme de ce mois de Iuin ils ont tué douze de nos Hurons auprés du village de *Contarrea*, qui n'est qu'à vne iournée de nous" (Rel. 1636, p. 94, 2 col.).

A parallel passage, relating the same fact, may be found on page 92, 2 col. of the same Relation, giving identically the same date, but not mentioning the name of the village: "Le treiziesme du mesme mois (*i.e.*, June, see foot of col. 1), nous eusmes nouuelle qu'vne troupe de Hurons, qui s'en alloient en guerre et s'estoient cabanez à la portée d'vn mousquet du dernier village, à vne iournée de nous, apres auoir passé pres de deux nuicts à chanter et à manger, furent surpris d'vn si profond sommeil, que l'ennemy suruenant en fendit la teste à douze sans resistance, le reste se sauua à la fuite."

In both these passages there is question of *Contarea* which, consequently, was far removed from the "Lacus *Contarea*," a

day's journey, and the most advanced outpost of the Hurons towards the enemy. But how conciliate this with the statement, relative to St. Joseph or *Teanaostaiaë*, contained in Rel. 1641 (p. 74, 2 col.): "Arriuez qu'ils furent à S. Ioseph ou *Teanaustajae*, dernier bourg des Hurons, où ils deuoient faire leurs prouisions pour leur voyage et trouuer des guides pour le chemin, etc."?

The two statements do not conflict one with the other. In the latter citation from Rel. 1641, there is question of two Fathers who on November 2, 1640, set out for the Neutral Nation. In the same chapter from which I have just quoted (p. 71), it is said: "Cette Nation [the Neutral] est grandement peuplée: l'on y compte enuiron quarante bourgs ou bourgades. Partant de nos Hurons pour arriuer aux premiers et plus proches, on chemine quatre ou cinq iournées, c'est à dire enuiron quarante lieuës, tirant tousiours droit au Sud." The Fathers were travelling due south, and *Teanaostaiaë* was the last town towards the south. No village lay further south then in all the stretch of country through which the Nottawasaga River flows.

But this was not the direction in which *Contarea* lay. The villages of the Arendaronons, or Nation of the Rock, lay all towards the east or south-east-by-east of the Bear Nation. (Rel. 1640, p. 90, 1 col.): "Les Arendaronons font vne des quatre nations qui composent ceux qu'à proprement parler on nomme Hurons: elle est la plus Orientale de toutes . . . . (2 col.) Cette alliance si particuliere [dating from Champlain's time] que ces peuples Arendaronons ont auec les François nous auoit souuent donné la pensée de leur aller communiquer les richesses de l'Euangile, mais le deffaut de langue nous auoit tousiours empeschés de pousser iusques là, nous estans trouuez engagez de premier abord à nostre premiere demeure, qui estoit située à l'autre extremité du pays tout opposée.

"Cette année nous estant trouuez assez forts pour cette entreprise, nous y auons commencé vne mission, qui a eu dans son ressort trois bourgs: de S. Iean Baptiste, de S. Ioachim, et de Saincte Elizabeth. Les Peres Antoine Daniel et Simon le Moine en ont eu le soin.

"Ils firent leur premiere demeure et la plus ordinaire dans le bourg plus peuplé [of the three mentioned] de S. Iean Baptiste."

So that we must look for *Contarea* towards the eastern extremity of the Huron Country, in the very opposite direction to the territory of the Bear Nation.

The next passage I shall quote, and which refers to *Contarea* by name, is to be found in Rel. 1636 (p. 111, 2 col.): "Cét

hyuer dernier, il s'en fit vn (of the feasts described in the chapter) au village d'*Andiata* de vingt-cinq chaudieres, où il y auoit cinquante grands poissons, qui valent bien nos plus grands Brochets de France, et six vingts autres de la grandeur de nos Saulmons. Il s'en fit vn autre à *Contarrea*, de trente chaudieres, où il y auoit vingt Cerfs et quatre Ours: aussi y a-t-il ordinairement bonne compagnie; les huict et neuf villages y seront souuent inuitez, et mesme tout le Païs, etc."

I know of only one other explicit mention of *Contarea* in the Relations, and it occurs as late as 1656, long after Huronia had been laid waste. In the Relation of that year (p. 10, 1 col.), an account is rendered of the ministrations of the missionaries among the Hurons who were held captives in the country of the Onondagas: "Le Pere entend les Confessions, instruit ces pauures gens qui n'auoient pas ouï parler de Dieu depuis leur captiuité. Les Hurons du village de *Contarcia*, qui n'auoient iamais esté instruits, pour ce qu'ils auoient de grandes auersions de la Foy, ont déjà commencé à se rendre, prestant l'orielle auec attention aux discours du Pere: tant il est vray que *afflictio dat intellectum.*"

Consequently the town of *Contarea* was very far removed from the lake of that name.

The Village of Contarea was quite distinct from St. Jean-Baptiste otherwise Cahiagué.

"Les Hurons du Village de *Contareia* n'auoient iamais esté instruits." It was this statement, so irreconcilable with what is said of St. Jean-Baptiste, that first shook my faith in the theory that it and *Contarea* were one, and all but convinced me that it was really quite distinct from all the other villages whose names have become familiar to us through the Relations. The Fathers had, indeed, visited frequently and had carried on their instructions in all the most populous villages: *Arontaen, Ossossanē* (Conception), *Scanonaenrat* (St. Michel), *Teanaostaiaë* (St. Joseph II.), *Taenhatentaron* (St. Ignace I.), and even St. Jean-Baptiste. In several of them they had had fixed residences, at least for a time. All this is absolutely certain, while the formal statement, cited above, is not to be explained away by saying that the writer of the Relation of 1656 was misinformed. It was Chaumonot himself who met and instructed these Hurons of *Contarea*, prisoners among the Onondagas, the same who, in 1642, had evangelized the village of St. Jean-Baptiste among the Hurons.

But on the other hand (to put in the strongest terms the weightiest objection), it seems incredible, if *Contarea*, had had a

separate existence, and could have been termed, as we have seen above, "le principal boulevard du pays," that it should never have been deemed worthy of mention save in the few passages quoted. The Fathers would certainly have paid it a visit, else they would have left some record of their reasons for not going there.

How thoroughly the country was canvassed in the interests of religion will appear from the following extract taken from the Relation of 1640 (p. 61, 2 col., p. 62, 1 col.), which gives us at the same time an idea of how the Christian names, so to speak, of the Indian villages originated. The Fathers parcelled out their work, allotting to each band of missionaries its field of labour: "On auoit fait pendant l'Esté vne ronde presque par tout,* pour pouruoir au plus pressé, et prendre quelque cognoissance de la disposition des esprits. Dans cette course on donna le nom de quelque Sainct à tous les bourgs et villages qu'on rencontra, ce qui depuis dans les missions d'hyuer a esté acheué, dans la pensée que si iamais Dieu donnoit benediction à nos petits trauaux, et que l'on vint à dresser vne Eglise ou Chapelle en ces lieux, elles seroient erigées en l'honneur du Sainct dont on imposoit le nom.

"En suite nous auons eu le moyen de faire le denombrement non seulement des bourgs, et bourgades, mais aussi des cabanes, des feux, et mesme à peu près des personnes de tout le pays, n'y ayant autre moyen de prescher l'Evangile en ces contrées qu'au foyer de chaque famille, dont on a taſché de n'obmettre pas vne. Il se trouue dans ces cinq missions [the fifth was that of the Tobacco Nation] trente-deux tant bourgs que bourgades, qui comprennent en tout enuiron sept cens cabanes, de feux enuiron deux mille, et enuiron douze mille personnes."

In 1641 two new missions were added, one Huron, the other Algonquin, and the Fathers were able to say (Rel. 1641, p. 60, 2 col.): "Nous voila donc incontinent après distribuez en sept missions, où on a presché et publié le Royaume de Dieu à seize ou dix-sept mille Barbares de diuerses nations. Il n'y a eu bourg ny bourgade, cabane ny feu *où on a pû aborder*, où on ne se soit acquitté de sa fonction, etc."

The work here described seems to have been very painstaking and thorough, and whether this census was absolutely correct or not matters little: one thing is certain, no "bourg" was overlooked since the missionaries affirm that they endeavored to omit not even one family.

A seemingly well warranted conclusion from what precedes would be that *Contarea*, mentioned four or five years previously

*"Almost everywhere." Consequently some places were not visited.

in the Rel. 1636 (p. 111, 2 col.) as sufficiently important to give a feast to the whole country-side, a kind of barbecue, with its thirty great kettles hung high, in which were stewing twenty stags and four bears, and the *Kontarea* of 1642, which is described as "le principal bouleuard du Païs," must have figured somewhere in this census.

In other words, if not appearing in the enumeration of the great Huron villages under its Indian appellation, *Contarea* must have been mentioned under its Christian name.

All the great towns or important centres rejoiced in a twofold appellation: *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I.; *Ossossanë* or La Conception; *Scanonaenrat* or St. Michel; *Taenhatentaron* or St. Ignace I.; *Teanaostaiaë* or St. Joseph II. One important town alone, which was palisaded and near a lake, has to go abegging for an Indian name. Similarly, *Contarea*, the principal bulwark of the country, whose very name suggests the proximity to some lake or lakes, is in equal penury for a Christian equivalent. Nothing more natural, then, than to assume that *Contarea* was the Indian name for St. Jean-Baptiste, and that St. Jean-Baptiste was the Christian name for *Contarea*. Father Martin was of this opinion.

The strongest reason which militates against this conclusion, and I think it will be found unanswerable, is drawn from the statement made in the Rel. 1658 (p. 10, 1 col.), concerning the captive Hurons of *Contareia*, when taken in conjunction with a hitherto unexplained event recorded in Rel. 1644 (p. 69, 1 col.). This event was nothing less than the complete wiping out by the Iroquois of a Huron village, whose name is not given, but which was remarkable especially for its impiety.

The date of this occurrence is important and not easy to determine off-hand. The account, as I said, is contained in Rel. 1644 (p. 69, 1 col.), and begins with these words: "Scarcely had I completed the preceding Relation when, etc." This Relation is prefaced by two letters, the first of which is by Fr. Bartholomew Vimont, Quebec, Sept. 1, 1644, setting forth that as the first copy of the Relation "of last year" coming from the Huron Mission had fallen into the hands of the Iroquois, and that as the second had reached Quebec too late to catch the last ships sailing for France, he sends "this year" (1644) the Relation of "last year" (1643), together with a fresh letter (of 1644) from the same Mission. This explains why in the Relation 1643, as printed, there is no separate account of what took place among the Hurons that year. The real Relation of the Huron Mission for 1643 is embodied in the printed Relation of 1644, from p. 68

to page 105; while what follows, in the form of a letter, dated March 31, 1644, is all that we have from the Huron Mission in the latter year.

The second prefatory letter (p. 68) from Fr. Jérôme Lalemant, dated Sept. 21, 1643, is the real opening of the Huron Relation of that year, and the title is given correctly between the two prefatory letters: "Depuis le mois de Ivin, 1642, iusques av mois de Ivin de l'année 1643." So that "Scarcely had I completed the preceding Relation" should be made to read "Scarcely had I completed the Relation of 1642." The date of the latter was June 10 (Rel. 1642, p. 55). It will be remembered that it was in this Relation (1642, p. 74, 1 col.) that the false alarm of an attack on *Contarea*, in the winter of 1641-1642, is mentioned. The alarm turned out to be well grounded, for *Contarea* was utterly destroyed soon after the date of the Relation of 1642, that is, after June 10 of that year.

Now that we have ascertained the correct date of the event, June or July, 1642, let us see what the Relations have to say of the nameless town, in which no one can fail to recognize, from the character given of the inhabitants, the ill-fated *Contarea*.

Rel. 1644, p. 69, 1 col. (but in reality Relation of 1643): "A peine auois-ie terminé la precedente Relation, qu'vne troupe de barbares Iroquois, ayant surpris vne de nos bourgades frontieres, n'y pardonna à aucun sexe, non pas mesme aux enfans, et reduisit le tout en feu, à la reserue d'vne vingtaine de personnes, qui trouuant iour au milieu de ces flammes et des fléches ennemies, nous vint apprendre en mesme temps leur ruine, que la venuë de cet orage, qui disparut auant le leuer du soleil. C'estoit le bourg le plus impie et le plus reuolté contre les veritez de la foy de toutes ces contrées, et qui plus d'vne fois auoit dit aux Peres qui les alloient instruire, que si tant est qu'il y eust vn Dieu vengeur des crimes, ils le défioient de leur faire sentir son courroux, et qu'à moins que cela ils refusoient de recognoistre son pouuoir."

This explains fully what is said in Rel. 1656, that the Huron Captives from the village of *Contarea* had never been instructed as they entertained an intense aversion for the faith, and establishes as a fact the separate existence of *Contarea* as a village. Nowhere, in fact, in the Relations do I find mention of *Contarea* as still existing after the subversion of the nameless town recorded in Rel. 1644 (or correctly 1643); while the town of St. Jean-Baptiste is expressly mentioned in the same relation, page 99, 2 col., and again on page 101, 2 col., and a still more formal mention occurs in Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.: "Des sept Eglises que nous auons icy, il y en a six à demeure [with residences, I suppose].

La premiere en nostre Maison de saincte Marie, les cinq autres dans les cinq principales bourgades des Hurons: de la Conception, de sainct Ioseph, de sainct Michel, de sainct Ignace et de sainct Iean Baptiste, etc." Nothing consequently can be clearer than that the town of *Contarea* was indeed quite distinct from St. Jean-Baptiste or *Cahiagué*.

From Ihonatiria to Contarea.

What now remains is to ascertain as well as we can the position of *Contarea*.

Contarcia, the form used by the Relation of 1656, means, as we have seen, "at the little lake." The only small lakes sufficiently removed from *Ihonatiria* to be a day's journey distant are Little Lake near Barrie and Bass Lake near Price's Corners. A site near the former seems to be excluded by the fact so clearly stated that *Teanaostaiaë* was the last Huron village on the way to the Neutral Nation. The only alternative left would be the vicinity of Bass Lake; or perhaps Couchiching itself might have been styled Little Lake, (as it was by Champlain) with reference to the larger body of water of Lake Simcoe. In any case, everything would seem to point to a more easterly position than St. Jean-Baptiste.

Let us turn now to something more positive which I have already quoted, but incidentally. Brébeuf is the author of the Huron Relation of 1636, which is dated from *Ihonatiria*, July 16 of that year (R. 1636, p. 139, 2 col.). On page 94, 2 col., of the Relation in question he writes: "It would be quite superfluous to mention the danger threatening us on the part of our enemies, suffice it to say that on the thirteenth of this month they killed twelve of our Hurons near the village of *Contarea*, which is but one day's journey from us," that is *Ihonatiria*.

What the missionaries looked upon as one day's journey we may gather from a passage in Rel. 1641 (p. 71, 2 col.): "On chemine quatre ou cinq iournées, c'est-à-dire enuiron quarante lieuës." Were the journey made in four days ten leagues would be covered in one day; were it made in five, then eight leagues would be gone over. So that *Contarea* lay eight or ten leagues south-east of *Ihonatiria*.

In the Township of Oro three-quarters of a mile south of Bass Lake and about five miles and a quarter from the shores of Lake Couchiching, where Orillia now stands, there is an extensive village site which Mr. Andrew F. Hunter thus describes in his monograph on Oro (p. 25, No. 38):

"On the west half of lot 7, concession XIII. The late Donald Buchanan, sr., was the first settler here, many years ago, and in early years began to find evidences of aboriginal occupation. His son Donald is the present (1903) occupant of the farm, and another son, Frank Buchanan, has also paid close attention to the remains of the aborigines found here. Considerable remains of a town or village have been found, and, like the other sites hereabout, it was evidently connected with the fishery at the neighboring Bass Lake. The site was seven or eight acres altogether, on a raised plateau, which includes the present dwelling-house and farm buildings. In the garden of the original dwelling, beside a pond, there were thick deposits of ashes with relics and fragments. A few European beads and iron tomahawks have been found, but not in any great quantity. A few human bones have also been found. Dr. Bawtree of Penetanguishene made an archæological visit here in 1848, or earlier, and obtained pipes, etc. There is a group of artificial holes (probably empty caches or empty single graves) on the higher ground southward of the site, but on the same farm. In consequence of the proximity of Bass Lake, fish bones have been found in the debris at this site in great quantities. This is an important site, and I have concluded that it represents the earlier position of the "capital" of the Rock Nation of Hurons (Arendarronons), and was probably the town visited by Champlain and called *Cahiagué*. My reasons for this view will be found in the Introduction."

I am in perfect agreement with Mr. Hunter, inasmuch as he considers this the site of one of the great villages of the Arendaronons, but, of course, not that it was the spot where *Cahiagué* stood for the reasons given above; and much less could I bring myself to see in Bass Lake the Little Lake of Champlain, as Mr. Hunter does in his Introduction (p. 10). That the little lake of the great explorer, and the only little lake he mentions in this vicinity, was no other than Couchiching is placed beyond the shadow of doubt by the details Champlain himself gives: "[Nous] passames sur le bord d'vn petit lac, distant du dit village [*Cahiagué*] de trois lieuës, où il se fait de grandes pescheries de poisson, qu'ils conseruent pour l'hyuer. Il y a vn autre lac tout ioignant, qui a 26. lieuës de circuit, descendant dans le petit par vn endroit où se fait la grande pesche du dit poisson, par le moyen de quantité de pallissades, qui ferment presque le destroit, y laissant seulement de petites ouuertures où ils mettent leurs filets, où le poisson se prend, & ces deux lacs se deschargent dans la mer douce." (Œuvres IV., 254-910.) Which means that there was a large lake twenty-six leagues in circumference near a little one (tout ioign-

ant) and which flowed into the little lake (descendant dans le petit) at the fishing place at the narrows. Lines of stakes were so arranged as to leave in the flow at the narrows small apertures only, where the nets were set and the fish taken, and both these lakes emptied into Lake Huron.

There is nothing in all this applicable to Bass Lake and everything to Lake Couchiching.

While on this topic, it will not be out of place to add that the lake furthermost east, on Ducreux's map*, and north of L. Ouentaronius (L. Simcoe) can be no other than L. Couchiching. It surely ought not to be mistaken for Bass Lake for the reason that Bass Lake empties through North River into the same bay as the Coldwater and mingles with the waters of the latter at its very mouth, while no such lake nor river is marked on Ducreux's map. But the river which is marked makes the fifth principal stream, counting from the west, just as does the Severn, and the spacing between their outflows is similar.

Again, if we take in with the eye, on a modern map, the shape and proportions of the region bounded by L. Couchiching, the Severn and the Coldwater, and compare it with that included between the lake in debate, the river that carries its outflow, and the fourth stream (from the west) on Ducreux, its proportional expanse and configuration will be found to be very much the same. This is a matter of visual discernment in which I am confident no draughtsman could go astray.

Moreover, the trend of the long lake on Ducreux (out of all proportion greater than Bass Lake, were it marked on the map like Lacus Anaouites, its equal in size) is perceptibly north-east, and the river that receives its waters flows to the north-west and discharges at *Chionkiara*, a point much to the north of what might be called Coldwater Bay. And just as the Severn is a much more copious and ample stream than the other four rivers running northward through Huronia, so is the corresponding river of Ducreux's map marked with much greater width. Then, from the point of its outlet, the coast line of greater Matchedash Bay runs due north-west, leaving no room for any other outlet to the east. Why? because Ducreux was setting down the very last stream to the east.

Similarly, if we consider the eastern shore of L. Ouentaronius (Simcoe Lake) on Ducreux's map, we shall indeed find no room further east wherein to locate L. Couchiching if the one marked be not that lake, for the eastern shore swerves sharply towards the south-east.

*See Decreux, p. 6.

Now to offset all this the one only adverse reason would be that the cartographer, or more likely the engraver, has failed to outline the junction of the two lakes, an unpardonable oversight, but one readily accounted for by the long drawn out inscription of "S. I. Baptistæ" covering the ground, and which, as it were, bars the way.

I regret this long digression, and return with relief to the consideration of the site, the Buchanan Farm, west half lot 7, concession XIII., Oro. Brébeuf told us that *Contarea* was but one day's journey "de nous," which would mean either from *Ihonatiria*, whence he wrote, or the region of the Bear Nation, where the Fathers were then labouring. One day's journey was equivalent to eight or ten leagues. Now the Buchanan Farm lies exactly thirty miles from *Ihonatiria* and twenty-four from *Ossossané*, the capital of the Bear Country. Here, then, I mark *Contarea*, three-quarters of a mile south of Bass Lake and five miles and a quarter from the Couchiching shore line at Orillia.

VII.

ST. IGNACE I. OR TAENHATENTARON.

St. Joseph II. or Teanaostaiaë to St. Ignace I.

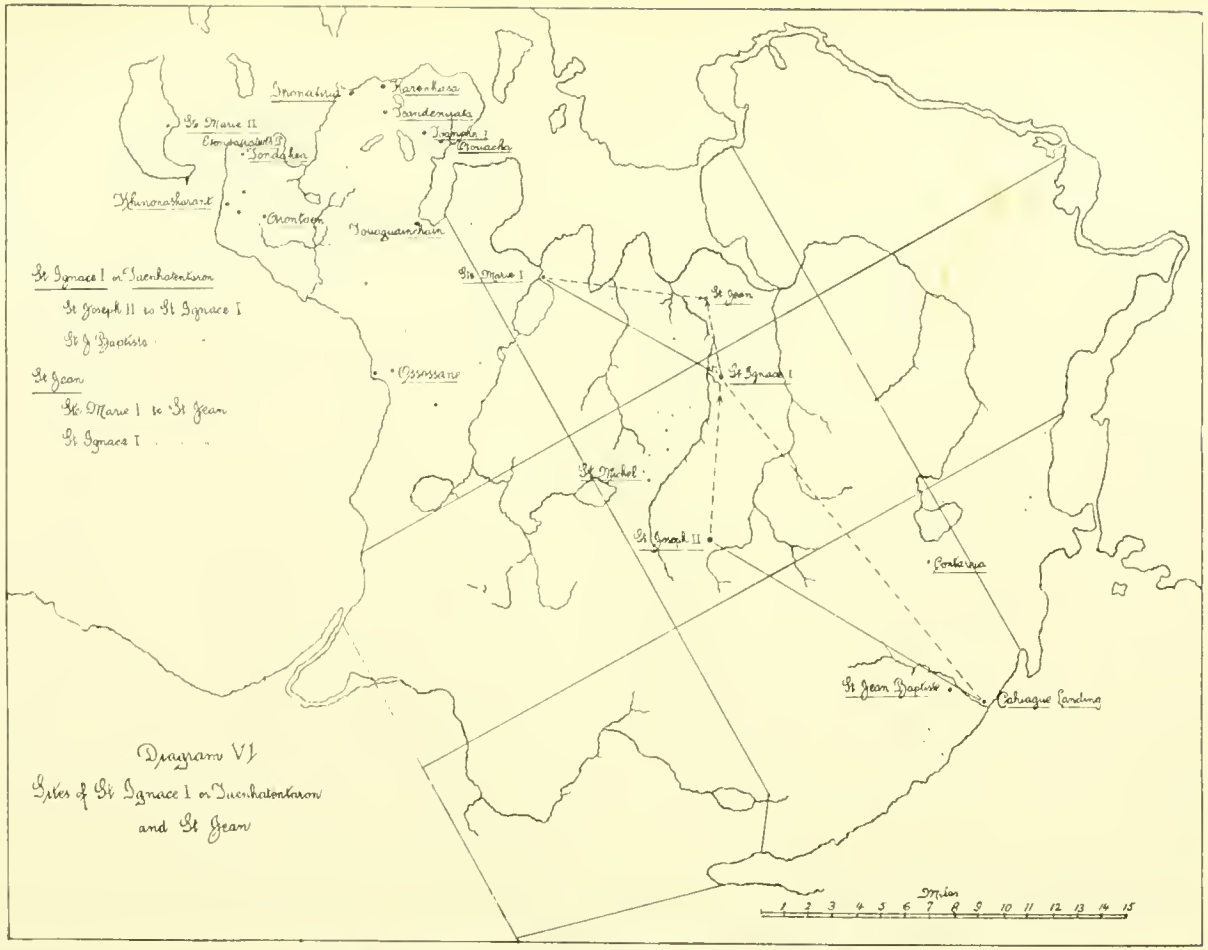
St. Jean-Baptiste to St. Ignace I.

ST. JEAN.

St. Jean quite distinct from St. Jean-Baptiste.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Jean.

St. Ignace I. to St Jean.



Sites of St. Ignace I. or Taenhatentaron and St. Jean.
Diagram VI. By Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S.J., Montreal.

VII.

ST. IGNACE I. OR TAENHATENTARON.

All writers on the subject seem to be agreed on one point with regard to Ducreux's inset map, and that is that its geography refers to a much earlier date than 1660. To say nothing of the total evacuation of Huronia in 1650, St. Joseph II. or *Teanaostaiaë*, which was destroyed July 4, 1648, is marked on it as still existing. St. Jean-Baptiste, which was abandoned towards the close of 1647, or very early in 1648, is also set down. *Contarea*, however, which was utterly ruined by the Iroquois soon after June 10, 1642, finds no place on the map, so I should say that this inset map delineates Huronia as it was during the years that elapsed between the summer of 1642 and that of 1648. But as St. Ignace appears on the map it must necessarily be the St. Ignace of that period, consequently St. Ignace I. or *Taenhatentaron*, whose removal took place not earlier than Feb., 1648, nor later than the middle of April of the same year.

A glance at the inset map shows this St. Ignace I. very distinctly marked on the east side of the third river, counting from the west, which is the present Sturgeon River. So that if the measures of distance given, when followed rigorously, should tend to displace it they should be shortened or lengthened a little so as to maintain it in its position as given by Ducreux.

St. Joseph II. or Teanaostaiaé to St. Ignace I.

It was about two leagues from St. Joseph II. or *Teanaostaiaé* to St. Ignace I. or *Taenhatentaron*: "Le 30 de Nouembre, iour de saint André, vn de nos Peres estant allé au Bourg de *Taenhatentaron*, que nous auons surnommé de sainct Ignace [I.], esloigné d'enuiron 2. lieuës de celuy de la Residence de sainct Ioseph [II.] il y baptiza vn ieune enfant, etc." (R. 1639, p. 74, 2 col.) At the date of the Relation, the Residence of St. Joseph was at the village of *Teanaostaiaé*, otherwise St. Joseph II. This is evident from the heading of the chapter on page 66 of the same Relation.

ST. JEAN-BAPTISTE OR CAHIAGUÉ TO ST. IGNACE I.

Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace I.) was, moreover, six leagues from St. Jean-Baptiste. Rel. 1644 (more correctly 1643), p. 99, at the opening of the chapter "De la Mission de Sainct Iean Baptiste aux Arendaronnons": "Le Pere Antoine Daniel a continué dans le soin de cette Mission, qui cette année a eu dans son ressort les bourgs de S. Iean Baptiste et de S. Ioachim, et vn troisiesme esloigné d'enuiron six lieuës, qui porte le nom de S. Ignace (I.)." The distance is taken from Fr. Daniel's headquarters, which that year were at St. Jean-Baptiste. This new departure was spoken of already in 1640 (p. 90, 2 col.): "Cette année nous estant trouuez assez forts pour cette entreprise, nous y auons commencé vne mission, qui a eu dans son ressort trois bourgs: de S. Iean Baptiste, de S. Ioachim, et de Saincte Elizabeth. Les Peres Antoine Daniel et Simon le Moine en ont eu le soin. Ils firent leur premiere demeure et la plus ordinaire dans le bourg plus peuplé de S. Iean Baptiste, y ayant plus à trauailler."

It will be remarked that both these converging distances are given as "about two leagues," "about six leagues," "enuiron deux lieuës," "enuiron six lieuës," and not rigorously, two or six.

Taking St. Joseph II. as centre for our radius of two leagues, or six miles, we find that the arc strikes the Sturgeon River at lot 21, concession VII., Medonte. And with a radius of six leagues, having for centre the landing of St. Jean-Baptiste, the arc described intersects the Sturgeon River on lot 24, concession VIII., Medonte, leaving a distance of about a mile and a half between the points where the two arcs intersect the stream. A farm exactly half way between these points is thus catalogued by Mr. Andrew F. Hunter: "On the east half of lot 22, concession 8 (Medonte). Wm. Greatrix. This site is beside a stream that flows into the Sturgeon River, and appears to have been that of a village of some importance. Iron tomahawks and other relics have been found at it." (Sites of Medonte, 1902, p. 88, No. 42.)

This site stands seventeen and a quarter miles from St. Jean-Baptiste landing, and six and three-quarters from St. Joseph II. or *Teanaoştaiaé*, which tallies well with the distance given, of about two and about six leagues respectively.

ST. JEAN.

This village appears to have had no Indian name, at least there is none identified with it in the Relations. Ducreux places

his "S. Joannis" east of Sturgeon River and not very far from its mouth. This assures us of the direction in which it lay with regard to Ste. Marie I.

St. Jean was a village quite distinct from St. Jean-Baptiste. This assertion may seem altogether superfluous. However, the compiler of the general index to the three volumes of the Quebec edition of the Relations omits all mention of St. Jean, and on page 38 of the same index refers to St. Jean-Baptiste what is said of St. Jean on pages 70, 72, of Rel. 1640.

Chapter V., however, of this Relation (p. 70) treats of the Mission of "Ste. Marie aux Ataronchronons," and we are there told that the villages comprised in its territory were: Ste. Anne, St. Louis, St. Denis and St. Jean. In the same Relation, Chapter IX., p. 90, 1 col., the heading informs us that what is therein to be touched upon relates to the "Mission of St. Jean Baptiste aux Arendaronons," and that the villages included in its circumscription were (p. 90, 2 col.): St. Jean-Baptiste, St. Joachim and Ste. Elizabeth. Other proofs might be drawn from the Relations, but the one given is quite sufficient, it is clear and conclusive.

Ducreux's map is in full agreement with the above. On it we find "S. Joannis" marked not far from the mouth of the stream which now bears the name of Sturgeon River, and to the east of it, while his "S. J. Baptistæ" is marked near what is now Lake Simcoe.

St. Marie I. to St. Jean.

St. Jean was situated two "good leagues" from Ste. Marie I. The passage from which this inference is drawn is to be found (p. 72, 2 col.) towards the close of Chapter V., Rel. 1640. The whole chapter is taken up with the recital of what occurred that year within the limits of the mission of "Ste. Marie aux Ataronchronons." The last paragraph runs as follows: "A ce propos ie raconteray vne chose qui nous estonna il y a quelques iours [consequently just before the closing of the Relation]. Le Pere Pierre Pijart estant en dispute dans le bourg de sainct Iean auec vn viéux Magicien du pays, ce barbare s'estant mis en colere, le menace que nous pouuions bien nous resoudre à mourir, et que desia Echon (c'est le Pere de Brebeuf) estoit frappé de maladie. Le Pere Pijart se moeque de ce vieillard, n'y ayant pas trois heures qu'il auoit laissé le Pere de Brebeuf à la maison de sainct Ioseph en fort bonne santé. Le Magicien luy repart, tu verras si ie suis menteur, ie t'en ay assez dit. En effect le Pere Pijart s'en estant

retourné le mesme iour à S. Ioseph, esloigné de deux bonnes lieuës, trouue le Pere de Brebeuf attaqué d'vne grosse fieure, d'vn mal de cœur et mal de teste, et dans tous les symptomes d'vne grande maladie; au moment que le Magicien en auoit porté la parole, aucun Sauuage n'en auoit esté aduerty, etc."

From this I conclude that there were "two good leagues" from St. Jean to Ste. Marie I.

In the above quoted paragraph a distance of "deux bonnes lieuës" is given. Two places are mentioned which stood at that distance one from the other. One is called "le bourg S. Iean," the other "la maison de sainct Ioseph." It would not be difficult, though it would be a waste of time, to adduce further proofs to show that this St. Jean was not St. Jean-Baptiste, for every time it is mentioned in this chapter it is mentioned as belonging to the Mission of "Ste. Marie aux Ataronchronons," while what occurred of interest at St. Jean-Baptiste during this same year, 1640, is rehearsed in Chapter IX. (p. 90), which deals exclusively with the Mission "aux Arendaronons;" and what occurred at St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé*, before its residence was removed to Ste. Marie I., is detailed in Chapter VI. (p. 73).

But the main difficulty centres round the expression "la maison de sainct Ioseph," which I contend was used in this instance by the writer to denote the Fathers' Residence or house at Ste. Marie I.

The only other place it could possibly designate at that date, 1640, was St. Joseph II. of *Teanaostaiaé*. Now what were the facts as set forth in the Relations and other records?

1. That as late as 1639 the missionaries were still divided into two separate communities or permanent residences. Rel. 1640, p. 63, 1 col.: "I'ecriuois l'an passé que nous auions deux Residences dedans le pays des Hurons, l'vne de S. Ioseph à *Teanansteixé* (sic, for *Teanaustayé*), l'autre de la Conception à *Ossossarie* (sic, for *Ossossané*)."

2. That during the summer of 1639 the community or residence of *Ossossané* was transferred to Ste. Marie I., and in the spring of 1640 the community or residence of St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé* was likewise transferred to Ste. Marie I. After describing the new "residence fixe de saincte Marie" (see heading of the chapter), the writer proceeds to say, Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.: "Nous commençasmes dés l'Esté passé à nous y establir, et sur le milieu de l'Automne nous y transportâmes la residence que nous auions à *Ossossarie*, ayant differé d'y reünir pareillement celle de

sainct Ioseph (i.e., de *Teanaostaiaé*), mais dés le commencement du Printemps l'insolence des Sauuages nous a obligés de le faire bien plus tost que d'ailleurs nous n'auions resolu. Et ainsi nous n'auons maintenant dans tout le pays qu'vne seule maison, qui sera ferme et stable, etc."

3. That the name of Ste. Marie was given to this new residence or community house, and that the church which the missionaries purposed to build or had already commenced building adjoining the house was to be called St. Joseph, Rel. 1640, p. 64, 1 col.: "Nous auons donné à cette nouuelle maison le nom de saincte Marie, ou de Nostre Dame de la Conception. . . . . Au moins pretendons nous doresnauant cette consolation qu'autant de fois qu'on parlera de la principale demeure de cette mission des Hurons, la nommant du nom de saincte Marie, ce soient autant d'hommages qui luy seront rendus de ce que nous luy sommes et tenons d'elle, et de ce que nous luy voulons estre à iamais; ioinct que sainct Ioseph ayant esté choisi pour le patron de ce pays, et en suite la premiere et principale Eglise qui se bastira dans les Hurons luy estant destinée, nous n'auons pas deu prendre d'autre protectrice de nostre maison que la saincte Vierge son espouse, pour ne pas separer ceux que Dieu a liez si estroitement."

4. That the new residence of the missionaries was about three leagues from *Ossossarié*, the dwelling place of Joseph Chihouatenhoua. See same Relation, 1640, p. 103, 1 col.: "Dimanche dernier il (Joseph C.) estoit venu en nostre maison, esloignée maintenant [i.e. since it was removed to Ste. Marie] de la sienne d'enuiron trois lieuës;" and p. 78, 2 col.: "Les cabanes de nos Chrestiens sont, dans ce bourg de la Conception [otherwise *Ossossané*], les plus affligées de la maladie: outre vne seule de Ioseph Chihouatenhoua, etc."

5. That, on the other hand, St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé* was five or six leagues distant from *Ossossané*. See extract from Father François du Peron's letter already quoted under the heading of *Teanaostaiaé*.

6. In the passage we are discussing (Rel. 1640, p .72, 2 col.), it was Father de Brébeuf who was said to be stricken with a sudden sickness, and it is true that on page 75, 1 col. (always of the same Relation), he is spoken of as the superior of the Residence of St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé*; but we are informed at the close of that Chapter VI. that subsequently the missionaries were expelled from the villages of this mission, beginning by St. Michel and St. Ignace, and though afterwards they managed to resume their missionary visits to them, there was no question of anything like a permanent residence being reestablished therein that year.

Rel. 1640, p. 78, 1 col.: "Ces deux bourgs ont esté les premiers qui nous furent solennellement interdits par les Capitaines et Anciens, qui prirent pour pretexte que quelques-vns de leurs ieunes gens auoient dessein sur nos vies; il fallut interrompre pour quelque temps, mais depuis peu nous auons trouué le moyen de reprendre le cours de nos visites, les esprits s'estans aucunement appaisez."

7. Though the trouble first began at the two villages above mentioned, it culminated in the outrageous treatment of the missionaries at St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé*, and in the complete demolition of their missionary residence there. The summary given of these proceedings serves as a kind of introduction to the Chapter, which merely relates the labours of the Fathers previous to their departure. Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.: "Il est bien difficile de viure en paix parmy vne iuenesse barbare, altiere de son naturel, et d'ailleurs aigrie par les mauuais bruits qui courent incessamment de nous. Nos Peres l'ont esprouué dans le bourg de S. Ioseph, car c'est là que les pierres ont volé sur nos testes iusques au fond de nostre cabane; c'est là que les croix ont esté abbattuës et arrachées, les haches et les tisons leuez sur nous . . . . et mesme quelques Capitaines des plus considerables voyant la ieunesse desia dans la fureur et les armes en main, l'ont excitée à faire pis qu'elle ne faisoit, ... ont commandé qu'on eust au plus tost à demolir nostre cabane, et la mettre par terre, adioustant que quand mesme on nous massacreroit, nous n'aurions que selon nos merites, etc."

All the facts, not already given elsewhere, bearing favourably or unfavourably on the point under discussion, are summed up in these seven paragraphs.

The Relation of 1640 was closed on May 27 (Rel. 1640, p. 53, 1 col.). The incident related in connection with Father de Brébeuf's sickness occurred a few days before ("il y a quelques iours"). But the Residence of St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé* was transferred in the beginning of the spring ("au commencement du Printemps"), the community house there having been totally destroyed (Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.). Therefore the "maison de sainct Ioseph" mentioned in the narrative does not refer to St. Joseph of *Teanaostaiaé*.

If not to *Teanaostaiaé*, to what other place does the expression "Maison de sainct Ioseph" refer?

It can only possibly refer to the new establishment at Ste. Marie I. The term, as we have seen, occurs on p. 72, 2 col., of R. 1640, and on page 63, 2 col., of the same Relation, as we have also seen, it is clearly stated "et ainsi nous n'avons maintenant

dans tout le pays qu'vne seule maison, qui sera ferme et stable," and a few lines above we read in the heading of Chapter IV., "De la residence fixe de saincte Marie," while the description given of its site is unmistakable.

Chapter IV. (p. 63) deals with the Residence of Ste. Marie, and the following, Chapter V., (p. 70), deals with "La mission de saincte Marie aux Ataronchronons," and in the opening lines the villages dependent on it are enumerated: "Cette mission de saincte Marie ne porte pas seulement la qualité de Residence, mais encore de Mission, comme ayant quatre bourgs dependans du soin et de la culture de ceux qui y font leur demeure. Ces quatre bourgs sont saincte Anne, S. Louys, S. Denys et S. Iean, le nombre des âmes peut arriver à quatorze cens." And two pages further on in the same chapter (p. 72, 2 col.) occurs the passage recording the encounter of Father Pijart with the magician, and Father de Brébeuf's strange sickness. Now, as nothing is related in this chapter save what concerns Ste. Marie I., the mission centre, and its dependencies, the "maison de sainct Ioseph" must be found among them. On the other hand, Father Pijart had set out from this "mission de sainct Ioseph," where less than three hours previously he had left Father de Brébeuf in good health, and he was back there the same day when he found him sick. Presumably, therefore, for one reason or another the mission centre of Ste. Marie I. was called on this occasion "La Maison de Sainct Ioseph."

But what occasioned this misnomer? Before all it must be remembered that it was a time of transition, when places and names were being changed, very naturally for a time there would be some slips made. Father Jérôme Lalemant, the author of the Huron Relation of 1640, receiving Father Pierre Pijart's contribution, embodied it in his own account without revision; and in it "La maison de Ste. Marie" is called "La maison de St. Joseph," mistaking the name of the Church for the house, just as one would say inaccurately "the College of the Gesù, Montreal," instead of saying the "Church of the Gesù" and "St. Mary's College," both forming one establishment and being under one and the same administration.

The project of building a church then under way, to be dedicated to St. Joseph, was eventually carried out. Of this we have positive proof, not only in the Relation of 1642, but in a most precious document still preserved in St. Mary's College, Montreal. It is nothing less than the original rescript or brief of Pope Urbain VIII., dated Feb. 18, 1644, granting special spiritual favours to those who, after approaching the Sacraments, should

on the feast of St. Joseph visit the little chapel built at Ste. Marie, "qui ecclesiam Presbiterorum Societatis Jesus Residentiæ S. Mariæ Virginis, nullius Diœcesis, Provinciæ Huronum Novæ Franciæ, die festo S. Josephi, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis festi hujusce, singulis annis devote visitaverint, etc."

There is no other possible solution than the one I have suggested, and in whatever light we consider the difficulty one only conclusion can be reached, and that is that Ste. Marie and its church in this case were meant when the expression "la maison de St. Ioseph" was used. It follows that St. Jean stood at a distance from Ste. Marie I. of "two good leagues," say a little over six and a half miles.

St. Ignace I. to St. Jean.

St. Jean was one league from St. Ignace I. This distance given may be found in Rel. 1642, p. 81, 2 col. Astiskoua, a chief from *Teanaostaiaé*, in answer to an invitation, repaired to the Residence of Ste. Marie I. An inward power which he apparently was unable to overcome, preventing his entering the chapel: "Il sort donc de la Maison sans dire mot. Apres trois lieuës ou enuiron de chemin, il fait paroistre ce qu'il est: il entre furieux dans les bourgs de Sainct Iean et de Sainct Ignace, enfonce les Cabanes, brise les portes, etc."

The whole distance from Ste. Marie I. to St. Ignace I. (not removed to its second site until 1648), passing through St. Jean, is here set down as three leagues or about. Ste. Marie I. to St. Jean was "deux bonnes lieuës," that is a little over six miles, so St. Jean lay one league or three miles from St. Ignace I. The arcs of two coordinates intersect on lot 6, concession X., Tay. "Passing to the high ground," says Mr. Andrew Hunter, "east of Sturgeon River, one finds the most northerly site of the group on the land of Frank Joseph, the west half of lot 6, concession X. (Tay). Here on a patch of ground, cultivated only during the past two seasons, they have found stone axes, an iron tomahawk, a tobacco pipe and some fragments of deer bones." (Sites in Tay, 1900, p. 34, No. 37.)

VIII.

VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF STE. MARIE I.

ST. FRANÇOIS-XAVIER.

Ste. Marie I. to St. François-Xavier.

Direction from Ste. Marie I.

STE. ANNE OR KAONTIA.

Ste. Marie I. to Ste. Anne.

ST. DENIS.

ST. LOUIS.

Direction from Ste. Marie I.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis.

ST. IGNACE II.

Configuration of the Ground.

Correct distance from St. Louis and from Ste. Marie I.

Direction from Ste. Marie I. (Old Fort).

An Untenable Theory.

The French League of the Relations.

Christophe Regnaut's Letter.

VIII.

VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF STE. MARIE I.—ST. FRANÇOIS-XAVIER.

One league and a half from Ste. Marie I. Without being positive, I am inclined to think that the following passage bears reference to St. François-Xavier. It occurs in Chapter II., "De la Maison et Mission de saincte Marie," Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.: "Le soin de la Mission qui porte le nom de cette Residence, et qui comprend les bourgades les plus voisines est escheuë en partage au P. Pierre Piiart. Comme le nombre des Chrestiens n'y est pas si considerable, que nous ayons iugé à propos de leur bastir vne Chapelle dans leurs bourgs, c'est en cette Maison qu'ils se rendent les Festes et Dimanches pour y faire leurs deuotions. Vn iour d'hyuer que les vents estoient déchaisnez, que l'air estoit remply de neiges, d'orages et tempestes, le Pere reprit vn de ses Neophytes d'estre venu d'vne lieuë et demie, par vne baye d'vn lac glacé, où plusieurs y demeurent quelquefois morts de froid, ou enfoncez dans les eaux, sous le plancher qui leur est infidele."

The "lac glacé" would be Mud Lake, and the bay, its northwestern end, across which one going from St. François-Xavier to Ste. Marie I. would naturally strike as a short cut to his destination.

Compare, now, this passage with another in Chapter V., "De la Mission de saincte Marie aux Ataronchronons," Rel. 1640, p. 71, 1 col.: "Il y a quelques iours qu'vn ieune homme de sainct François Xauier entra de grand matin dedans nostre cabane; . . . nous luy demandons son nom, d'où il est, et quels sont ses parens, pour les aller querir . . . toutesfois vn de nos Peres part en haste pour aller querir ses parens . . . . à peine auoit-il trauersé la moitié de la largeur du lac, dont les glaces estoient encore assez fermes, qu'il rencontra çà et là quelques Sauuages . . . . il dit à celuy qui estoit le plus proche, qu'vn tel ieune homme du bourg prochain estoit bien malade dedans nostre maison, etc."

In this second extract, the name of the village is mentioned, but the distance to Ste. Marie I. is omitted. It proves, however, to a certainty that the ordinary route in winter from St. François-Xavier to Ste. Marie I. was across Mud Lake. Though there is no peremptory proof that the two passages refer to the same

village, the accompanying circumstances all point to that conclusion. This is why St. François-Xavier is marked on the present map one league and a half from Ste. Marie I. In 1642 (p. 61, 1 col.) this village was attached to the mission centre of Ste. Marie. Fr. P. Pijart had charge of it and of Ste. Anne, while St. Louis and St. Denis were confided to Fr. Chastelain.

In the Township of Tiny there is a site thus catalogued by Mr. Andrew Hunter: "Pottery fragments, pipes, stone axes, etc., indicating another small village, have been found on lot 93, concession II., Zachariah Casselman, owner. An iron collar and small chain, very much rusted, were once ploughed up at the site." (Sites in Tiny, p. 40, No. 13.) It is a little over a league and a half, that is to say nearly five miles from Ste. Marie I., and the straight line drawn from it to Ste. Marie I. passes over the northern part of Lake Isiargui or Mud Lake. Its position, consequently, answers well to the conditions required by the extracts given above from the Relations, and tallies well with the site of "S. Xauerij" on Ducreux's map.

STE. ANNE OR KAŌTIA (I.E. KAONTIA).

It is not identified with any Indian name in the Relations, but occupied the spot where *Kaōtio* is marked on Ducreux's map. As a mission village, it was, together with St. Louis, St. Denis and St. Jean, dependent on the mission centre of Ste. Marie I.: Rel. 1640, p. 70, 1 col.: "Cette Maison de saincte Marie ne porte pas seulement la qualité de Residence, mais encore de Mission, comme ayant quatre bourgs dependans du soin et de la culture de ceux qui y font leur demeure. Ces quatre bourgs sont saincte Anne, S. Louys, S. Denys, et S. Iean, le nombre des âmes peut arriuer à quatorze cens."

It was one league from Ste. Marie I. Ste. Anne was the first village stricken with the contagion in 1640 (Ib. 70, 1 col.): "Le bourg de saincte Anne fut le premier qui nous donna de l'exercice, ayant esté tout le premier affligé de la maladie." How this sickness was carried to Ste. Anne is explained on page 54, 2 col. An Indian coming up from Quebec had caught the smallpox from the Algonquins. He landed at Ste. Marie, whence he was carried to his village, a league away. Those of his own cabin contracted the disease, and it spread from house to house and from village to village: "Ce fut au retour du voyage que les Hurons auoient fait à Kébec, qu'elle se mit dedans le pays, nos Hurons en remontant icy haut, s'estans inconsiderément meslez auec les Algonquins qu'ils recontrerent par le chemin, dont la pluspart estoient

infectez de la petite verole. Le premier Huron qui l'apporta vint aborder au pied de nostre maison, nouuellement bastie sur le bord d'vn lac, d'où estant porté à son bourg, éloigné de nous enuiron vne lieuë, il en mourut incontinent apres. Sans estre grand prophete, on pouuoit s'asseurer que le mal seroit bien tost respandu par toutes ces contrées: car les Hurons, quelque peste ou contagion qu'ils ayent, viuent au milieu de leurs malades, dans la mesme indifference et communication de toutes choses que si on estoit en pleine santé; en effet dans peu de iours, quasi tous ceux de la cabane du defunt se trouuerent infectez, puis le mal se respandit de maison en maison, de bourg en bourg, et enfin se trouua dissipé par tout le pays." The village of this Indian was evidently Ste. Anne, for it was there that the sickness first began, and this village was about a league from Ste. Marie I.

In 1640, as we have seen, Ste. Anne was grouped with St. Denis, St. Louis and St. Jean to form the mission of Ste. Marie I. (Ib. p. 70, 1 col.). In 1642 (p. 61, 1 col.), four villages still depended on Ste. Marie as on a mission centre, St. Louis, St. Denis, Ste. Anne; but St. Jean no longer figures in the list, being replaced by St. François-Xavier. These four villages, relatively to Ste. Marie I., are said by the Relation to be "pretty near," and consequently they were not far from each other (loc. cit.): "Cette maison de Saincte Marie porte aussi le titre de Mission, à raison de quatre Bourgs assez proches qui en sont dependans. Le Pere Pierre Chastelain en a cultiné deux, de sainct Loüis et de sainct Denys. Le Pere Pierre Pijart a eu le soin des deux autres, de saincte Anne et de sainct François Xauier."

Evidences of Huron occupancy occur on a farm in Tay Township at the proper distance from Ste. Marie I. It is thus noticed in Mr. Andrew Hunter's Sites in Tay (p. 26, No. 12): "On the east half of lot 9, concession III., there is a village site that shows some evidences of fortification. It is situated on the level top of a hill or spur of high ground, and was probably palisaded. Ash-beds are numerous, and there was a refuse heap or mound, in all of which the usual relics have been found. The lot is owned by J. D. Carscadden, Elliott's Corners, and occupied by the family of Sylvester Campbell, Midland."

The data are not sufficient to enable one to conclude with certainty that this was the site of Ste. Anne, still, as there are no other known sites at the correct distance, save those on the adjoining lot to the north, which were in all likelihood its dependencies, it is morally certain that the village of Ste. Anne stood on this spot, lot east half 9, concession III., Tay.

ST. DENYS.

This is the village "S. Dionisij" of Ducreux, which he places on his map to the east of the second river of Huronia, counting from the west, styled to-day Hogg River, but further from its mouth than his "S. Ludouici."

The data available are very scanty. It is mentioned in Relation 1640 (p. 70, 1 col.), as being one of the villages dependent on the mission centre of Ste. Marie I. together with Ste. Anne, St. Louis and St. Jean. On the same page 70, 2 col., taken collectively with the two last mentioned, it is said to be a little further away from Ste. Marie I. than was Ste. Anne, which, as we know, was one league distant, while St. Jean was "two good leagues" from Ste. Marie I.

In Relation 1642 (p. 61, 1 col.), it is again mentioned as one of four villages belonging to the mission of Ste. Marie I., but St. Jean is dropped from the list and St. François-Xavier added. St. Denys and St. Louis were allotted as missions to Father Chastelain, and Ste. Anne with St. François-Xavier to Father Pierre Pijart. St. Ignace II., which later on was a mission centre in the region of Ste. Marie II., was not yet in existence, since it was founded only in 1648.

There is not much to work upon, merely its position on Ducreux's inset map, and the fact that it lay a little further away than one league from Ste. Marie I.

At a distance of one league and two-thirds from the ruins of Ste. Marie I. in a south-easterly direction, and to the east of Hogg River, there is an Indian site described at considerable length by Mr. Andrew Hunter in his Sites in Tay, 1900, p. 31, No. 31. I subjoin a few passages, quite enough for our purpose: "The remains of a Huron village, the inhabitants of which appear to have used the same position for several years, have been found upon the west half of lot 3, concession V (Tay). The first settler on this farm, Robert Webb, came in 1865, and remained on it until about twelve years ago. As he was a close observer, besides having resided here so long, our information in regard to the site is fuller than in many other cases." Here follows a detailed account of the numerous Indian relics found by him and others. It is stated towards the end of the description that "the usual fragments of pottery and clam shells were to be seen. The ashbeds were most numerous at the head of a small ravine, the abrupt descent to which is about 30 feet; and here the inhabitants found their supply of fresh water in springs. Passing from this ravine

the ground rises gently through the field, which contains about 12 acres, but is not all covered with ashbeds, etc."

This to my mind was the site of St. Denys, though apodictical proofs are wanting.

ST. LOUIS.

This is the "S. Ludouici" of Ducreux, which he locates on the east side of the first stream to the east of the one on which Ste. Marie I. stands, lower down than St. Denys, and not far from its outflow into the bay. As this was the village at which Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were captured, it is very natural that we should be most anxious to determine very definitely its location.

We have authorities the most capable and reliable when there is question to determine its distance from Ste. Marie I., but unfortunately we have no co-ordinate. This, however, is the less to be regretted as, lying at so short a distance from an absolutely indisputable starting point, it is impossible to mistake the direction so clearly given by Ducreux.

Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis.

According to Rel. 1649, p. 11, 1 col., it was not more than one league from Ste. Marie I.: "Sur les neuf heures du matin, nous apperceûmes de nostre maison de Sainete Marie, le feu qui consumoit les cabanes de ce bourg, où l'ennemy entré victorieux auoit tout mis dans la desolation, iettant au milieu des flammes des vieillards, les malades, les enfans qui n'auoient pas pû sauuer et tous ceux qui estant trop blessez, n'eussent pas pû les suiure dans la captiuité. A la veuë de ces flammes et à la couleur de la fumée qui en sortoit, nous iugeasmes assez de ce qui en estoit, ce bourg de Sainct Louys n'estant pas esloigné de nous plus d'vne lieu."

St. Louis was a palisaded village. Rel. 1649, p. 10, 2 col.: "L'ennemy ne s'arreste pas là, il poursuit dedans sa victoire, et auant le Soleil leué il se presente en armes, pour attaquer le bourg de Sainct Louys, fortifié d'vne palissade assez bonne."

And rendered into English: "The enemy did not stop at this [the sacking of St. Ignace I.] but followed up their victory; and before sunrise their armed bands appeared before the village of St. Louis. Rel. 1649, p. 10, col. 2, line 44. . . . About nine in the forenoon from our residence of Ste. Marie [I.], we caught sight of the flames which were consuming the wigwams of that village. Id. p. 11, col. 1, line 10. . . . . On observing the flames and the colour of the smoke that rolled up from them, we formed a correct

enough idea of what was taking place; for the village of St. Louis was not more than a league distant from us." Id. p. 11, col. 1, l. 19 et ss.

This expression "not more than a league," is that of a man who has not actually measured the distance, and who, in his estimate, does not wish to exaggerate. His meaning is clear, and would be equivalent to "about one league, but not more." This is the interpretation accepted by all authors who have touched upon the subject. Thus l'Abbé J. B. O. Ferland, formerly Professor of History at Laval University, and author of the "Cours d'Histoire du Canada," paraphrasing the passage, writes: "Le feu est mis aux cabanes, et bientôt une colonne de fumée, s'élevant au-dessus du bourg de Saint-Louis, avertit les habitants de Sainte-Marie, située à une lieue de là, que les Iroquois ont commencé leur œuvre de dévastation." (Op. cit. Quebec, 1882, vol. I., p. 374.)

Parkman interprets the expression, "n'estant pas esloigné de nous [at Ste. Marie I.] plus d'vne lieuë," and Bressani's two Italian miles in like manner: "At nine o'clock on the morning of the sixteenth of March, the priests [at Ste. Marie I.] saw a heavy smoke rising over the naked forest towards the south-east, about three miles distant. They looked at each other in dismay. 'The Iroquois! They are burning St. Louis!'" (The Jesuits in N. A., Boston, 1868, p. 378).

Bressani adds his testimony: "In fatti, il nemico non si fermo nel primo forte, se non quanto bisognaua per dar' ordine alla sicurezza de i prigioni, et di quelli, che restauano come in guarnigione per guardarli" (Breve Relatione, In Macerata, 1653, p. 109), E doppo se ne venne dritto à San Luigi . . . (Id. ib.) . . . Il fumo, che vedemmo dal luogo della nostra dimora, che non era piu de due miglia lontana, col suo colore, ci auuerti il primo di questo disastro, e poco doppo due ò tre fuggitiui" (Id. ib.).

"In fact the enemy tarried at the first fort (St. Ignace II.) only long enough to provide for the security of the prisoners and of such who were to remain as garrison to guard it. Thence they marched straight on St. Louis. . . . . The smoke which we perceived from where our dwelling stood, and which was not further off than two miles, together with its (peculiar) hue, was the first intimation we had of disaster, but soon two or three fugitives confirmed our fears."

Two Italian geographical miles would be equal to 3,704 metres, or some 400 metres in excess of two English statute miles. This would not be sufficient to reach the river at the spot where Ducreux has marked his St. Louis, but the measure given in the Relation of 1649, one league and not more, would overlap it a little,

while two miles and three-quarters would cover the distance between Ste. Marie I. and the west half of lot 11, concession VI., Tay. This lot is bisected by Hogg River, and lies in the same direction from Ste. Marie I. as does the "S. Ludouici" on Ducreux's map.

Mr. Andrew Hunter's Sites in Tay (p. 20, No. 8) contains a lengthy sketch of this site, from which I shall take a few excerpts: "Through the farm of Chas. E. Newton, Esq., the west half of lot 11, concession VI. [Tay], the Hogg River has cut a couloir or path in the old lake bed deposits to a depth varying from fifteen to twenty feet. In this part of its course the river makes a loop something like the letter U, which encloses an ideal spot for a village requiring means of defense.

"Hurons selected for one of their villages this plot of ground, containing four or five acres, in the bend of the river. This ground is covered with ashbeds and blackened soil, mixed with relics. The latter consisted of iron tomahawks, knives, pieces of metal probably cut out of worn-out brass kettles, and pottery fragments in endless quantities. . . . . What appears to have been "the village corn patch" occurs near the house of Wm. Bennett, on lot 10, and it may have extended as far north as the site itself, though the cultivated ground no longer shows any traces of the corn-hills."

It must not be thought, however, that this is the precise site of St. Louis as laid down by Ducreux. It is St. Louis fortified in dread of an attack, after the fall of St. Joseph II. in July, 1648, to which Bressani refers: "Haueua già il nemico preso due ò tre borghi nelle frontiere; gli altri s'erano assai fortificati" (op. cit. p. 108). "Two or three frontier towns were taken by the enemy; the others were fortified." The site of the village in previous less threatening years was, as Ducreux puts it, in the immediate neighborhood, but to the east of the river on what is now the north-east quarter of lot 10, concession VI., and extending northward and eastward into adjoining lots. "Its position," says Mr. Andrew Hunter, "is on a high terrace with low ground along the south. The remains have been found chiefly at the fronts of these two farms [those of Edward and Wilson Crooks] near the dwelling houses, etc.," and it is not without reason that he adds: "Its position agrees closely with that of the mission of St. Louis as marked on Ducreux's map." (Sites in Tay, No. 21, pp. 28, 29.)

ST. IGNACE II.

St. Ignace II. was the scene of the heroic sufferings of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, and for this reason of all the sites in Huronia it has been the most anxiously sought for. We have no two co-ordinates wherewith to determine its position, but happily there are, apart from these, sufficient data to secure a result which, though less mathematical in form, is not less certain in its conclusions.

These conclusions, and the process leading to them, have been before the archæological public since 1903, and I have not yet noticed that any of the arguments have been invalidated. On the contrary, I have received a number of letters from eminent men, foremost in archæological research, who have spontaneously conveyed to me their approval. But, as I have had already the honour of saying, authorities in these matters have less weight than sound reasoning. My reasoning, sound or otherwise, is as follows:

East half lot 4, concession VII., Tay Township, is absolutely the only spot:—

1. Where the configuration of the ground tallies at all with the description of St. Ignace II., as given in the Relations and in Bressani, and

2. Which at the same time lies at the proper distance, and

3. In the right direction from Ste. Marie I. (the Old Fort).

1. Configuration of the Ground.

Relations. St. Ignace II. "was enclosed by a palisade of posts fifteen or sixteen feet high, and encircled by a deep depression (in the land), with which nature had powerfully fortified the place on three sides, leaving but a small space weaker than the other sides. It was through that part that the enemy, at early dawn, forced an entrance, but with such stealth and suddenness that he was master of the position before any attempt at defence was made, for the inhabitants were sound asleep, nor had they time to take in the situation. (Rel. 1649, p. 10, col. 2, l-10.)

So that as a place of defence, the site was not merely strong, but powerfully so, and those who visit the Campbell Farm, the lot in question, are immediately struck with its conformity to the foregoing description.

More meagre in detail as to the conformation of the ground, Bressani's narrative is stronger in expression as to its powers of resistance.

Plateau of St. Ignace II. from the north-east

Bressani. "So stealthily did they [the Iroquois] make their way through the forests that at break of day, on March 16, without having so far betrayed their approach, they reached the gates of the first village of the Hurons, named St. Ignace. Both its site and the fortifications which we had made there rendered it impregnable, at least for savages. But as its inhabitants were taken unawares, while the bulk of their braves were abroad, some bent on ascertaining if the enemy had already taken the field, others to engage in the hunt, the Iroquois easily managed to approach under cover of darkness, and, at dawn, as we have said, to effect a breach while the inhabitants were still fast asleep." (Martin's Bressani, p. 252, line 11 et ss.; see also Clev. edit. of Relations, Vol. 39, p. 247).

To tally with this description, the site of St Ignace II. must have been on a commanding height, otherwise it could hardly be said to be impregnable. This is nowhere predicated of the position of St. Joseph II., though that village was perched on the brow of a very steep hill—a plateau or table-land—at least 250 feet above the valley of the Coldwater. St. Ignace II., in respect to its own site, must have possessed, to say no more, equal natural advantages; so that, when in quest of this village, all thought of finding it on low-lying ground is perforce precluded. Three of its sides, not all necessarily of equal dimensions, nor of equal strength, must be protected—powerfully protected,—by a naturally formed "fossé profond," whose steep acclivity must be scaled to reach the circumvallations; this talus to consist, not in a rising slope of a few feet, but, in the main, of one of fifties or hundreds; with a weak point, however,—the level plateau in the rear.

This fourth side weaker than the rest, but small in comparison with the extent of the three others, would require to be more carefully fortified by the palisade, a Nature had left it without defence. The work had been begun not only at the instigation of the Fathers, but French workmen had taken a leading part in the construction of the defences, as is implied by Bressani's words: "the fortifications which we had made there."—(Relations, Clev. edit, Vol. 39, p. 247.)

Brébeuf was present, and it was he who years before had given the Hurons practical lessons in fortifying Ossossané: "The Hurons" these are his words, "have remained very friendly to us, on account of the promptitude we showed in assisting them. We have told them also that henceforth they should make their forts square, and arrange their posts in straight lines; and by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen

might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend a whole village. They are greatly delighted with this advice, and have already begun to practice it at La Rochelle [i.e., Ossossané]. (Rel. 1636, p. 86, 1 col., Queb. edit., Clev. edit. Vol. 10, p. 53; Garnier's letter, 1638, to his father; Parkman, op. cit. Introd., footnote, p. XXIX.)

Even had Bressani remained silent on the point, it stands to reason that what had been done at Ossossané in 1636 would be repeated at St. Ignace II. in 1648-49, and on a much more elaborate scale. There was no great crisis in 1636; in 1648-49 there was question of preserving Huronia from impending ruin, and of saving not only the Hurons, but the missionaries as well from death, amidst the tortures of a slow fire, at the hands of the cruel invaders. All the other bulwarks of the country had either fallen or been abandoned as no longer tenable. So, St. Ignace II. was to be reared as an impregnable fortress to confront the enemy. No pains could have been spared, nor was any effort too great to effect the all-important object.

As for the expression made use of in the Relation 1649 (p. 10, 2 col.) "entourée . . . . d'vn fossé profond, dont la nature auoit puissamment fortifié ce lieu . . . . ," I fear I have not given it sufficient strength in my translation. "Deep ditch, or trench" is out of the question, when it is said that nature had *powerfully* fortified a place which was impregnable. "Excavation" is not less inappropriate and is suggestive of digging. "A deep depression in the land" conveys the sense of the phrase, but is not forcible enough. Parkman, combining the two ideas, that it was a deep "fossé," but not artificial, has rendered it by a stronger term and one more truthful to nature: "It was defended on three sides by a deep ravine." (The Jesuits in N. A., Boston, 1868, p. 379). But the historian, Ferland, gives probably the best paraphrase: "Il était protégé de trois côtés par de profondes ravines et environné d'une palissade de quinze à seize pieds de hauteur. Un seul point était accessible, et ce fut par là qu'à l'aube du jour l'ennemi fit ses approches."—(Op. jam cit. Vol. I., p. 373.)

That "fossé profond" should be rendered by "deep ravine," might seem a trifle extravagant were it not explicitly stated in the original documents that it was a *natural formation*. But all scruples may be thrust aside since "fossa," the Latin for our French "fossé," was used, in connection with the idea of a *natural fortification* of much vaster proportions by Cicero himself, than whom no writer was more judicious in the choice of words or more discriminating in the niceties of language.

Plateau of St. Ignace II. from the south-east.

Before quoting him, however, let me first give Ducreux's equivalent in Latin of the passage under consideration; the pity is that he gives no estimate of the distances between the several villages with which we are here concerned: "Nocte intempestâ, cunctis, vt in publicâ aliquâ tranquillitate, alto somno depressis, atque adeò nullo excubitore, accedunt propiùs exploratores [Iroquii] ad pagum S. Ignatii (citimus is erat) lustrant aditus omnes per otium, qui firmior locus, qui magis idoneus impressioni faciendæ. Vident fossam vbique depressiorem, eandemque vallis munitam pedes ipsos quindecim assurgentibus: internallum modò erat angustum, ascensu facilius: illac decreta irruptio." (Hist. Canad. etc. Parisiis—Cramoisy—M.DC.LXIV. lib. septim. p. 537).

Which may be translated thus: "On a stormy night, while all were buried in deep sleep, and, as a fact, no sentinel posted, as would be the case were the nation enjoying an interval of Peace, the scouts [of the Iroquois] draw nearer the settlement of St. Ignace (which lay close by). They examine every approach at their leisure, noting which part was stronger and which the more promising for an assault. They find the moat ("fossam") everywhere too deep ("depressiorem," from deprimo, depressum, whence also the post-Aug. Latin term "depressio" and our English derivative "depression") and strengthened ("munitam" lit. fortified) with palisades ("vallis") rising quite fifteen feet high. There was but one small intervening space easier of ascent, and at that spot it was determined to force an entrance."

And now for the quotation from Cicero. He wishes to have his hearers understand that the reliance he places on Cæsar's prowess is unbounded, and declares that with such a commander at the head of the legions the fatherland would be secure even if the protection afforded by its natural barriers ceased to exist.

"Cujus (that is Cæsar's) ego imperio non Alpium *vallum* contra adscensum transgressionemque Gallorum, non Rheni *fossam*, gurgitibus illis redundantem, Germanorum immanissimis gentibus objicio et oppono. Perfecit ille, ut, si montes resedissent, amnes exaruissent, non *natura præsidio*, sed victoria sua, rebusque gestis Italiam *munitam* haberemus."* (Orat. in Pisonem, XXXIII.)

*With Cæsar in command, it is no longer with the rampart (*vallum*) of the Alps I would oppose the Gauls attempting their ascent and passage; it is no longer the protecting moat (*fossam*) of the Rhine, with its ever-recurring whirlpools, with which I would confront the fiercest German tribes. Cæsar has achieved this much that even if the mountains should sink to level earth, and rivers run dry, we should have an Italy still invulnerable (*munitam*, lit. fortified), not, it is true, on account of the protection afforded by natural barriers (*natura præsidio*) but by victory won by him, and by his deeds of valour.

The italics are mine, and I would draw the reader's attention to the similarity of these expressions to those used in the description of the defences of St. Ignace II. "Vallum," as all know, is primarily and strictly a rampart set with palisades or trunks of trees; with Cicero it does duty for the "rampart of the Alps." "Fossa," in everyday language, is a moat, ditch or trench, and Cicero sees no incongruity in applying it to the Rhine, though from Basel to Mentz it flows through a wide valley bounded on the left by the range of the Vosges and on the right by the mountains along the Bergstrasse; while from Mentz the ridges approach the stream at first only on the right bank, forming the Rheingan, but at Bingen hem in the left bank also, and continue thence to Königswinter to present a succession of lofty mountain summits and bold precipices. And this Cicero considered quite allowable because he took "fossa" in the sense of a *natural system of defence*.

The river-bed and steep banks of the Sturgeon, or other streams in Huronia, are not comparable in magnitude with the Rhine with its wide valleys and mountain-girt channel; but if "fossa" may be aptly applied to the latter when taken as a defensive natural feature, surely it may stand for the former with all their more restricted proportions.

I have not been too urgent on this point, for, when endeavoring to determine the site of St. Ignace II., if we have present in mind something like a mere "ditch" or "trench," encircling on three sides a low-lying position in an open campaign, we are doomed to disappointment. In the right direction from Ste. Marie I., and anywhere at the proper distance, there is no such position to be found in Tay township. Such a site would answer the descriptive requirements of St. Louis, (and, as we have seen, one actually exists, lot 11, concession VI., about a league from the Old Fort), for as Parkman quite correctly observes: "It had not the natural strength of St. Ignace; but, like it, was surrounded by palisades" (op. cit. p. 380). A commanding position, like that of St. Joseph II., but with a deep drop in the land on three sides is the ideal to have in mind in searching for St. Ignace II., and we shall see presently with what success the search was prosecuted.

2. Correct Distance from St. Louis and Ste. Marie I.

Bressani. "Three persons only managed to escape [from St. Ignace II.] half naked, and they hastened to warn the neighbouring village of St. Louis not more than three miles distant." (Martin's Bressani, p. 253; Orig. Ital., p. 108.)

Looking south-east from St. Ignace II. towards the Sturgeon River Valley.

Relations. "Three men only managed to escape all but naked through the snow, and spread alarm and dismay through a neighbouring village [St. Louis] about one league distant. This first village [mentioned some lines above as the first to be attacked] is the one we call St. Ignace." (Rel. 1649, p. 10, 2 col., line 30 et ss.)

Garnier. "They [Brébeuf et Lalemant] therefore remained (though it would have been very easy for them to have escaped) so as to hear the confessions of the Christians and to baptize the catechumens and unbelievers, which they continued to do till the enemy laid waste the town, captured them and carried them off to a league from there, where they made them endure all sorts of cruelty, etc." (Letter to R. F. Pierre Boutard, S.J., at Bourges, St. Mary's Residence, Apr. 27, 1649, in Rochemonteix, Tom. II., p. 464.)

"When the enemy [at St. Louis] took them [the two Fathers] prisoners, they brought them to their fort, distant a league or thereabout, and made them suffer every kind of torture." (Letter to his brother Henry, Apr. 25, 1649.)

That Brébeuf and Lalemant were taken to St. Ignace is evident enough, but the following passage from the Relations renders intelligible the expression "their fort" when applied by Garnier to St. Ignace II.:

"As soon as the Iroquois had dealt their blow, and reduced to ashes the village of St. Louis [at first the dwellings only, see Rel. 1649, p. 12, col. 1, line 43], they retraced their steps to St. Ignace, where they had left a strong garrison, so as to assure a safe retreat in case of mishap, and to secure the stores they had found there, which were to serve as refection and supplies on their journey homeward." (Rel. 1649, p. 11, col. 3, line 42, et ss.) We have, consequently, the best authority for saying that St. Ignace II. was about one league from St. Louis; St. Louis, in turn, was not more than one league from Ste. Marie I., it follows that St. Ignace II. was about two leagues from Ste. Marie I.

But quite apart from this last deduction, a document exists which gives *the entire distance* of St. Ignace II. to Ste. Marie I. as two leagues, confirming by independent evidence the conclusion arrived at, when there was question of St. Louis, that it lay about one league south-east of Ste. Marie I.

Brother François Malherbe died on the Saguenay mission April 19, 1696. The Superior sent his obituary in the form of a circular, as was the custom in the Society, to all the houses of the Province. It contains the following passage relating to the Brother while he was as yet but a hired servant at Ste. Marie I.:

"He had the honour as well as the charity to carry back to us [at Ste. Marie I.] on his shoulders, for a distance of two leagues the charred and blistered bodies [corps grillés et rotis, literally, broiled and roasted] of these two religious [Brébeuf and Lalemant]."

It is not necessary to say that the terminus a quo was St. Ignace II. As for the terminus ad quem, there can be no doubt concerning it. The Fathers were at Ste. Marie I., which they gave over to the flames on May 15, 1649 (R. 1649, p. 30, 1 col.), and on June 14 following, the final migration to St. Joseph's Island was effected (R. 1650, p. 3, 1 col.).

From what has gone before, no one surely could be justified in saying that the site of St. Ignace II. did not lie about two leagues from Ste. Marie I. The Campbell Farm, or lot 4, concession VII., Tay, is a little short of two leagues from the Old Fort.

3. Direction from Ste. Marie I. (Old Fort).

Roughly speaking, St. Ignace II. should lie in the same direction from Ste. Marie I. as St. Louis does. Were the sum of the distances from Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis and from St. Louis to St. Ignace II. exactly two leagues, and the full distance from Ste. Marie I. to St. Ignace II. exactly two leagues also, St. Louis and St. Ignace II. would lie on the same line drawn from Ste. Marie I., in which case the site of St. Ignace II. should be placed on the west half of lot 6, concession IX. But the qualifying terms "about," "not more than," remind us that the distances were not measured with a tape-line, nor determined by triangulation. In any case lot 6, concession IX., three-quarters of a mile due west of St. Jean, could not have been pitched upon for two reasons. First, it was too near St. Jean, which could claim priority of occupancy, and this crowding together of towns was to be shunned as liable to cause friction, owing, among other things, to the need each village had of an abundant supply of fuel, to be taken from the surrounding woods. The second reason is that the spot is not one that could easily be put in a state of defence, as it was overlooked, if not commanded, by the uplands west of St. Jean. Now, since the line deflected at St. Jean—which would mean that the sum of the distances between Ste. Marie I. and St. Louis, and between St. Louis and St. Ignace II., was somewhat greater than the full distance between Ste. Marie and St. Ignace II.—it is not difficult to decide whether the apex of the triangle, St. Louis, thus formed lay to the north-east or to the south-west. If the apex lay to the south-west, St. Ignace II. would have occu-

Looking North from St. Ignace II. towards Matchedash Bay.

pied the very low-lying ground near the east shore of Sturgeon Bay, but this would have rendered nugatory the purpose of the Indians when they removed *Taenhatentaron*, or St. Ignace I., to its new site, that of St. Ignace II.

Sometime in 1648 not earlier than February nor later than April 16 (the date of the Relation), they had met with two serious losses inflicted by the Iroquois: "C'e qui depuis a obligé ceux de ce bourg de St. Ignace [I.] à s'approcher de nous [at Ste Marie I.] et se mettre plus à l'abry qu'ils n'estoient des incursions de l'ennemy" (Rel. 1648, 50, col. 2, and 51, col. 1). At the site on the low land near Tannerville, they would be a little nearer, with, however, the Sturgeon River between them and Ste. Marie, while the weakness of their position would have invited an attack from every roving band of the enemy. Hence, the apex of the triangle did not lie towards the south-west, it must have lain to the north-east.

How much, then, should the line deviate from the straight line at St. Louis? First, enough so as not to have St. Ignace II. encroach on the precincts of St. Jean on the one hand, nor infringe on the regional rights of St. Denis on the other. But before all else, enough to place the village on a commanding height overlooking the country, and with natural barriers between it and the enemy, otherwise how could it ever claim to be powerfully protected by nature or with the addition of a palisade, to be impregnable at least for savages.

All these requirements could be satisfied, and then alone, by the placing of the new site on what geologists term the Old Algonquin shore line, which stands, as it is generally averaged, 250 feet above the level of Lake Huron. Though this latter consideration was not present to my mind at the time of the discovery of the site of St. Ignace II., the Campbell Farm was eventually found to occupy what must in geological ages have been a promontory along the coast. The deflection from the straight line drawn from Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis, at the latter point, was one approximating 23° 10'. The triangle formed with its apex towards the north-east proved to be about isosceles, the two shorter sides measuring, if our maps can be trusted, very nearly three miles, and the base five miles and seventeen twenty-seconds. The impression left upon the missionaries, travelling between these three villages, that the distance was rather less between St. Marie I. and St. Louis than between the latter and St. Ignace II. is not difficult to account for; the journey between the first two villages was all but level, at least there were no heavy grades in the way, while between

St. Louis and St. Ignace II. there was some steep climbing to be done, which in a forest trail is never devoid of asperities.

An Untenable Theory.

It is always a very disagreeable thing to have to differ from a friend, especially when that friend is working in the same field, and has already rendered invaluable service to the common cause. I regret above all this necessity, for necessity it is, since our aim is to unravel archæological tangles, and to disengage historical truth from error how earnestly and sincerely soever it may be advocated. For this reason literary amenities will be best observed by dealing with the difficulty impersonally.

West half lot 11, concession VI., the Newton Farm, has been suggested as the probable site of St. Ignace II. Not to mention its being but one league from the Old Fort, while St. Ignace II. was double that distance from Ste. Marie I., it is comparatively but a low-lying field, encircled, if you will, on three sides by the windings of the Hogg River, but all resemblance to the site of St. Ignace II. stops there. Though strong as a position, were it palisaded, it could never be said to be powerfully fortified by nature, and much less could it be termed impregnable. It is doubtless the once fortified site of St. Louis, and it afforded shelter, especially in 1649, to the inhabitants of the outlying settlements of the same village, across the little stream, on lots 10 and 11, east halves of concession VI. and west halves of concession VII. In fact, we duly noted, the inset map of Ducreux sets down St. Louis to the east of what is now Hogg River, which on the map is the first stream counting from the one on which Ste. Marie was built, and which is now known as the Wye.

In connection with this mistake, it will not be amiss to point out another which is to a certain extent a sequence to it, since place must be found between St. Ignace II. and Ste. Marie I. for the important village of St. Louis. It has been seriously maintained that lot 15, concession IV., Tay, was the spot where St. Louis stood. This site is much too close to Ste. Marie I., being a little less than a mile from it. Let us examine the reasons given for this choice.

The first is the large number of the lodges indicated by the ashbeds, and consequently the great number of the inhabitants. In the first place, I would remark that had St. Louis been removed early enough from its former site to leave traces of such extensive ashbeds, and to a spot so close to Ste. Marie I., the fact would not have gone without mention in the Relations. But how

account otherwise for the presence of so many Indians at this spot? To say nothing of the numerous bands, so frequently mentioned in the Relations, who, coming from the shores of Lake Nipissing and Parry Sound, wintered in the neighbourhood of Ste. Marie I., we have a passage in the Relations which sets the matter at rest.

"A part of those who had made good their escape from the taking and burning of this mission of St. Joseph [II.] hurried to take refuge near our house at Ste. Marie [I.]. The number of those slaughtered or carried off captives reached well on to seven hundred souls, mostly women and children. The number of those who escaped was much greater. We endeavored to assist them out of our poverty, to clothe the naked, and to feed those poor people who were dying of hunger, to mourn with the afflicted, and to comfort them with the hope of Paradise, etc." (Rel. 1649, p. 5, 2 col.).

The second reason is based on the supposed knowledge of how the Indian trails ran, a reason entirely futile, as we have very little knowledge of them. It must be borne in mind as a principle that it was not the direction of the trail that led to the choice of a village site, but primarily the village sites that determined the course of the different trails. When a site was eminently desirable the Indians were never at a loss to establish a line of communication between it and already existing centres of population.

The third reason is that the relics found were such as to show that it was a village of the very latest period of Huron occupation. Quite so, but early enough to give time for the formation of extensive ashbeds. This all would apply better to the village of the refugees from *Teanaostaiaé*. As for the palisades, they, too, might have existed in the hypothesis I have suggested, but I would add that through my many wanderings over village sites I have, with the exception of Ste. Marie, never come across any well defined vestiges or traces of palisading. When a village was perched on a hill in a commanding position it was supposed to be palisaded, and that is all. Without the evidence of the Relations or other original documents we would still be at a loss to say which villages had a stockade, and which were without one.

The fourth reason of the series is decidedly the weakest, in fact if properly put, it would preclude the possibility of lot 15, concession IV., Tay, being the site of St. Louis.

In speaking of the distance of St. Louis from Ste. Marie I., I have already quoted two authorities. Bressani in his Italian "Breve Relatione," written for Italians, stated that St. Louis

was not more than two miles distant from Ste. Marie I., that is, not more than 3,704 metres, and the Relation 1649, written by Ragueneau, assures us that it was not more than a league distant, which would mean something like three miles. Father Ragueneau was the Superior of the Huron Mission and had resided in Huronia since the summer of 1637 with the exception of one year's absence from August, 1640, to August, 1641. Of all men he was the most thoroughly acquainted with Huron topography. He was not writing of events which had occurred long since, but of what was occurring under his eyes that very year, and it was in relating these occurrences that he mentioned the distances between Ste. Marie I. and St. Louis. His words are "not more than a league distant," and the obvious meaning of such an expression would be "it may be a league or a little less, but not more." In what has gone before, we have seen that Ferland takes the expression as meaning *one league*, and Parkman, *about three miles*. Father Martin also, in his "Life of Fr. Jean de Brébeuf," held correctly that the distance from Ste. Marie I. to St. Louis (Paris edit. 1877, p. 279) was the same as that from St. Louis to St. Ignace II. (Id. p. 269), that is, four kilometres. But the latter distance, as all agree, was about one league, so that no doubt remains as to what he judged the former was equal.

The French League of the Relations.

Still, we must not lose sight of the fact that four kilometres is a very modern term, and a purely conventional equivalent of one league. In the unabridged *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, about the best authority on the French language, under *Lieue*, we read: "Lieue . . . . mesure itinéraire dont la valeur ancienne n'est pas bien fixée et dont la valeur moderne a beaucoup varié, mais *qu'on fait égale aujourd'hui à 4 kilomètres*. "Trautwine, whose name is familiar with civil engineers, on page 226 of his manual has this note of warning: "There is much confusion about these old (French) measures. Different measures had the same name in different provinces."

In France before the Revolution, just as there was no common national flag, the king having his own, and the different cities theirs, so also were there no national standard measures. The league in some provinces was of the same length as in some others, but there were no less than eight different provincial leagues, varying as to length in kilometres from 3.268 to 5.849 (Guérin, Encycl. Universelle, Paris. Tom. IV., p. 1,061). But besides these there was the *lieue de terre* of 4.444 k., according to Larousse, and according to Littré of 4.444 and a half, and

the *lieue marine*, 5.555 k., and the *lieue de poste*, 3.898 k., and the *lieue d'une heure*, 4.872 k.

During the French Revolution, or to be precise, on April 7, 1792, the new metric system was decreed legal, and was so recognized until Feb. 12, 1812, when, in deference to the emperor's wishes, the *système usuel* was introduced. It in turn was abolished, July 4, 1837, and the metric system, by force of law, once more became the recognized standard of measures on January 1, 1841. The very nomenclature of the old system was prohibited and the mere use of the terms was punishable as an infraction of the penal code.

This accounts for Father Martin's using the words "quatre kilomètres," instead of one league, in his popular edition of Brébeuf's Life, deeming them sufficiently exact for the general reader. This is the distance he gives not only as that from St. Ignace II. to St. Louis (Vie de Brébeuf, Paris, 1877, p. 269), but also as that from St. Louis to Ste. Marie I. (Id. p. 279).

At this date it is impossible to say with absolute certainty which of all the different leagues, enumerated above, was the one the Fathers made use of in their calculations, but most probably it was the "lieue d'une heure;" for as they evidently did not measure off the distances given in the Relations, they naturally computed the space travelled by the time it took to tramp from village to village.

Now, the English statute mile (or 1,760 yards) measures in mètres 1609.3149 (or 1,609 kilomètres); three statute miles, or one land league (5,280 yards), 1827.9447 mètres (or 1,827 kilomètres about) which is the nearest approach, in our measures of length, to the "lieue d'une heure" of 4,872 k., the latter exceeding the former by 45 mètres only. For this reason I have always taken three statute miles, or one land league, as about equivalent to the "lieue" of the Relations, and with good results, as I have found by experience. It may sometimes prove too long, sometimes too short; but the very estimates in the Relations, in the case of distances between the same two points, occasionally vary to a greater extent one from the other, than does one common land league from the "lieue d'une heure."

Christophe Regnauts' Letter.

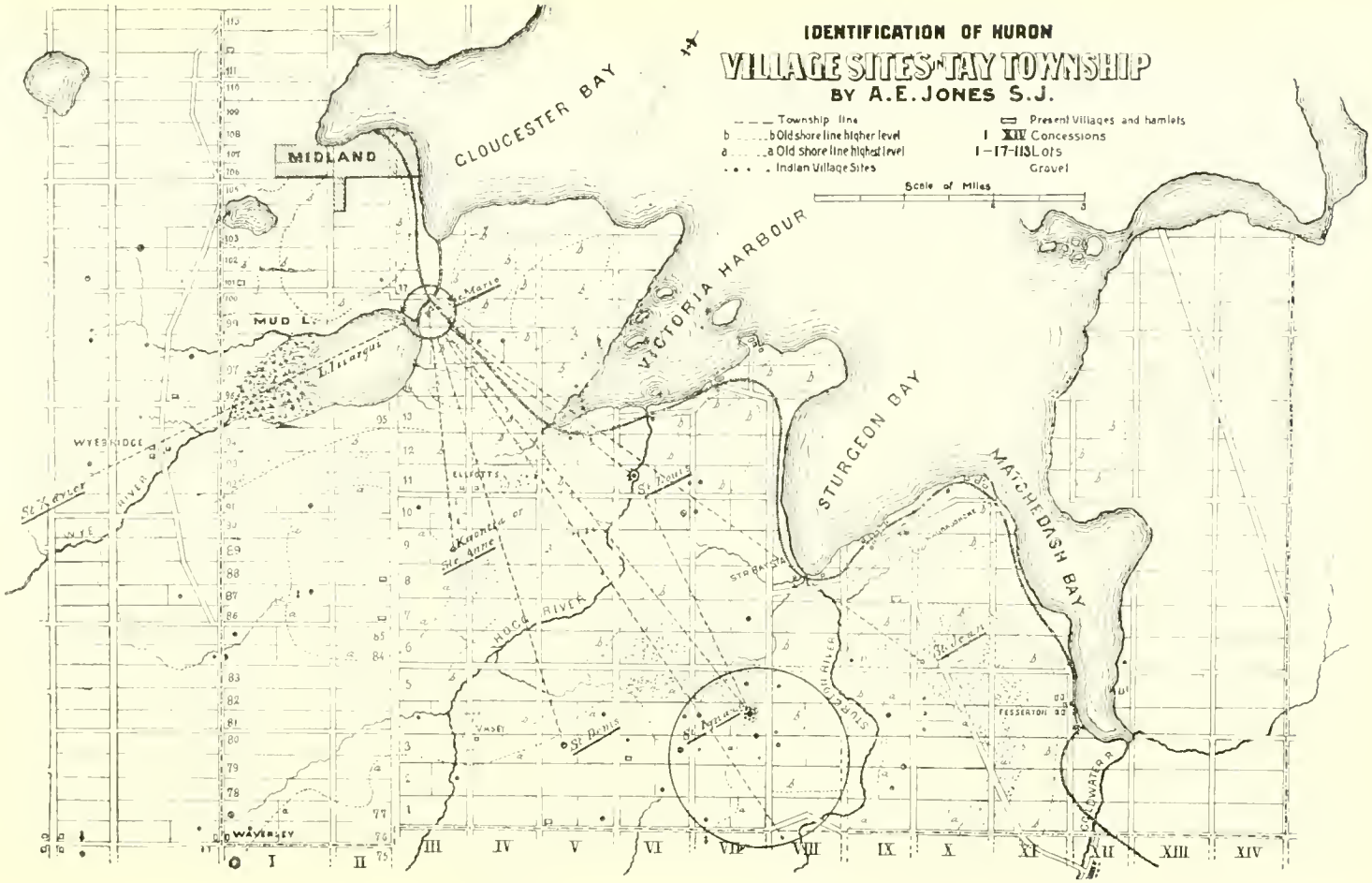
Brother Christophe Regnaut's letter, dated 1678, is quoted as an offset to Father Ragueneau's evidence, and it is said that he "explicitly makes it [the distance] much less." The letter is quite authentic and written in perfectly good faith: "Le Père Jean de Brébeuf et le Père Gabriel l'Alemant partirent de nostre cabane

pour aller à vn petit Bourg, nommé St. Ignace esloigné de nostre cabane enuiron un petit quart de Lieuë pour instruire les Saumages, et les nouueaux Chrétiens de ce Bourg, etc." (See Report on Canadian Archives, Ottawa, for 1884, p. lxiii.) "Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant set out from our cabin to go to a small bourg, called St. Ignace, distant from our cabin about a short quarter of a league, etc.," which is equivalent to "a short three-quarters of a mile." Now we have more than one authority to show that St. Ignace II. lay about one league beyond St. Louis, to which must be added the distance from St. Louis to Ste. Marie I., and moreover we have a good authority to show that the entire distance from St. Ignace II. to Ste. Marie was two leagues.

This, it appears, would be met by saying that though Brother Regnaut said they went to a small bourg named St. Ignace, distant from our cabin about a short quarter of a league he meant they went to St. Louis, since St. Louis was one of the villages belonging to the mission centre of St. Ignace: "The latter writer (Brother Regnaut) uses the name 'St. Ignace' [really applied to the mission among all these villages, as Ragueneau also tells us] for the village to which the two missionaries had set out, and does not mention the name 'St. Louis.'" If so there is no question of his having *explicitly* made the distance less. But even had he meant St. Louis, matters would not be mended entirely, for Ragueneau makes the distance out as not more than a league, while the Brother would have said it was but a short three-quarters of a mile.

The answer to all this, it seems to me, is very simple. Christophe Regnaut at the time the events occurred was one of the hired men attached to the Fort of Ste. Marie I. Born in 1613, he was then thirty-six years old. He left Huronia with all the others, and in 1650 returned to France, where he became a lay brother. Twenty-nine years after the occurrence of the massacres, and when he was sixty-five years old, he wrote an account, not precisely of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Lalemant, but of the wounds he saw inflicted on their bodies just as they appeared when they were about to be carried back to Ste. Marie I. The evidence of the tortures they must have suffered would have made a lasting impression on his memory, faithless in old age in the matter of distances, dates and names. So it need be no matter of surprise if through the haze of nigh on thirty years, one all but faded name should be mistaken for another, and topographical outlines should have become blurred. The authority of such a witness, in such circumstances could never outweigh that of Father Ragueneau, whose testimony we have given.

The fifth reason rests on the supposed difficulty, not to say impossibility, of being able to distinguish the flames of the burning village of St. Louis from Ste. Marie I. were it not placed on the site mentioned. An inspection of my own map of Tay Township, or of that of Mr. Andrew F. Hunter, placed as frontispiece in his monograph of Huron Sites in Tay, will contribute not a little to settle the difficulty. On either side of the Midland Branch of the Grand Trunk Railway, in its stretch from Ste. Marie I. to the head of Victoria Harbour, lie at a little distance north-east and south-west three well defined knolls. The three to the north-east are considerable enough to be called hills, and cover nearly all the peninsula lying between Gloucester Bay and Victoria Harbour. They effectually shut out all view of the latter harbour for about three-quarters of a mile from its southern extremity. The three smaller hills, to the south-west of the railway line, would shut out a view of any object lying more than a quarter of a mile to the south-west of the head of Victoria Harbour Bay. But, between these two limits, the visual ray is unimpeded as far as what Mr. Hunter has named the Vasey-Ridge, and it is nearly in the middle of this open space, widening as we recede from Ste. Marie I., that the site of St. Louis lies on lot 11, concession VI. Add to this that the top of the tower or look-out of Ste. Marie I. before the fort and the residence were destroyed, was not on a level with the ruins of the Old Fort of to-day, while the summit of the first hill, lying north-east of the fort, and immediately contiguous to it, was always available for purposes of observation. I may add that I say this, not relying merely on a study of the topography of the surroundings as laid down on the maps mentioned, but for having carefully gone over the ground with this object in view, namely, to ascertain if the flames of a conflagration at the Newton Farm, the site of St. Louis, could not easily be seen from the immediate vicinity of Ste. Marie I.



Map of the Township of Tay.

IX.

DISCOVERY AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE OF ST. IGNACE II.

THEORIES TESTED BY LOCAL OBSERVATION.

The Search Systematized.

Presence of Ashbeds not likely.

A Field of Hatchets—West half lot 4, con. VII.

Would mark Scene of Battle.

Sites examined without result, particularly the above.

The Newton Farm Scrutinized,—not St. Ignace II.

The Newton Farm, Site of St. Louis.

A Promise ahead—Other Sites rejected.

St. Ignace II. recognized in east half lot 4, con. VII.

A Corroborating Fact.

Replica of St. Ignace II. of the Old Records.

An Ideal Outlook.

Hallowed Ground.

IX.

THEORIES TESTED BY LOCAL OBSERVATION.

Before setting out from Coldwater, on August 15, 1902, in company of Father Nicholas Quirk, S.J., Mr. J. C. Brokovski, barrister and solicitor of the village, and Mr. George Hamilton (both the latter having been my companions, together with Father J. J. Wynne, S.J., in a like expedition three years previous), I was in possession of all the foregoing data concerning distance and direction. So confident was I of the soundness of the inferences drawn from the scraps of information gleaned from Bressani, Charles Garnier, Malherbe's Obituary, Ducreux's maps and the Relations, that, taking for centre a point within, and not far from the S.E. corner of lot 3, con. VII., with a radius of one mile, I traced on the map of Tay Township a circle two miles in diameter. It overlapped the town line, taking in the N.W. corner of lot 24, con. VIII.,* and the N.E. corner of lot 24, con. VII., Medonte Township; and, in the Township of Tay, the greater portion of lots 1, con. VII. and VIII., the entire lots 2, 3, 4, con. VII. and VIII., the greater portion of lots 5, same two concessions, and finally, just the eastern ends of lots 2, 3, 4 of con. VI. If within this circle one spot only could be discovered, answering perfectly to the description given in Bressani and in the Relations, one might conclude indubitably that the place was none other than that once occupied by St. Ignace II.

I left the ashbeds, the most reliable indication of Indian occupancy, out of the count; for, plainly discernible as they are, even for years after the plough has passed over them, there where villages had stood for ten, twelve, or fifteen years, it was not to be expected that such would be the case with the site of St. Ignace II. The life of the village had been too short. Two partial disasters had befallen its braves, following one on the other at an interval of a few days only (Rel. 1648, p. 50, col. 2, line 41), the

*It was on this spot on the map giving the "Theoretical Reconstruction of Huronia," which I contributed, in 1898, to Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites' reissue of the Relations, that I set down St. Ignace II., a little over a mile and a quarter too far south-east. I had stretched the distance of St. Louis from Ste. Marie from three miles, as given in the old records, to three miles and two-thirds, and correspondingly, in the same proportion, the distance of St. Ignace II. to St. Louis. This was done out of deference to Ducreux's map, where St. Louis is shown lying east of Hogg River.

first of which had occurred "towards the end of this winter" (Id. p. 49, col. 2, line 38) and forced the inhabitants to move to some other site more out of reach of the enemy and nearer Ste. Marie I. (Id. p. 51, col. 1, line 1). As this Relation, 1648, was sent down to Quebec from the Huron Country, April 16th, 1648 (Id. p. 45, col. 1), the words "towards the end of this winter" must point to the interval between February 1 and April 16—say, sometime well on in March. Now, St. Ignace II. was surprised and sacked, March 16, 1649, so that the site could have been occupied one year only. Two hundred and fifty-three years of winter snows, spring thaws, with summer and autumn rains, would amply suffice to wash away any accumulation of ashes from the lodge fires of a twelvemonth.

On the other hand, I had seen recorded a very significant particular in one of Mr. Andrew F. Hunter's pamphlets, most valuable archæological repertories for one in search of a catalogue of those township lots, within the limits of Tiny, Tay and Medonte, which have yielded unmistakable evidences of Indian occupancy. On the farm of Andrew Brown, west half lot 4, con. VII., Tay, many iron tomahawks had been found. John Moad, who had first cleared the land, picked up no end of them, the number in his possession varying; for, it is said that his shanty was sometimes covered with them, fifty or more lying on its roof at one time (Monograph on Tay, p. 30, No. 26). Some few relics of the kind were also found on Ira Hazelton's farm, across the concession road, that is, on east half lot 4, con. VI.

The presence of hatchets in such numbers, scattered over the surface of the ground, was a sure indication that the spot was once the scene of conflict between savage tribes. As the weapons fell from the relaxing grasp of the dying brave they were trampled beneath the snow. The spring came, and the rank weeds or the fronds of fern, in forest and glade, shrouded them from the sight of the prowling savage, until they lay securely buried beneath the decaying leaves of two centuries and a half of recurring autumns.

I candidly acknowledge that my hopes of finding what had been anxiously sought for during the last fifty years, namely, the spot which had witnessed the martyrdom of the two heroic missionaries, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, were centered on this west half lot 4, con. VII., Tay. In consequence, the programme of the day's outing was so arranged that an inspection of the locality was to be made as early in the forenoon as possible.

With this in mind, we shaped our way westward from Coldwater, on the old Sturgeon Bay road, and soon our double carriage was lumbering up the eastern declivity of Rosemount Ridge. At

the XI. concession we struck the townline between Medonte and Tay, which we followed in a south-westerly direction as far as the concession road running north-west between VI. and VII. This ground Father Wynne and myself had already gone over twice, in May, 1899, but with unsatisfactory results, owing to a drizzly rain which not only had dampened our enthusiasm somewhat, but had shut out effectively all view of the hills any considerable distance away. But on this occasion a kind Providence favoured us with delightful weather, cool for August, and with an atmosphere of faultless transparency.

We could take in all the outlines of the distant hills and every break in the ground in our nearer surroundings. There were possibilities in lot 24, concession VIII., Medonte, which were noted for further inspection should our attempts at discovery among the north-westerly sites prove abortive. To class it among the probable sites of St. Ignace II. was, I know, to stretch the measure of distance, reasonably elastic, to its utmost limit.

Lots numbered 1 of concession VI. and VII., including John A. Swan's farm, showed no favourable feature. Entering on the concession road between VI. and VII., and moving north-westwardly, we passed without stopping, Daniel Chambers' on the right and Hector McLeod's on the left—lots 2 in VI. and VII.—as their appearance gave us little encouragement. Lot 3, concession VI., the farm first cleared by Mathew Campbell, sr., and lot 3, concession VII., that of the late John Campbell, brother of Mathew senior, were just as unpromising.

We were still working within the two-mile circle, and had yet to visit two sites fronting on this concession line, one of which was on the farm of Andrew Brown, west half lot 4, concession VII., where so many tomahawks had been found, so that we were not at all dispirited by our failures so far. But it was precisely here that a great disappointment awaited us. We drove well into the farm, and though alighting, when we could penetrate no further unless on foot, we so extended our investigation as to be able to form a perfectly correct idea of the lie of the land, we recognized no single feature of resemblance to the descriptions given of St. Ignace II. For a similar reason, the farm of Ira T. Hazelton, lot 4, concession VI., was alike barren of results.

Of course there yet remained for our inspection five sites, whose approach must necessarily be made by the concession line between VII. and VIII., but since, at the point we had reached, we were more than half-way to the site of St. Louis, we determined to push on, and take in the unexplored portion of the circle on our return.

The itinerary lay north-west, by the same concession road we were on, as far as the side road between the lots 5 and 6, concession VI., over which we passed; thence again north-west by concession line between V. and VI. to the side road between lots 10 and 11, into which we turned to the N.E., and entered Mr. Charles E. Newton's farm, west half lot 11, concession VI. We examined carefully the eastern bank of Hogg River, facing the defensive position of the Indian village site. The verdict, unhesitatingly given, was that even were this village at the proper distance from Ste. Marie I., it could not claim to be powerfully fortified by nature, though the slope towards the stream, abrupt in some places, and extending to three sides of the position, would contribute materially to strengthen its defences. Nor could it be, as St. Ignace was said to be, impregnable by its site and fortifications.

It was now getting well on into the afternoon, so putting off for the nonce a more searching examination of the western bank of the river, we repaired by the side road between lots 10 and 11 to the foot of a high plateau, which, beyond the middle of concession V., barred further progress. Here man and beast, amicably picnicking together in the shade, were refreshed. Thence we returned to the concession line, up which we drove for a short distance till fairly opposite the site of the Newton Farm. After proceeding on foot to the very edge of the slope on the west bank, and having taken into consideration all the possibilities of the locality we confirmed our former verdict. The ultimate conclusion arrived at was, that we were standing on the site of St. Louis, the spot where Brébeuf and Lalemant had been taken by the Iroquois while engaged in ministering to the dying Hurons.

Entering once more the side road between lots 10 and 11, in concession VI. and VII., and heading in a north-easterly direction, we remarked, for we were driving leisurely, the contours of the high ground, where Indian remains had been found on four farms, viz., east and west half lots 10 and 11, in concession VI. and VII. Soon we neared the shore of Sturgeon Bay, with Waubaushene and Tanner's Mill well in sight, and turned S.E. into the road between concessions VII. and VIII.

The view of Mr. John Hamilton's farm seemed full of promise, as we toiled up the hill approaching it, but it lay a mile from the circle. Our most obliging driver, George, is the son of the present occupant and owner. He "gave a lift" to some of his little relatives on their way to the homestead, and was only too glad to have an opportunity of introducing us to his respected parent. The father, in turn, gave us all the information he could.

We went over the farm, but found, alas, that it did not tally with the description in the old records.

Out once more upon the road, we continued along the same concession line and in the same direction, S.E. We had not made much headway, labouring slowly up the long ascent, when there loomed, high ahead of us, a long even eminence, crowned with a level field of golden wheat, and lit up with a gleam of sunshine against the blue sky beyond. The table-land extended back till it blended with the plateau to the west; but to the north-east the ground fell away sharply towards the highway, as it apparently did also on the side facing us.

We were now on a level with two sites, one on either side, east half lot 5, concession VII., occupied by Mr. William Hopkins, and west half lot 5, concession VIII., of which Mr. Arthur Loney is the proprietor. Neither could lay claim to distinction of any kind, and both were, moreover, dwarfed by the site so conspicuous ahead.

Our expectations ran high—but were we to be again disappointed? If so, there was little chance of success further on, for evidently the three succeeding sites, in close proximity—the only ones of the circle remaining unexplored—would be overtopped and commanded by the prominence that filled our vision. As well as we could judge, from our position, of the configuration of the ground, two sides answered the description. One facing the north-west was fully in view. The second, on the north-east, of which we could see but one profile, sloped precipitately towards the road, and beyond it with a rapid fall stretched down the valley to Sturgeon River a mile away. On these two sides it was certainly powerfully fortified by nature. But of the third side it was impossible yet to tell. If the precipitous descent towards the N.E. should skirt the road for any considerable distance, the configuration of the ground would not be that of St. Ignace II. Our suspense lasted until we were well abreast of the position, when to our great relief we plainly saw that the high land sheered off abruptly towards the S.W. A description of this part of the Campbell farm, lot 4, concession VII., for such it turned out to be, would be an exact replica of the description given by Father Paul Ragueneau, in the Relations, and confirmed by Bressani.

We were so thoroughly convinced that the spot found was in reality St. Ignace II. that we did not even alight; calmly elated, and content beyond measure, in view of the result of our day's wanderings, we decided to proceed on our way back to Coldwater while the sun was yet above the horizon. But we were resolved

to return the following morning the better to examine the ground and enjoy fully the satisfaction to be derived from the certainty of our discovery.

It was not until we had returned to Coldwater, and had already gathered for a quiet chat on the various incidents of the day—not all of which have found place in this account— that we became aware of one oversight. One final corroborative fact, pointing to the identity of the Campbell farm (lot 4, concession VII.) with the site of St. Ignace II. had escaped our notice, no doubt because we were too full of our find, at the time, to think of much else. Moreover, it proved an ample compensation for our keen disappointment of the morning, for it showed that, in our forenoon researches, we had not gone much astray.

The fact which had remained unnoticed was simply this: The farm of Mathew Campbell, Jr., and that of Andrew Brown were contiguous; they were east and west halves of the same lot. No wonder, therefore, that so many tomahawks were found on the latter, the only approach on the level to the gates of St. Ignace II. We are told in the Relations that it was through the weakest part of the enclosure that the enemy forced an entrance; that is, as we now know, through the line of palisades facing south-west. For many of the villagers, if not for all, this was also practically the only way of escape.

The Iroquois were clever strategists. In all likelihood they foresaw that many would escape through the opening in the stockade in the confusion and turmoil of the fearful slaughter going on within. Reserve bands would have been posted on that part of the plateau to intercept the fugitives, and bear them down by weight of numbers, before they could reach the sheltering forests. There was no concerted action in the defence. The terrified Hurons, who had escaped butchery in their wigwams, sought safety individually, after having snatched up the first weapon at hand, the tomahawk. Numbers no doubt succeeded in reaching the open, but only to meet with capture or certain death beyond the enclosure. How thoroughly the bloody work was done by the implacable Iroquois is evinced by the fact that three only escaped half naked through the snows.

On Saturday, August 16th, the morrow of an auspicious day, our party of four returned by the shortest route to lot 4, concession VII., the farm of Mathew Campbell, Jr., and, by the gracious leave of the proprietor, proceeded forthwith to make ourselves better acquainted with the salient features and main outlines of the table-land, or plateau, on which the old town was perched. No site could have been better selected, none more capable of a

vigorous defence. Given the usual and necessary adjuncts of any fortified position, Bressani's one word "impregnable" is the fittest to convey an idea of its strength.

Its strongest side was that facing the present road, where the slope toward the concession line is broken midway by another terrace before reaching the highway, rendering possible, on that side, at least, a first line of defence, in full view and commanded by the second on the crest of the hill. On the other two sides, one facing the north-west the other the south-east, the escarp gradually becomes less precipitous. Towards the south-west the position offers no natural advantages; but, with the other sides secure, it could have been made to present quite a formidable front, with converging, flanking fires* provided for in laying down the line of the palisades.

This part of the farm has, to all appearances, been a long time under cultivation, and for that reason, no doubt, many of the sharper lines have been rounded off by plough and harrow, or by the washing down to the lower level, by rain falls, of the upturned soil along the slopes.

We could not, without damage to the standing grain, attempt to reach the very brow of the hill where the declivity is steepest, but from where we stood we had a commanding view of the Rosemount Ridge, towards the east and south-east, and the eye plunged deep into the sombre valley of the Sturgeon that lay at our feet.

As a look-out for the child of the forest, grown familiar with the ways of the wilderness, and with his keen vision, sharpened still more by his every-day contact with nature in her every mood, the site of St. Ignace was a near approach to the ideal. And had it not been for the innate apathy of the Huron, of which Brébeuf time and again complained, St. Ignace II., instead of falling an easy prey to the enemy, might have proved the bulwark of the nation. But the Huron lacked the vigilance of the Mohawk and

*The Fathers had shown the Hurons the advantage in fortification of bastion, gorge and curtain. This Brébeuf has placed beyond doubt in a passage already quoted. I find the following example of the use of the adverb Vis-a-vis in Father Potier's Huron Grammar (p. 72, 1 col., midway): *etiontenketas d'eeias* en tirant v.g. d'un bastion, on aura vis-a-vis ceux qui seraient le long de la courtine . . . . on rasera toute la courtine en tirant . . . .,ab *oketi* tirer droit"—"in firing v.g. from a bastion, those along the curtain will be in front of you . . . . the curtain will be swept in firing, from *oketi*, to shoot straight." See also in "Radices Huronicæ," 1751, p. 238: "*Etiotenrisati*, dans le coin, dans l'enfoncement de la palissade; du *bastion*," in the angle of the bastion. Such expressions would not occur were the bastion not in use among the Hurons.

the Seneca, and paid dearly for allowing himself to be lulled into the quietude of a false security.

Turning towards the north and north-east, the eye ranged over the waters of Sturgeon Bay and the greater Matchedash, and took in a wide stretch of country in the Muskoka district, while, a little further east, it swept over Gloucester Pool, the mouth of the Severn and no small extent of the North (or Black) River Valley. But all these local advantages, as rehearsed above, all the charms of the panorama, which unfolds itself before the gaze of one standing on the site of St. Ignace, might well be dismissed from thought with a passing note of admiration, were not memories of a far higher order of excellence woven round it. Vastly grander visions of the beautiful and sublime in nature are to be met with within the confines of this great Dominion, and in an endless variety of kind, from the beetling crags of Trinity Rock, the towering mass of Cape Eternity on the Saguenay, to the fairy scenes of enchanting beauty in the Islands of the St. Lawrence: from Niagara, with its deafening roar of waters plunging to depths unknown, to the silent solitudes of the Selkirks, whose glittering peaks cleave the very clouds above—all these and others surpass it immeasurably either in majesty of outline or in perfection of detail.

But no spot on the wide expanse of this continent was hallowed by a nobler sacrifice for the Master than was consummated on this hilltop a few acres in extent, and which lay for two centuries and a half lost in the recesses of the forest. There where we were standing, stood, long since, two Christian heroes whose life ebbed slowly away amidst unspeakable torments. Unlike the martyrs of old who stood in the great amphitheatres of Rome, awaiting death from the wild beasts of the arena, they had no friends among the onlookers to encourage them by voice or gesture. They stood alone in the wilderness of the New World with a few neophytes, sharers in their sufferings, among a howling band of savages, more ferocious than lion or leopard. And as the flames curled round their blistering and lacerated limbs, the smoke of the sacrifice ascended as sweet incense to the throne of the Eternal.

X.

VILLAGES WITH NO TWO CO-ORDINATES.

VILLAGES OF THE BEAR CLAN.

ANGOUTENC.

Ossossanë to Angoutenc.

ARENTA, ARENTÉ OR ARENTET, STE. MADELEINE.

ONNENTISATI.

Tandehouaronnon Mountain.

The Demon Atechiategnon.

OËNRIO OR OÜENRIO.

ANONATEA.

ARENDAONATIA OR ANENDAONACTIA.

IAHENHOUTON.

ST. CHARLES AND ELEVEN OTHER VILLAGES WITH CHRISTIAN NAMES.

TWO VILLAGES ON THE TRAIL FROM ST. JOSEPH II. TO OSSOSSANE.

EKHIONDASTSAAN.

ANDIATAË.

TWO VILLAGES LYING BETWEEN ST. JEAN AND ST. IGNACE I.

ARETHSI.

ST. JOACHIM.

ONE VILLAGE WITHOUT A HURON OR A PATRON'S NAME.

CALDARIA.

TWO PLACES WITH HURON NAMES IN THE ALGONQUIN COUNTRY.

ENDARAHY.

TANGOUAEN.

X.

VILLAGES WITH NO TWO CO-ORDINATES.

There remain a number of villages of which thus far no mention has been made. Of some we find given in the Relations one distance from a known point, and the direction intimated at least vaguely. We gather from the same records, or from Ducreux's inset map, that others lay between two well ascertained village sites; while, either from the writings of the time or from the meaning of the name, we have an inkling as to the position of some others, but no certain knowledge.

That some order may be followed, I purpose taking them in groups, and shall begin with the most important—the villages peopled by the Bear Clan. Of the some seven or eight village sites that go to make up this group, that of *AngSteuc* may be fixed upon with the least vacillation, and with almost as much certainty as if we had two co-ordinates to direct us. This village I place at the head of the series.

But before proceeding let me explain that heretofore the etymology of the village name has not been resorted to, save where the descriptive meaning was necessary to corroborate conclusions already drawn. In cases where adequate proofs were at hand, the tedious process of decomposing compound words was eschewed so as not to render the demonstration too cumbrous. But for the matter now in hand, as the data are meagre enough, I feel less scruple in obtruding this tiresome analysis upon the reader.

VILLAGES OF THE BEAR CLAN.

Angoutenc.

Township of Tiny, X. concession, lot 11; a little less than four miles south-west of Midland.

This name assumes various forms in the Quebec edition of the Relations; thus in Rel. 1636, p. 116, 1 col., *AngSiens*; in Rel. 1637, p. 151, 1 col., and 1638, p. 342, 2 col., *Angoutenc*; in the same Rel., p. 35, 1 col., *AngSteuc*; in 1637, p. 163, 1 col., and p. 170, 2 col., *Angouteus*, which was evidently intended for *Angoutens*, etc. *Angoutenc* or *AngSteuc* is probably the correct form.

Derivation. *AngSa-St-heenk*. R. H. 1751, p. 290, 1 col.: "*ąngSa*, torrent, rapide, (vel *angSara* et *ąskonchia*)."

R. H. 1751, p. 277: " . . . . St [as an affix], l. neut., quelque chose paraître dans quelque élévation, soit de sortie hors de terre par la partie supérieure, quoique l'inférieure y soit attachée, comme les plantes, pierres, etc.; soit de hauteur audessus des autres parties de la terre, comme les montagnes, etc.; soit de situation naturelle, comme les diverses parties d'un même tout, dont les unes paraissent au de là, ou audessus des autres; soit de situation artificielle, comme les choses qu'on plante et fiche d'un côté, et qu'on fait déborder de l'autre, ou les unes hors des autres; soit de stature, de contenance et de posture, comme les hommes et les animaux. . . . . Activum, planter quelque chose, la ficher, la faire entrer, l'enfoncer d'un côté dans quelque endroit, en sorte que de l'autre elle déboute et paraisse dehors. V. g.: *iSt*, il y a; *arontSt*, il y a un arbre sur pied; *ochindSt*, il y a une souche; *ạcntSt*, il y a un baton fiché en terre, ou ailleurs; *ẹntonn(g)iSt*, il y a un clou, une cheville qui déboute; *onnontSt*, il y a une montagne; *aatSt*, il y a une statue en bosse, en relief (de viventibus dicitur *at*) et sexcenta hujusmod'."

Hence, *AngSa-St*, *AngSt*, There where there is a torrent, a rapid.

Gr., p. 95: "*Heẹnk*, extra, dicitur *hengens*, specie tenus." In English, without, beyond, as far as appearances go, on the outside.

Angoutenc would, consequently, mean "Beyond, outside of the torrent or rapids." In support of the derivation here given, it would be well to add that among the examples to be found under the title "De Adverbiis—Adverbia Loci" (Gr., p. 68), the following occurs, *aondatenke*, which is rendered "dans un lieu écarté où il n'y avait rien;" and in R. H. 1751, among the substantives given as primary roots, on page 293, 2 col., *aθenk* is translated by "désert, lieu écarté." This compound word certainly derives from *aonda* and *heẹnk*, or else *aθenk*, with the meaning of an out-of-the-way place, a desert spot, a place where there is nothing, beyond human habitations. Similarly, therefore, *AngStenke*, *AngSθenke*, *AngStenc*, "Beyond the rapids or torrent," or "Aside from the rapids."

Site. It was said to be "prochain" with regard to *Ossossanë*, Rel. 1639, p. 88, 1 and 2 cols.: "Vne femme, natifue de ce bourg [*Ossossanë*] mais mariée dans vn autre prochain nommé *AngStenc*, etc. . . . Sa deuotion . . . la porta à s'adresser à ce bourg icy où nous sommes d'*Ossonane* ou Residence de *la Conception*, d'où, comme nous auons dit, elle estoit natifue."

It was three-quarters of a league from *Ossossanë*, Rel. 1638, p. 34, 2 col.: "La mortalité estoit par tout, mais sur tout au

bourg d'*Angoutenc*, qui n'estoit qu'à trois quarts de lieuë de nous." The *terminus a quo* was *Ossossanë*, see colophon at the end of Chapter III., p. 43, and at the end of the Relation, page 59. Father Le Mercier, who signs it, already informed us in the Rel. 1637, p. 178, 2 col., that he was to be stationed at *Ossossanë*: ". . . . . ie m'en vais à nostre nouuelle Residence," and page 177, "Le 9, nostre cabane d'*Ossossané* estant tout à fait acheuée, etc.," while, in opening the very chapter, where the distance is given, he says: "Ie dis vn mot l'an passé de nostre nouuelle Residence en la bourgade qui est comme le coeur du païs. Nostre Cabane n'estoit pas encore demy-faite qu'elle attiroit ces peuples." In fact all the incidents mentioned refer to *Ossossanë* as explanatory of the words "à trois quarts de lieuë de nous."

Three-quarters of a league from *Ossossanë*, but in what direction? Evidently not much out of the line of travel to *Ihonatiria*, and judging by the journeyings made, quite out of the line from *Ihonatiria*, *via Arenta*, to *Ossossanë*. Rel. 1637, p. 151, 1 col.: Father Superior and Father Jogues start from *Ihonatiria* for *Ossossanë*, stop at *Oënrio* in passing, baptize two children at *Angoutenc*, and arrive at *Ossossanë* the following day.

On another occasion, the Superior and a companion had gone from *Ihonatiria* to *Ossossanë* by way of *Arenta* ["en y allant ils passerent par *Arenté*,"] and when returning to *Ihonatiria* passed by *Angoutenc* ["Au retour, ils estoient desia au de-là du bourg d'*Angouteus*, par lequel ils estoient passez, lors qu'ils, etc."] Rel. 1637, p. 170.

Angoutenc, in 1636, must have been a rather important centre as it was then being fortified. Rel. 1636, p. 116, 1 col.: "On avoit inuité toute la ieunesse à se transporter au village d'*Ang8iens* pour travailler à vne pallissade de pieux qui n'estoit qu'à demy faite."

In 1899, Father Wynne, S.J., of New York, and myself visited the farms of Alexander Santimo (St. Amand) and Andrew Parent, the site of a former Huron village. Mr. Santimo occupies the north-west quarter, and Mr. Parent the north-east, of lot 11, concession X., Tiny Township. We picked up many Indian relics on the spot; and made certain of the presence of ash-beds. To approach the village from either *Ihonatiria* or *Ossossané* one would have to cross a waterway and a rather deep and tortuous gully.

This diminutive ravine, were we to judge by the irregular erosion of the banks, must have formed, in times gone by, the bed of a stream of no great volume, but impetuous in its headlong course. The appropriateness of the name *Ang8tenc* is apparent, it was the village "beyond the torrent."

The four successive sites of *Ossossané* all lay in the neighbourhood of Varwood Point, lot 18, concession VIII., Tiny Township, and from this lot to lot 11, concession X., the distance is about three miles. *Ossossané* to *AngStenc*, as we already know from the Relations, was three-quarters of a league. As no other site tallies so well with what data we have, it is all but morally certain that the fortified town of *AngStenc* stood on the land occupied by Alexander Santimo and Andrew Parent.

Mr. Andrew Hunter's description of this site is given at page 33 (No. 30) of his Monograph on Village Sites in Tiny Township, 1899.

Arenta, Arenté or Arentet.

Township of Tiny, XIII. concession, near lot 18 or 19, about two miles from La Fontaine, towards the south.

Arenta is the form given on Ducreux's map; *Arenté* is found in Rel. 1637, p. 150, 2 col.; p. 151, 1 col.; p. 163, 2 col.; p. 176, 1 col.; Rel. 1643, p. 30, 1 col.; *Arentet* occurs in Rel. 1649, p. 29, 2 col.; and finally *Auenté*, probably a misprint, in Rel. 1637, p. 170, 1 col.

Ducreux seems to identify *Arenta* with the village "*S. Magdalenæ*," and locates it not far from *Taruentutunum*, but more to the south.

Derivation. From *areenti* or *aarent*.

"*Areenti*, caus. Y avoir une embouchure de rivière en tel endroit." (R. H. 1751, p. 180.).

"*Aarent*, act.: ouvrir; neut.: avoir un trou, une ouverture." (R. H. 1751, p. 78.)

If we derive it from the former, it would be compounded with the enclytic *aë* (see explanations further on under the heading Derivation of *Andiataë*). Thus: *areenti-aë*, *areenté* (Gr., p. 66-2° de composit.), *arenté* (Gr., p. 66-8° de composit.), meaning "There where there is a river's mouth." If from the second, it would be compounded with *at* (R. H. 1751, p. 19), "*at*, prim. neut. quod significat quelque chose être dans une autre . . . . v.g.: *iSat* il y a quelque chose dedans, *arontat* or *iSat ąrontaę* il y a dans un calumet," i.e., there is something in the pipe. *Arentat* would then mean "In the mouth of the river."

I have followed Ducreux in locating *Arenta* as I have, and the only other clue to its position to be found in the Relations, without imparting much information, is corroborative evidence.

In Rel. 1637 (p. 170, 1 col.), Fr. François Le Mercier, writing from *Ihonatiria* (Id. p. 179), says: "Le mesme iour . . . . le P.

Superieur et le P. Chastellain retournerent d'*Ossossané*, où ils étoient allez le iour precedent . . . . mais en y allant [to *Ossossané*], ils passerent par *Auenté*, où ils trouuerent, etc." *Arenté*, consequently, could not have been much out of the trail from *Ihonatiria* to *Ossossané* since it was taken in on the journey from the former to the latter place. "Ils passèrent par" suggests that they had a choice of routes and that they chose this o e. And from what follows (Ib. 2 col.) *Angoutenc* apparently did not lie in the line from *Arenté* to *Ossossané*, since, on their return trip to *Ihonatiria*, it was on their line of march from *Ossossané* (Ib. 2 col.).

No exhaustive search for Indian remains has been made in the immediate neighbourhood, as far as I could ascertain; but while in the vicinity I learned that a clump of exotic cherry trees (*cerisiers de France*) was found by the first settlers growing wild on the left bank of the little stream which empties, about a mile below to the south-west, into Nottawasaga Bay.

Onnentisati.

Township of Tiny, concession XIII., lot 10. This indication is merely directive, and not irreformable.

Derivation. I am inclined to think that instead of *Onnentisati* we should read *Onnontisati*, as *onnonta* is the Huron for mountain (R. H. 1751, 291, 2 col.), and the Relations inform us that there was a hill or mountain near the village (Rel. 1637, p. 149, 2 col.). Thus *onnont8t* signifies there is a mountain (Gr., p. 60).

"*Isati*, 1. in comp., heurter quelque chose, donner contre; 2. être enfoncé, avoir des enfoncements, des coins enfoncés; v.g.: *etiotenrisati*, dans le coin, ou l'enfoncement de la palissade, des bastions; *eorhisati*, coin de forêt" (R. H. 1751, p. 238). With this derivation *Onnontisati* would be the village seated in the "Mountain Hollow."

But should the reading of the Relations be correct, the name would come from *onñenta*, sapin, tout bois gommeux, tout arbre qui ne flétrit pas (R. H. 1751, p. 290, 2 col.); and *Onnentisati* would mean the village in the recess or receding angle of the pines, or "Evergreen Glade," just, as we have seen, *eorhisati* means "Forest Nook."

Site. There is no mention in the Relations of the dual Christian name of *Onnentisati*. The village is placed on the map in the Township of Tiny, XIII. concession, lot 10; but the exact spot cannot be determined from the Relations alone, as there is no indication of its distance from any other village of the Point.

From the accounts of the various journeyings to and fro of the missionaries we know only approximately where the village stood.

As to the identity of the hill on, or near which, *Onnentisati* stood there can be no reasonable doubt. Roughly speaking, it takes in lots numbered 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, of concessions XIV. and XV., Tiny, parts of lots numbered 14 in both concessions, to the west, and parts of lots numbered 8 to the east. Its southernmost limits cut across the northerly halves of the same numbered lots in concession XIII.

The plateau, now termed Randolph Hill, slopes off gently enough towards the west, but it is precipitous and almost bluff-faced to the east. The bearings of the village with regard to this prominent landmark remain undetermined in the old records, but one would naturally be led, on account of the conformation of the ground, and its closer proximity to *Oënrio* (Rel. 1637, p. 149, 1 col.), to seek for *Onnentisati* along the north-eastern edge of the plateau where many spots would seem admirably adapted to Indian defensive positions. Few of these, however, are under cultivation, and consequently traces of Huron occupancy, were there any, could with great difficulty be detected. Several positions also, towards the south-east, might very well have been chosen as village sites.

In enumerating the several evil spirits the Hurons were ever trying to propitiate, the Relation 1637 (p. 149) rehearses the words of one of them addressed to a favourite dupe: "Cettui-là, dit-il, s'appelle *Atechiategnon*, c'est à dire qui se change et se deguise, et est le demon de *Tandchouaronnon*, qui est vne montagne aupres du bourg *Onnentisati*."

Thinking that the name of the hill, or of the mountain as it is termed in the Relations, might throw some light upon the correct locating of *Onnentisati*, I attempted to decompose it with the following result. The name of the mountain, as given above, is *Tandchouaronnon*, or *T'andchouaronnon*. The main root is either *Andeŝes*, blan [blanc, banc?] de sable" (R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.), from the primitive "*ąndechia* sable" (R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.), or "*ąndehŝa*, peau de castor, de chat (wild cat), etc. (Id. ib.).

The secondary root is unmistakable. "Nationalia (nomina) formantur a nomine proprio addendo *ronnon*, v.g.: *onnontaę*, *onnontaeronnon*, les habitants des montagnes (hill dwellers, highlanders), *etiorhenchtronnon*, anglais, habitants du levant, etc." (Gr., p. 65, 7°.)

The initial letter is the *T localitatis*.

With the former of the two main roots the word would mean the hill of the "Sand Dwellers," with the second, the "Beaver Skin People."

As for *Atechiategnon*, the name of the demon who favoured the mountain with his presence, and of which the writer of the Relation was good enough to give us the translation as "The one who transforms and disguises himself," derives apparently from *ate*, to be, to become (R. H. 1751, p. 200, 201), which, though it generally comes second in the compound word, as, *te catate*, there is nobody, *ondate*, this space, is found also as prefix, as *atek8i*, meaning perpetual presence, *atatie*, to remain, to continue to be present (Ib. p. 201). The two other roots are *chia* or *chie* and *atetanion*. *Chia* in composition with *at* and *ate* "significat identitatem unius ejusdem rei secum, vel aequivalentiam. *Chia* in omnibus personis in quibus personæ aoristi primi incipiunt ab *a*: *chie* vero in omnibus quæ incipiunt ab *e*." (R. H. 1751, p. 198, *at*.)

"*Atetañion* in comp. avoir plusieurs doubles" (Ib. p. 27, No. 67).

The result is *ate-chia-atetañion*, *atechiateñion*, pronounced *Atechiategnon*, "To be or remain the same and become many doubles," "The One of many Transformations."

As for the position of *Onnentisati* itself, we may rightly infer from scraps of information gleaned here and there in the Relations that it lay further away from *Ihonatiria* than did *Oënrio* or *Anonatea*, both of which were one league distant from the Fathers' village: "Les Peres estant à *Ouenrio*, apprirent qu'vn petit enfant estoit à l'extremité; ils coururent et le baptiserent, il mourut auant hier. De là ils allerent *iusques à Onnentisatj*, pour visiter vn nommé Onendich, etc." (1637, p. 166, 2 col.). The idea conveyed is that having started from *Ihonatiria*, where the Fathers' residence then was, and having reached *Oënrio*, they had to push on further to see Onendich, that is, *as far as Onnentisati*. And yet, it was not very much further for *Oënrio* is classed among the towns lying round about *Onnentisati*: "Vn autre sorcier . . . . se mettoit fort en credit au bourg d'*Onnentisati*, et abusoit de ses resueries *les bourgades circonuoisines;* dés le neufuiesme de ce mois, que le P. Superieur estoit allé à *Oüenrio*, ... il *en auoit appris des particularitez* etc." (Rel. 1637, p. 149, 1 col.); as much as to say that *Oënrio* was one of the neighbouring towns where these vagaries of the medicine-man had been noised abroad.

Nor could it have been very far from *Ossassanë*, for the associate of the sorcerer aforementioned was at *Ossossanë* in a dying

state on January 23, when he had himself carried to *Onnentisati* where he died January 25 (Rel. 1637, p. 152, 2 col.); a litter with a dying man must have proceeded very slowly. From this and from what follows it is clear that the village lay between *Ihonatiria* and *Anonatea*, on the one hand, and *Ossossanë* on the other (Rel. 1637, p. 142, 1 col.). The superior who had left *Ossossanë* on December 17, 1636, and had passed the night at *Anonatea*, after reaching *Ihonatiria* despatched two missionaries to *Ossossanë* and here is their itinerary: "Le 19, le P. Superieur nous renuoia à *Ossosanë*, ... auec commission de nous arrester en passant à *Anonatea* . . . ." They passed the day there. "Le 20, nous allasmes à *Onnentisatj* . . . ." So the order of the route was 1. *Ihonatiria*, 2. *Anonatea*, 3. *Onnentisati*, 4. *Ossossanë*. They reached the latter place the evening of the 20 (p. 143, 1 col.), which they left on the 23 (p. 145, 1 col.), and returned home passing again by *Anonatea*. They had not passed by *Oënrio*, though but one league from *Ihonatiria*, (as was also *Anonatea*), for the narrative proceeds: "Estant de retour (à *Ihonatiria*) nous fusmes bien consolez d'entendre que le P. Pijart auoit baptisé huict petits enfans à Oüenrio, etc. This they would have heard of already had they taken in *Oënrio* also on their return trip.

Here is another itinerary (Rel. 1637, p. 145, 2 col.) of a journey lasting from December 27, 1636, to January 4, 1637: "Le 27, le P. Superieur retourna à *Ossossané* auec le P. Isaac Iogues et Simon Baron. Il passa par *Anonatea*, où il visita les Bissiriniens, etc. . . . . Il apprit là ce qu'ils pensoient de la maladie (p. 146, 1 col.) . . . . Mais en passant par *Onnentisatj* il apprit bien vne autre nouuelle, que *Tonneraoüanoné* qui estoit à *Ossossané* et vendoit là sa theriaque, nous accusoit, etc. . . . . *Tonneraouanont* ne reüssit pas en ses cures. . . . et le 4 de Ianuier que le Pere partit, il n'y auoit gueres moins de malades (Ib. 2 col.). . . . . Le Pere Superieur retourna donc à *Ihonatiria* le 4 de Ianuier." This corroborates what has been said above, that the order of the route was 1. *Ihonatiria*, 2. *Anonatea*, 3. *Onnentisati*, 4. *Ossossanë*.

But if *Onnentisati* was on the line of march from *Ihonatiria* to *Ossossanë*, it is also mentioned as having been passed through in a journey to *Teanaostaiaë*. This would lead us to suppose that it was not very much off the trail to the latter place from the Fathers' residence, since there was question of a long tramp, over twenty-three miles as the crow flies; so, very likely, the traveller turned little to the right or to the left: (Rel. 1635, p. 39, 1 col.): "Le dix-neufiesme Ianuier, ie partis pour aller en

la maison de Louys de saincte Foy, distante de nostre village de sept ou huict lieuës." The starting point was the Fathers' residence which was then at *Ihonatiria*, as may be seen by referring to p. 30, 2 col., and the term of the journey was *Teanaostaiaë*, for it was there that Louis lived. Fr. Charles Garnier in a letter to his father, dated 1638, writes: "Nous sommes sur le point de transporter la residence de St. Ioseph du petit village où elle est, nommé *Ihonatiria*, au plus grand Bourg de ce pays nommé *Teanaustayae*, c'est d'ou etoit natif Louis de Ste. Foy." The Relation of 1637 (p. 161, 2 col.) confirms this fact in other words: "Ce mesme 29, le P. Sup. partit pour aller à *Teanaostaiaé* auec le P. Garnier, afin qu'il peust témoigner sur les lieux aux parens de Louys de Ste. Foy le ressentiment que nous auions de l'affliction de leur famille, etc." But to return to the itinerary: "Ie n'auois peu ny deu y aller plus tost . . . . En ce voyage passant par *Onnentisati* i'allay voir vn nommé Oukhahitoüa, etc." He did not as is evident from the wording of the phrase, go out of his way but just called in as he passed by.

Now, if *Onnentisati* lay further from *Ihonatiria* than did *Anonatea*, but not too far to preclude its having *Oënrio*, a village lying one league from *Ihonatiria*, for one of its "bourgades circonvoisines"; if it was on or near the trail leading from *Ihonatiria* to *Ossossanë* so as to allow of passing travellers stopping there on their way to the latter place; and if, likewise, it was about on the direct trail from *Ihonatiria* to *Teanaostaiaë*, otherwise St. Joseph II., it could hardly be set down on the present Map at any other point than one on the eastern border of the Randolph Plateau.

While a perusal of the several passages of the Relations referring to *Onnentisati* leaves a strong impression that the real site lay towards the north-eastern corner—and I am persuaded that when the ground is all put under cultivation it will eventually be discovered there—still as nothing has yet been unearthed in that direction, and as to the south-east, unmistakable signs of a Huron village occur, I have rather reluctantly marked the village on the latter site.

Ranging through that part of Huronia, some years ago, our party endeavoured to find the bone-pit mentioned by Mr Andrew Hunter (village sites of Tiny, p. 25, No. 16) as lying near Joseph Groseille's farm, lot 12, concession XII. Though led to the supposed spot by a farmer of the neighbourhood, who seemed well informed on matters local, even after digging to some depth in the sandy soil, we failed to find any traces of an ossuary, nor could we glean any information as to ash-beds or relics discovered

nearby. But pushing on as far as lot 10, concession XIII. we came to the Ladouceur farm. We were shown over the ground, and in a small orchard to the west of the dwelling, and close to the foot of the hill, ash-beds and pottery were found. On the brow of the hill itself and a little further to the north similar indications were met with.

I have learned since that the Ladouceurs no longer occupy the farm. Lightning struck the house some twelve months later killing and injuring members of the family. Soon after this distressing event the survivors moved to other parts.

Oënrio or Oüenrio.

Township of Tiny, XVII. Concession, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lot 5; or about five miles north-east of La Fontaine, and about three north-west of Penetanguishene.

Derivation. The different readings of this name to be found in the Relations are: *Oënrio* (Rel. 1635, p. 31, 32, 39); *Oenrio* (Rel. 1637, p. 137, 159); *Senrio* (Rel. 1636, p. 89); *Ouenrio* (1637, p. 149, 159. 161, 163, 166): *Oüenrio* (1637, p. 153). The first seems to be the proper form.

Oënrio derives from "*Oęnra* (*akenra*), une sapinière (R.H. 1751, p. 287, 1 col.), a fir or spruce plantation, and *io*, which occurs only in compound words and signifies beautiful, grand, great, good, v.g.: "*Aṇñonchia*, (*atennonchia* vel *ennonchia*) cabane, maison" (R.H. 1751, p. 291, 1 col.), "*ąnnonchïo*, belle, jolie cabane" (Ib. p. 236); and similarly "*aatïo*, personne accomplie; *aSendïo*, principal maître; *andatsïo*, grande chaudière: *entiokSio*, belle troupe; *akiSachrïo*, chef de guerre; *ąrontïo*, grand arbre; *ąndaarachrïo*, belle corne; *arihSïo*, affaire d'importance, gros péché" (Ib.). Consequently *Oenra-ïo*, *Oenrio*, might mean "The great spruce Plantation," "The Beautiful Firs." I find no root from which *Senrio or Oüenrio** can derive. It might be well to add that *oęnra* (*ataęnra*) has also the meaning of "cendres," ashes (Id. p. 281, 1 col.); but I fail to see how "Beautiful Ashes" could be a suitable name even for a Huron village, unless *Oënrio* occupied one of the former sites of *Teandeouïata*, of which it was an off-shoot, and which de Brébeuf tells us was burnt down twice "ayant esté bruslé par deux fois" (Rel. 1635, p. 29, 1 col.), and that it was supposed to have risen "Beautiful from its Ashes."

Site. It was one of the "bourgades circonvoisines" of *Onnentisati* (Rel. 1637, p. 149, 1 col.). Its village community formed

* "O" et "8" aliquando promiscue adhibentur (Gramm. p. 1).

at one time part of that of *Toanché I.* (Rel. 1635, p. 31, 1 col.): "Entre les villages qui nous ont voulu auoir, ceux d'*Oënrio* en ont fait plus d'instance. Ce petit village, assez proche du nostre (meaning *Teandeaüata* or else *Ihonatiria* of 1635; see Relation for that year p. 28, 1 and 2 cols., foot, and p. 29, 1 col. foot) faisoit autresfois vne partie de celuy où nous estions iadis." This one where they had previously dwelt is mentioned on p. 28, 1 col. foot: "Ie pris terre au port du village de *Toanché* ou de *Teandeaüata*, où autresfois nous estions habituez". These two villages have already been shown to be distinct as to their sites but identical as to their village communities: *Toanché* was *Toanché I.*, and *Teandeaüata* was *Toanché II.*

The fact that *Oënrio* and *Teandeaüata*, very near the latter of which *Ihonatiria* was situate, had formed but one community, is corroborated by what is said in Relation 1637 (p. 161, 1 col.): "Nous assemblasmes les principaux de nostre bourgade, (Teandeaüata and *Ihonatiria*) pour sçauoir . . . . si le dessein qu'ils auoient eu de se reünir auec ceux d'*Ouenrio* estoit tout à fait rompu, autresfois ce n'estoit qu'vn bourg" (with *Toanché I.*, i.e. they formed but one village community).

Oënrio was one league from *Ihonatiria*: ". . . . les habitants d' *Oënrio*, qui est vne bourgade à vne lieüe de nous" (Rel. 1637, p. 137, 1. col.). The residence of the Fathers was then at *Ihonatiria*, (Ib. p. 179).

From *Ihonatiria* it lay in the direction of *Angoutenc* and *Ossossanë*. For, on January 17, the Superior sets out from *Ihonatiria* for *Ossossanë* (Rel. 1637, p. 151, col.), passes through *Oënrio* (Ib.), continues his tramp southward, stops over at *Angoutenc*, and arrives at *Ossossanë* on the morrow (Rel. 1637, p. 151, 1 col.).

And again: On April 5, he starts from *Ossossanë*, at the invitation of the village chief, and *on passing through Oënrio* he assembles the elders in council, then proceeds to *Ossossanë* (Rel. 1637, p. 163, 1 col.).

Oënrio was nearer to *Ihonatiria* than was *Onnentisati*, but not on the same trail as *Anonatea*, for the missionaries going from *Ihonatiria*, to *Onnentisati* pass by way of *Oënrio* and return by way of *Annonatea*, (Rel. 1637, p. 166, 1 col.): "Le premier iour de Iuin, le P. Charles Garnier et le Pere Chastellain furent enuoiez à *Ouenrio*, à l'occasion d'vne femme qu'on nous auoit fait bien malade . . . . (Ib. 2 col.) Les Peres estant à Ouenrio, apprirent qu'vn petit enfant . . . De là ils allerent iusques à *Onnentisätj*" . . . That is they *pushed on as far as Onnentisati* . . . . (Ib.) "Au retour (à *Ihonatiria*) ils passerent par Anonatea, selon

qu'ils auoient ordre du P. Superieur." They thus completed the round trip. Following these indications as finger-posts, one could go very little astray in marking the approximate positions of *Oënrio*.

From the Relations we learn that *Oënrio and Anonatea* were both one league from *Ihonatiria*, which was on the northern shore line—that both villages were stopping places on the way to *Onnentisati*,—and that the latter village lay between *Ihonatiria* and *Ossossanë*. Consequently one of the two villages occupied a more westerly position than the other.

The first reason for assigning to *Oënrio* the eastward position is that at one time its inhabitants formed part of the village community of *Toanché I.*, and it is to be supposed that they would have settled down near the village of which theirs was an off-shoot. A second, and perhaps a stronger reason, is that there would have been no room for *Anonatea* to the east of the position occupied by *Oüenrio*, as set down on Ducreux's inset map, unless it were placed further away than one league from *Ihonatiria*, which would be going counter to the Relations.

Anonatea.

Township of Tiny, XVII. Concession, near Lot 10; about four miles and a quarter in a north-westerly direction from Penetanguishene.

The name of this village is spelt in several different ways in the Relations: *Anenatea* (1637, p. 141. 1 col.); *Anonatra*, certainly a misprint, (1637, p. 166, 1 col.); *Aneatea* (Ib. p. 157, 2 col.) and *Anonatea*) Ib. pp. 142, 145, 165, 166.); which latter seems to be the most usual.

Derivation. There is very little room for doubt as to its two roots, *annoña* and *atea*. *Annoña*, has five different significations (R. H. 1751. 291, 1 col.) 1. The bottom of a well, a river, a lake, or of any body of water: 2. a precipice, an abyss; 3. a treasure, a supply, a store, a draught of fishes; 4. habit, custom, manners, fashion; 5. the back.

The verb-root is *ate* . . . . extr. et int. Sed extra compositionem impersonaliter, in comp. autem impersonaliter et personaliter (être ut sic). 1° Significat sine addito être, avoir l'être, l'existence etc. [to be, to have being or existence] (R. H. 1751. p. 200, No. 89). Hence, *anona-ate*, *anonate*, a supply to exist, or any other of the objects mentioned among the different meanings of *annoña to* exist. To *anonate* has been added the suffix *a*. "Verbum *a* per se significat praecise magnitudinem vel

aetatem" (Gramm. p. 30, 7°). It is always placed at the end of the word it qualifies: "*a* in compositione sequitur suum simplex" (R. H. 1751, p. 1). Consequently *anonatea* means there where there is a great supply, etc., or "The Village of Abundance" if *annona* be taken in its third sense.

Site. *Anonatea* was one league from *Ihonatiria*, (Rel. 1637, p. 141, 1 col.): "Le Pere Charles Garnier et moy nous allâmes coucher à *Anenatea*, qui n'est qu' vne lieuë de nous." One league from them, i.e., from *Ihonatiria* (1637, p. 167, 2 col.). It was not much out of the line of march to *Onnentisati*, since it is mentioned as a stopping place for the missionaries on their way to that village, or to points further south. For instances of this, see the preceding section where there is question of the site of *Oënrio*.

Both *Anonatea* and *Oënrio* were but a league to the south of *Ihonatiria;* one however lay to the west, the other to the east. In journeyings from *Ihonatiria* to *Onnentisati* and *Ossossanë*, either the one or the other might expect a call as the Fathers passed; but there is no instance of their both having been visited on the same trip north or south. Here is an instance where the itinerary takes in *Oënrio* and leaves out *Anonatea;* the order followed was 1. *Ihonatiria*, 2. *Oënrio*, 3. *Angoutenc*, 4. *Ossossanë*, (Rel. p. 151, 1 col.): "Le 17, la maladie qui alloit tousiours continuant à *Ossossanë*, obligea le P. Superieur de continuer aussi les secours que nous auions rendus aux malades iusques à lors. Il prit auec soy le P. Isaac Iogues . . . . Le Pere passant par *Oüenrio* y trouua assez de malades . . . . Le P. Superieur continua de là son voyage, et s'arresta à *Angoutenc*, où il baptisa deux petits enfans. Le lendemain, 28 (misprint for 18), il arriua à *Ossossané*." *Passing*, therefore, by way of *Oënrio*, thence *continuing* his journey he stops over at *Angoutenc* and then arrives at *Ossossanë*. Attention to the wording of the phrase will show that they were not supposed to have deviated much from the beaten way. An instance of a return northward by way of *Anonatea* after the journey to the south had been made through *Oënrio*, may be found on page 166 of the Relation of 1637.

There is another, which has already been touched upon in the section entitled *Onnentisati;* it is from Relation 1637 also, pages 142, 143, 144, 145. The order of the route was, it will be remembered, 1. *Ihonatiria;* 2. *Anonatea;* 3. *Onnentisati;* 4. *Ossossanë*. But in this case the return trip also was via *Anonatea*, while an incident mentioned shows that the missionaries had not been near *Oënrio*.

Which of the two villages, of *Oënrio* and *Anonatea*, lay to the east and which to the west? There is nothing in the Relations, taken by themselves, which might incline one to adopt one theory in preference to the other. The main reason for placing *Anonatea* to the east is suggested by Ducreux's map, and I have already pointed it out when dealing with *Oënrio*.

Arendaonatia or Anendaonactia.

The two forms given above occur in the Relations. The proper reading would seem to be *Arendaonactia*, for there is no primitive noun-root beginning with *anend* in the Radices Huronicæ, save "*annendaecha*, automne" (R. H. 1751, p. 290, 1 col.) which could be so trimmed as to enter into this compound word.

I. *Ārenda* is evidently the first root, but it has a number of different meanings:

1° *Ārenda* (*atrenda*) prière, ceremonie, danse superstitieuse [prayer, ceremony, a superstitious dance],

2° *Ārenda*, sort, sortilège [a spell, divination, witchcraft].

3° *Ârenda*, rocher, roc [rock, boulder, a crag],

4° *Arenda* (*atrenda*) charge de bois, bûcher [a load of wood, a wood pile], bûchettes de conseil [sticks used in the council-lodge],

5° *Arênda*, attrapes aux chats [raccoon traps],

6° *Ārenda*, corde [a cord, a rope, a line] (R. H. p. 292, 2 col.).

Any of these meanings may be ascribed to this first radical, for there are no signs or accents in the Relations to guide us in our selection.

II. The second root may be either one of two.

1° Aoña, in comp., *ǫon* vel *ǫendaon* extr., plat, van à vanner (R. H. p. 292, 1 col.)," a plate, a flat object, a fan for winnowing. This, it is true, is a noun, but I see no reason why one noun could not, in grammatical Huron, enter into composition with another. The very fact that the ninth rule to be observed when compounding words says "Verbum non componitur cum alio verbo vel cum adjectivo" (Gramm. p. 66), would seem to imply that nouns may be compounded with nouns. However, *aona* may well be an adjective, as well as a noun, meaning flat. As I find no list of adjectives in Potier the question must remain in abeyance. If it be taken as an adjective, *Arenda-aona*, *Arendaona* would as a consequence mean "Flat-Rock."

2° The alternative would be the verb *aon* for second root, a verb with a twofold meaning: "*ǫon* . . . . extr., arriver en quelque lieu, y entrer, etc.; . . . . *Ion* in comp. (pro *ǫon* extr.)

cum nonnullis nominibus quae usus docet, arriver (R. H. 1751, p. 154). So the root *aon*, in our compound word, does not admit of the meaning "to arrive at some place, to enter therein," since to be apt to compound with another root *ąon*, to arrive, must necessarily take the form of *ion*. The second meaning of *ąon* is to take, and in this sense is amenable to composition: "*ąon* . . in comp. (et aliquando extr.) prendre. *Stahion* prends ce couteau [take this knife], *tsentaon*,, prends, tiens ce baton [take this stick, hold it], etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 154, No. 80).

111. The third root may be either *achia* or *acte-aia*. "*Achia* et *aska* per contractionem, (*atechia*), bouche" (R. H. p. 286, 1 col.), mouth. "*Áte* die *acte*, épinette" (Id. p. 293, 2 col.), tamarack, larch, hackmatack, to which is added the diminutive *aïa* (R. H. 1751, p. 1. No. 1), or possibly but quite improbably, "*aïa* (*ateia*) aile, bras" (R. H. 288, 1 col.) a wing, the arm.

It would require much ingenuity to sort out the roots, and to patch up a word out of the various meanings enumerated above, and I leave it to those so gifted to try their hand. I offer two suggestions only. *Arendao-nactia* might mean "The mouth at the flat rock." Not the mouth of a river, for *ąreęncha* means that (R. H. p. 292, 2 col.); nor an ordinary opening, hole, or aperture, for *ąarent* (Id. p. 78, No. 74) in this acceptation is of most frequent occurrence: unless, indeed, *ąchia* be taken figuratively, but I have not met with it so used elsewhere. "The little larch at the flat rock" is the other meaning which with much diffidence I suggest and with no assurance that I have read the riddle.

In any case the meaning of the word can be of very little use in determining the location of the village.

The name is met with twice in Rel. 1637 (*Arendaonatia*, p. 159, 1 col.) On March 9, Father Superior and Father Charles Garnier had gone to *Onnentisati* to visit the sick, and the Relation adds: "Le 12 (Mars), le Pere Garnier et moy [Father Le Mercier] nous baptisasmes vne femme à vne petite bourgade que nous appellons *Arendaonatia*." On the 15, Father Le Mercier and the Superior visited *Annonatea*, and on the 17, *Ihaenhouton*, "où demeure le chef du conseil de cette pointe" (Ib. 2 col.). So that it may be fairly inferred that *Arendaonactia* was situated somewhere in the "Point," that is, in Tiny northwest of a line drawn from *Arenta* to the head of Penetanguishene Bay.

The second mention made of this village is on page 165, 2 col.: "Le 5 (May) le P. Chastellain estoit allé auec le P. Pijart visiter quelques malades à *Arendaonactia*."

IAHENHOUTON.

Township of Tiny.

Derivation. *Iha-aïenSi-Ston.*

R. H. 1751, p. 233: "*i*, in comp., être le seul, l'unique; saepe assumit particulam *ha* in fine." *Iha* consequently means "The only One."

R. H. 1751, p. 106: "*ąïenhSi*, extr. et intr. comp., savoir faire quelque chose, avoir la science, l'adresse, l'habileté nécessaire et le pouvoir d'en venir à bout, v.g.: *ąñienhSi*, je sais faire cela. In compositione jungitur cum nominibus earum rerum quae dicuntur sciri." To be wise and skilful in managing or administering affairs. In Potier's text there is an ñ over the space between the *a* and *i* to show how it is to be pronounced.

R. H. 1751, p. 277: "*Ston* (et *Stonnion*), mult. Significat multitudinem rerum quae suo situ eminent." In other words, it is an affix expressive of the presence of a multitude of things which overtop or tower over others. It is used both in a literal and in a figurative sense, v.g.: "*ąrontSton* vel *ąrhitonnion*, la multitude des arbres; *onnontSton* vel *onnontStonnion*, quantité de montagnes; *arihSton*, donner, quelque chose à connaître, item, developper une affaire."

Hence, *Iha-aïenhSi-Ston*, *IhaenhSton*, or *Iahenhouton*, very likely with the meaning "The one Skilful Manager of many important affairs."

This village is favoured with but one mention in the Relations: "Le 17 (Mars) i' accompagnai encor le P. Supérieur à *Iahenhouton*, où demeure le chef du conseil de cette pointe" (1637, p. 159, 2 col.). It was, I infer from this, situated within the limits of what the missionaries, as long as they resided at Ihonatiria, called "This Point:" that is, the peninsula to the north and west of Penetanguishene Bay.

ST. CHARLES AND THE ELEVEN OTHER VILLAGES BEARING CHRISTIAN NAMES.

St. Charles, Township of Tay, (Penetanguishene Road), Concession I, Lot 113. This is the position given it on the present Map; but all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that it lay somewhere in the peninsula formed by Midland and Penetanguishene Bays, for on Ducreux's map the name extends lengthwise through the whole tongue of land beginning at an imaginary line drawn tangent to the head of both bays and ending at the very north-eastern extremity of the coast: while there is no little circle apparent to mark its exact site.

In the opening paragraph of Chapter VII. of the Relation 1640, p. 78, *St. Charles* is mentioned in the list of twelve towns or little villages whose spiritual wants, after the Fathers had withdrawn from the residence of *Ossossanë*, were still attended to by the evangelical labourers who had charge of the mission of *La Conception* "aux Attignaouentans:" "Ayant quitté la residence que nous auions les années precedentes au bourg de la *Conception*, ou *Ossossané*, on a continué de cultiuer ce mesme bourg par voye de mission, à laquelle ont de plus esté adioints douze autres tant bourgs que petits villages. *S. François Xauier, sainct Charles, sainete Agnes, sainete Magdelcine, sainete Geneuiesue, sainct Martin, sainct Antoine, sainete Cecile, sainete Catherine, sainete Terese, sainete Barbe, sainete Estienne.*"

Among these twelve there are three villages which are not wholly unfamiliar and which are marked on Ducreux's map, namely, "*S. Caroli*" or *St. Charles*, the subject of the present section, "*S. Xaucrij,*" whose site has been ascertained with a tolerable degree of certainty, and "*S. Magdalenæ,*" which Ducreux seems to identify with *Arenta.*

The villages bearing Indian names, and not identified in the Relations with any Christian appellation, but which might have found place in this list under a Christian title, are *Andiataë, Angoutenc*, and it may be, *Onnentisati, Arendaonactia, Arontaen*, and even *Iahenhouten.* The others would seem too remote to have been included within the limits of this mission.

Indian remains have been found on the site of St. Charles, as indicated above. Mr. Andrew Hunter mentions them in his monograph on Tiny Township under No. 19, page 27.

TWO VILLAGES LYING BETWEEN ST. JOSEPH II. AND OSSOSSANE.

Ekhiondastsaan.

The exact position of this village cannot be determined from the Relations. A possible, and even plausible site is lot 53, concession I., Flos (Penetanguishene Road).

The *Ekhiondaltsaan* of Relation 1637 (p. 162, 1 col.) is certainly a misprint, there being no *l* in the Huron alphabet. The letter displaced was either *t* or *s*. If the former the signification of the word would not be changed, as many consonants were written indifferently either single or double; if the latter, it would be the note of the plural in the first radical. *Khiondaësahan* (Id. p. 70, 2 col.) is probably another form of the same name.

The noun-root is *ondas*, plural of "*Onda* (R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.), (*atonda*) espace de temps, de lieu etc." an interval of time, space, stretch or extent of land. In the "etc." the idea of home, house is no doubt also included, for, in his Radices, Potier gives the verb "*ondaon* . . . . avoir une maison [to have a house, a home]," and adds: "compos. ab *onda*, espace, etc. *an'nen ichiondaon?* où est ta maison? etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 248, No. 24).

The verb-root is "*atsiaŝan*, épreindre, presser, pressurer, quelque chose pour en faire sortir l'eau, la liqueur, le jus le suc la substance qu'elle contient" (R. H. 1751, p. 45, No. 56), to ring out, to press, to express, to squeeze.

Ondas-atsiaŝan combined according to the second rule makes *OndastsiaŝaN* (Gramm. p. 66) and contracted according to the eighth, *ondastsaan*.

The *i* must now be accounted for: " 'I' adjectitium ita appellatum quia nihil sensui vocum addit vel minuit, sed euphoniae causa praefigitur quibusdam vocibus et verbis" (Gramm. p. 2).

Our word now stands *iondastsaan*, to which is prefixed "*ɛχa*, hic, huc, hac, hinc; ce cette," (Id. p. 85), not forgetting that "*k* et *χ* sonant ut *kh*, v.g. *χa*, hic, haec, hoc, dicitur *Kha*" (Id. p. 1). This gives us the complete compound word as the *a* is elided before the *i*: *Ekiondastsaan*.

The meaning however is not clear, still I hazard the following: "The places, or lands where water is pressed out," "Here the places which exude water." It may seem far-fetched, but it is in keeping with the locality, as the hollow to the north of the rising ground, a Huron village site, on lot 53, concession I., Flos, abounds in springs, so that the water must be drained off by a ditch.

This village is mentioned nowhere save in the Relations, and there but twice. The only indications which can be of any help in determining its site are to be gleaned from pages 161, 162 and 163 of the Relation of 1637, of which the following is a short summary.

On March 29, the Superior and Father Garnier set out from *Ihonatiria* for *Teanaostaiaë*. At the town of *Scanonaenrat (St. Michel)*, they explain the tenets of religion to their host and to the other inmates of the cabin, and on March 30 they reach *Teanaostaiaë* (p. 161, 2 col.). On their return trip, March 31, the missioners pass the night at *Ekhiondaltsaan*, which, says the Relation "est vn bourg assez beau et assez peuplé" (p. 162, 1 col.). On April 1, having reached *Andiataë*, they minister to the sick there, and there pass the night (ib. 2 col.). On April 2 they

are at *Ossossanë* (p. 163, 1 col.), whence they return home. This is not said but implied, since, on the 6th., in answer to an invitation from *Ossossanë*, the Superior with Father Le Mercier, starts again for that town via *Oënrio* and *Angoutenc*.

Consequently *Ekhiondastsaan* lay between *Teanaostaiaë* and *Ossossanë*, a good distance from the former place, but not in the vicinity of *Scanonaenrat*, since that village was visited on their way from *Ihonatiria* to *Teanaostaiaë*, while *Ekhiondastsaan* was taken in on their way from *Teanaostaiaë* to *Ossossanë*.

Pursuant to these facts I have selected as a possible, if not probable, site of this village the Cleland and Dunn farms situated on the western parts of the lot mentioned above, viz., the 53d in concession I., Flos. In this position it could conveniently have received a call, on a return trip northwards by way of *Ossossanë*. In 1899, in company with Fr. J. J. Wynne, S. J., and J. C. Brokovski, Esq., of Coldwater, I visited the site. The ground was thoroughly gone over with the result that extensive ashbeds, yielding many Indian relics, were found on the rising ground towards the south, while a deep but gradual falling away of the surface towards the north formed a valley supplied with an abundance of water oozing out, as it were, from the ground. There was every indication that this spot had been the site of a populous village as Indian villages go.

Ekhiondastsaan was in all likelihood the nameless village which was destroyed with St. Joseph II., and alluded to in Rel. 1649, p. 3, 1 col. (see also "Première Mission," Carayon, p. 238, and Garnier's letters, contemporaneous copy p. 103, recent copy p. 88). It could not have been *St. Michel*, for even after the destruction of *St. Ignace II.*, in 1649, it was still standing and gave very evident signs of life (Rel. 1649, p. 13, 1 col.). Neither could it have been *St. Jean-Baptiste*, this village having been evacuated some months previously (Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.). Much less could it have been *Contarea*, which was the first of the Huron villages to fall, in 1642, under the blows of the Iroquois, a fact substantiated beyond all possible doubt in a previous section dealing with that village.

Now, as there was no other village within striking distance of St. Joseph II., by process of elimination it may safely be maintained that *Ekhiondastsaan* was the village that shared the fate of St. Joseph II., otherwise *Teanaostaiaë*, on July 4, 1648.

From the position of *Ekhiondastsaan*, to the west or northwest of St. Joseph II., and from the fact that it depended, as a mission on the latter centre, I should judge that it was peopled by the Clan of the Cord.

ANDIATAË.

There is the same difficulty in determining the exact position of *Andiataë* as there was for *Ekhiondastsaan*, save that it was on a stream near a lake, perhaps Anaouites, perhaps Lake Huron itself somewhere between Point Spratt and Point Varwood. It is set down on the Map quite arbitrarily on Lot 14, of II. Concession of the Township of Tiny.

The different forms of this name, as found in the Relations, are *Andiata* (1636, p. 111, 2 col.), *Andiatac*, evidently a misprint (1637, p. 150, 2 col.), and *Andiataé*, by far the most common (1637, pp. 134, 150, 152, 161, 164, 167, etc.), and for this reason the latter has been adopted.

Derivation. We have a choice between *ęndiata*, the throat (or *ondiasa*); *ęndiasa*, the neck; and *andiata*, a bridge (R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.). All these words have a diminutive *g* marked over the *d* to denote that they are pronounced *andgiata*. The meaning of *ęndiata*, throat, seems to lack appropriateness when used for the name of a village, so it is to be presumed that the meaning of *bridge* was intended. The affinity between *andiata*, a bridge, and "*ęndi8, and(g)i8*, passer quelqu'un au delà de l'eau, d'une rivière, d'un bord à l'autre" (R. H. 1751, p. 132), is patent. Our word is composed of *andiata* and *aë*.

R. H. 1751, p. 3: "*Aë*, vel pro consuetudine *eska*, in comp., et *ęh8ae* extr.; activum, frapper, donner contre, et conséquemment trouver de la résistence; v.g.: *ąñnh8ae*, frapper à la porte etc. Neutraliter seu passive, in comp., être arrêté etc.; v.g.: *oraë ti chies*, tu vas à l'abri du vent, tu es à couvert, à l'ombre." From "*ora*, air, vent (*atra*, passive)" (Ib. p. 292, 2 col.). Potier illustrates copiously, though indirectly, the use of *aë* as an affix while explaining the use of the adverb *annen*, ubi? (quo? qua? unde?), and for this purpose takes a word much similar to the one we are considering, i.e. "*ęndata*, un village (*endata* vel *atendata*)" (R. H. 1751, p. 288, 2 col.). These examples are to be found on page 87 of his Grammar: *Annen ihentron?* ubi est? *ęndatae*, in pago; *annen aretande?* quo vadit? *ęndatae* in pagum; *annen tontare?* d'où vient-il? *ęndatae* du village; *annen arendi?* par où a-t-il passé? *ęndatae*, par le village." So that according to the question put it conveys the several different meanings of in, at, to, from, out of, or through the village. *Andiataë* is consequently a legitimate compound, meaning "At the Bridge," or "Bridgetown."

Site. The position where *Andiataë* is marked on the Map is in the Township of Tiny, II Concession, Lot 14. But whether

Passing a Stream near Ossossane.

Sketch by Father Martin, 1855. *See page 151*

Sand Bluff, Entrance to Penetanguishene Bay.
Sketch by Father Martin, 1855. *See page 164.*

this was the site of the village, or whether it lay more to the south or not, is a matter of conjecture. That it lay on the trail between *Teanaostaiaë* and *Ossossanë* via *Ekhiondastsaan*, and nearer *Ossossanë* than the last mentioned village is evident from the itinerary given in the preceding section. On March 29, two missionaries start from *Thonatiria* for *Teanaostaiaë*. They stop on the way at *Scanonacurat* and reach *Teanaostaiaë* the 30th. On their way back to *Thonatiria*, March 31, they spend the night at *Ekhiondastsaan;* on April 1; they are at *Andiataë*, and on April 2, at *Ossossanë* (Rel. 1637, pp. 161, 162, 163).

That *Andiataë* probably lay very near the lake shore, we are led to infer from Father Le Mercier's words in this same Relation (p. 150, 2 col.): "Ils ouirent dire qu'vn autre sorcier du bourg *Andiatae*, nommé *Tchorenhaegnon*, promettoit merueille." This medicine-man had built his divining cabin on the lake shore, and was invited to come to *Ossossanë* to try his incantations: (p. 151, 1 col.) "Le lendemain 18, il [Father Superior] arriua à *Ossossanë*, où il trouua les demons deschaînez, et vn pauure peuple dans l'affliction plus que iamais, attentif aux impertinences d'vn certain *Tchorenhaegnon*, qui se faisoit fort d'auoir vn secret pour cette sorte de maladie, qu'il disoit auoir appris des demons mesmes, apres vn ieusne de 12 ou 13 iours, dans vne petite cabane qu'il s'estoit faite à ce dessein sur le bord du lac. Doncques les habitants d'*Ossossanë* entendant parler de ce qu'il sçauoit faire . . . . luy deputerent quelques-vns des principaux d'entre-eux, pour eux le supplier . . . . de se transporter à leur bourg, etc."

Andiataë must have been a village of some importance since, at a feast, the contents of twenty-five kettles, or a chowder of fifty big fishes entered into the menu of the banquet (Rel. 1636, p. 111, 2 col.).

Though I have coupled *Andiataë* with *Ekhiondastsaan*, as was necessary, since the same quotation from the Relations refers to both, it would seem that it did not belong to the same clan as *Ekhiondastsaan* but rather to that of "The Bear."

TWO VILLAGES LYING BETWEEN ST. JEAN AND ST. IGNACE I.

Arethsi.

Township of Tay, near east half of lot 2, concession IX., a little over two miles and a half north-north-west of Coldwater.

This village is not mentioned in the Relations, but on Dureux's map it is placed north of *St. Ignace I.*, on the east bank

Note.—See colored sketch, page 160*a*.

of Sturgeon River. On page 161 of the "Journal des Jésuites" it occurs once, under the slightly different form of *Arhetsi*.

Derivation. R. H. 1751, p. 225: "*Etsi*, être long . . . . *arihSetsi*, impers. la chose est longue, l'affaire, le discours être de longue durée; pers., quelqu'un être long à ce qu'il fait, être lent; *oSendetsi*, parler longtemps, ... une ile être longue. Componitur tum cum aliis nominibus earum rerum de quarum longitudine sermo esse potest; tum praesertim cum n minibus loci et temporis . . . . *ārenhetsi*, étendre, allonger les branches." in Gr., p. 69, 70, under the heading "Adverbia quantitatis, et excessus," we find: "*ti eiachietsi*, long comme le bras, *ti conretsetsi*, long comme la main, *θo iaon thanderetsi chia ęentate*, il est haut comme ces deux perches, *Sahia a te aten ti ęnnonchietsi*, la cabane est longue de six brasses."

The other root is either *ęron* or *aro*. R. H. 1751, p. 169: "*Ęron*, mult. (a prim. ar) extr. et intr. comp., act. et pass., mettre quelque chose à diverses distances l'une de l'autre, être à quelque distance de lieu, être multiplié en divers endroits ou lieux." With this root the meaning would probably be "The Straggling Village."

R. H. 1751, p. 188: "*Aro*, per contrac. pro *ārao*, significat bûcher, faire du bois." With this latter root *Arhetsi* might well mean "The Long Clearing."

Site. Gauging its position solely from Ducreux's map, I have placed it in the Township of Tay, concession and lot as given above.

Under No. 42, page 34, Huron Villages in Tay Township, Mr. Andrew Hunter says: "Another site distinct from the one last mentioned [i.e. lot 3, concession IX.] is on the farm of Joseph Greatrix, the east half of lot 2, concession IX. Mr. Greatrix has lived on this farm for 25 years, and has frequently found, at the rear of it, the usual remains of camps and the same kind of relics as occur at the other villages of this group."

St. Joachim.

Township of Tay, near lots numbered 4, concessions IX. and X.

In 1640 St. Joachim was a little village, which, together with the Algonquin mission, was attended by the missionaries who had charge of the Mission centre of *St. Jean Baptiste* "aux Arendaronons."

Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col.: "Cette année nous estant trouuez assez forts pour cette entreprise, nous y auons [i.e. at *St. Jean*

Baptiste] commencé vne mission, qui a eu dans son ressort trois bourgs: de S. Iean Baptiste, de S. Ioachim, et de saincte Elizabeth. Les Peres Antoine Daniel et Simon le Moine en ont eu le soin." After dwelling on certain incidents which occurred at the village of *St. Jean Baptiste*, the Relation adds: "Les deux bourgs de sainct Ioachim et de sainte Elizabeth donnerent aussi de l'exercice à nos ouuriers euangeliques, la maladie ayant regné esgalement par tout." This is the only information respecting St. Joachim which can be gleaned from the Relations. For in the following year, 1641, though Fathers Daniel and Le Moyne (Rel. 1641, p. 67, 1 col.) were still in charge of the mission of *St. Jean Baptiste*, there is no explicit mention made of *St. Joachim*, but we are told that, owing to the small number of missionaries, *St. Joseph* (*Teanaostaiaé*) had been added to the mission of *St. Jean Baptiste*, which probably still comprised *St. Joachim*. A glance at the Map will show how far apart these points lay, and no wonder if the Relation adds (loc. cit.) "Leur peine en est accruë notablement, quand mesme il n'y auroit que la distance des bourgs qu'ils doiuent cultiuer."

Site. On Duereux's map "*S. Joachimi*" lies midway between *St. Jean* and *Arethsi*, a little east of Sturgeon River. This would mean that it stood very near the site of *St. Ignace II.*, but on the opposite bank of the stream. However, it must not be forgotten that *St. Ignace II.* occupied that site only several years later, that is in 1648. I have set *St. Joachim* down as having occupied the sites described by Mr. Andrew Hunter under Nos. 39 and 40, page 34, Sites of Huron Villages in Tay Township, 1900:

"39. A site of moderate dimensions occurs on the northwest quarter of lot 4, concession X.—the farm of James Stewart. On a patch of high ground, toward the centre of the farm, they have found pottery fragments, iron knives, iron tomahawks, etc. Similar relics have been found on the adjoining fifty-acre farm, or southwest quarter of the same lot, which is cultivated by Mr. Begg; and also a few on the east half, owned and occupied by Robert C. Stewart.

"40. Across the road, on the east half of lot 4, concession IX., James Paden, the owner, has found iron tomahawks, pottery fragments, etc., in ashbeds and patches blackened by Huron camp-fires. These occur on the highest ground—a large knoll at the rear of his farm."

ONE VILLAGE WITHOUT A HURON OR A PATRON'S NAME.

Caldaria.

Caldaria is one of the puzzles of Ducreux's inset map. It is mentioned nowhere else. Neither the Relations, nor the entries in the "Journal des Jésuites," nor the contemporaneous letters of the missionaries make the slighest allusion to it. On the inset map it lies to the east of Hogg River, and about as far south from the village "S. Dionisij" as the latter does from "S. Ludouici." It should therefore be looked for in Medonte township in any of the concessions ranging from I. to VIII., but not farther south than the lots numbered 19.

The "Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu, 1900," the author of which was Father Louis Carrez, S.J., sets down *Chandeleur* (Candlemas) in its place as a French translation of the Latin, quite as if the reading were *Candelaria*. This latter word, according to L. Quicherat's Latin dictionary, is given in the "Glossaire de du Cange" as the Latin equivalent of *Chandeleur*, that is, the feast of the Purification, February 2d.

Others hazard the supposition that the word was intended for *Calcaria*. *Fornax calcaria* is a lime-kiln in contradistinction to *Fornax lateraria* a brick-kiln . *Calcaria, ae*, as a noun feminine, standing alone, is to be found in the Digesta of Domitius Ulpianus, though some suppose it to be there an adjective agreeing with *fodina* (a pit or mine) understood.

Mr Andrew F. Hunter on page 74, No. 11, of his Village Sites in Medonte, 1902, has the following: "Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, N.Y., has called my attention to the fact that several names of Huron villages probably signify "lake," and he includes "*Caldaria*" of Ducreux's map in this class."

We have here three hypotheses. The first, based on a faulty reading, *Candelaria* for *Caldaria*, which it would be useless to discuss. The second which assumes that *Calcaria* was intended, perhaps *Calcaria fodina*. This supposition seems entirely gratuitous in theory, while in fact, though pits are plentiful enough in the region, notably on six sites, no traces of lime-burning have been detected. Of course it is not contended that the Indians themselves were lime-burners, they had no need of mortar, but that, in building Fort Ste. Marie I., the missionaries could not have brought the lime in canoes from the lower country, and consequently must have established kilns at no great distance.

Elementa

grammaticæ huronicæ

* nisi efficiamur sicut parvuli; non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum
* deus sperantium, Domine etc
* o virgo studiis semper adesto meis

De Litteris seu Materiâ Iª (12 quæ sunt omnes litteræ)

a. ch. d. e. g. h. i. k x. n. o. s. r s. t. b. tz. ç

C semper est junctum cum h ut has duas literas simul junctas pronuntiamus, prout more gallorum vg chieçannionk hic fait chaudière ... aliquot in Italorum

D. aliquo pronuntiatur ut n; ex vicissim n ut d vg onnhe vivere, à multis pronuntiatur ut ondhe vel potius onthe

* commutantur interdum n et d in tz et ts conjug ut videbitur suo loco
* promiscue eham in fine quarumdam verum; pronuntiatur vg. ondaie ajâtendind
y ajatenhasinn utroq modo scribitur et pronuntiatur item hatatiandinn
y tsatathandend non loquuntur

* poti ... et ante i puncta, sonat semper ut apud nos gui vel gardia digitus
dic anguia, quasi sit diphtongus ... plura de littera g in capite Literæ n

E potest notari tribus accentibus, acuto circumflexo, gravi, et varie sonat pro vario accentuum sono ... quo notatur acute, sonat ut e masculinum gallicum Latinisé ut le je viens ... si circumflectatur, sonat ut apud gallos dans monnoye vg ondê, quasi esset ondaie ... quod si gravem habeat, medium sonat inter utrumq: ut ay gallicum vg terhi volo, je te

Q vulgo sonat ut cola aliquo tamen ut apud nos vg. ochingot genu &

H. semper consonat, semperq cum aspiratione effertur

I nunquam est consonans ... aliquo coalescit in diphtongum ut ondaie ... aliq * sonum finalem efferunt ut nos playe. i alij ut ondê ... chez moriar ... aliquo supernotato Duobus punctis et tunc sit diæresis vg hatientê cognoscunt memoriæ quæ superest diminui de littera d ... ex eo præsenti Literæ applicat; nam si coaleleit in unam syllabam cum præcedentibus x d. r t y k y n; et i. sit punctum, sit quasi liquefactio in pronunciando vg. ariskia, dic languia ... hatathak loquuntur dic hatakiak ... elkion rediit quasi elquion ganionk je fait chaudière. dic teiaguionk, gn ut galli agneau ... omnium bene, dic ogniandi * potius ongiandi

K et X. sonant ut kh vg Xa hic hei hoc di kha

N. Si sola sit, vocali præcedenti jungatur vg atenion far tornere grate Duffi, dic aten-ion, non vero ate-nian ... si geminetur, nil difficultatis est.

O semper pronuntiatur ut apud gallos sa o et * aliquando arcuatum adhibentes
* sonat ut ou ... x Natio I et * sequi facere; unam tantum syllabam cum vocali sue diphtongo sequenti vg. kwavalkwa partout ... shionkeseri hi et Lô'eval ... honkelen haut sommet Libera me quæ omnia trisyllaba sunt ... aliquo notantur Duobus punctis; sunt duplicem syllabam cum sequente vocali aut diphtongo vg hotiaj ille est coupe quasi syllabam ... hotiai si est coupe trisyllabum sic elkion elles rentrèrent est trissyl ... sic elkion ils rentrèrent dissyllabum

R. tribus modis effertur ... 1º ut apud nos, sed nunquam geminatur ... 2º Lenius pronuntiatur, si Lem aut nullo notetur ut enim vg arenta arbre, arenda ceremonie, aliquid vero h notatur Spiritus asper vg arenta arbre, arenda cocher ... 3º Si r præcedatur Litteris g. t. k. n. ardua sic pronuntiabis vix hibisti nos gallos id imitandum, huveni-am pronuntiationem ... et nolluit conatibus meis habe angelica fortiter linguam palato, deinde nitere proferre syllabam in qua r sibilat vg qatr i imago, arendraksi shedivi te haannira alpicin haratekhsenvolki i barbam, vide toidet sat qhavenen barba et alkarin evellere. –

S. nunquam pronuntiatur ut Z licet inter duas vocales, sed ut duplex ss vg a'sara ante de chaudière

T et th ... Duplex est: aliud th pro th ... sane t vulgare coalescit seu mutatur in h ob h ea sequitur in formandis temporibus et aptandis cum localitate; et re dualitatis vg abalentha clamavimus a te balenda

De ç seu ʃ (cota)

* hæc virgula seu semi-littera est usui ... 1º ad pronuntiandum vg adatiak dic tatatiak ... chiatonk dic ichiatonk ante alias vocales idem, sed leniter a tali prope ... non vero omnino: aliud duobus ... 2º ad pronuntiandum aliquid consonantes, et quasi duplicandas vg akakçat alpicin dic akakkat alson adhuc, nondum dic allon

3º affixa Litteræ r variat pronuntiationem, et facit leniorem vg arati numerare, leniori, non tremulo linguæ motu hanc Literam efferat

Limestone was certainly available, since on lot 21, concession VI., slabs of it were used to cover the bones in an ossuary (see Hunter's Village Sites, Medonte, p. 75, No. 18).

Coming to the third hypothesis that *Caldaria* was a Huron word, bearing some reference in its signification to "Lake," I may premise at once that as the name stands it cannot be Huron.

"C" not followed by "h" had no existence for those who reduced the language to writing, and the author of the inset map, whoever he was, must be counted among them. Ducreux never set foot in America, so he must have been supplied with all the details of the map by some ex-missioner. One of his successors but of a much later date, Potier, says: "'C' semper est junctum cum 'h,' etc." (Gram. De Litteris, p. 1.). It has never the hard sound: "hae duae litterae simul junctae pronunciantur more Gallorum . . . . et aliquando ut 'C' Italicum, etc." (Id. ib.). Moreover, not only the letter "L" but the l-sound was unknown to the Hurons. "Hurones carent litteris b, f, l, m, p, q, u, v, x" (Id. ib.). Hence the "k" or the Greek "χ" took the place of "c" whenever the hard sound was required. "'K' et '*x*' *sonant ut 'kh,' v.g.* χ*a*, hic haec, hoc, dicitur kha" (Id. ib.).

Nothing is easier than to replace the initial "C" by a "K," but for what letter does the inadmissible, well-formed "l" stand? From appearances it could only be an uncrossed "t" or a mutilated Greek "θ" (for the "θ" was used by the Huron missionaries instead of "th"), and preferably the former, though the stem of all the other "t"s on the inset map are much shorter. "'T' et 'θ' . . . . Duplex est; aliud 'θ' pro 'th' . . . . saepe 't' vulgare coalescit, seu mutatur in 'θ' ob 'h' quae sequitur in formandis temporibus et aptandis cum localitate, et 'te' dualitatis, v.g. *aθascu*χ*Sa*, clamavit, pro *a te hascu*χ*Sa*."

The word, if Huron, should now read *Katdaria* or *Kaθdaria*, no possible root of which has any reference to *lake, pond, stream or water.*

What then could be the roots of *Katdaria?* After much juggling, all more or less satisfactory, I can find but three which, when compounded, adapt themselves at all to the form required: 1. *Katon*, 2. *Aïo* or *Aria* and 3. *Aïa* or *iskia.*

1. "*Katon*, in comp. cum utraque voce . . . . 1° cum voce activa significat plier quelque chose, la courber, la disposer en forme circulaire, la tourner en rond en sorte qu'elle fasse un cercle . . . . 2° cum voce pass., significat in fieri, ... in facto être courbé, etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 208, No. 1). Cfr. *aton* sub. voc. *KS-aton* (Id. p. 38): "in comp. cum pass. tantum, entourer quelque chose ou quelqu'un."

Katon, consequently, in the passive would mean to be bent round or in a circular form, or simply a circle. It should be added, however, that the more usual equivalent of "circle" in Huron is "*Stahoch(r)a*, cercle . . . . vel ohocha" (R. H. 1751, p. 293, 2 col.). The latter noun is akin to "*KS-ach(r)a*, neutrum, être double, être doublé" to be double or doubled up. (Id. p. 2).

2. "*Ą̈io* vel ąrio . . . . frapper, battre, tuer quelqu'un, le rendre captif" (Id. p. 109, No. 37), to strike, beat, to kill, to make captive.

From these two roots we would have *Katon-ario*, which when compounded would not make *Katdaria* unless the "o" was eliminated and a "d" took the place of "n." The latter transmutation would easily be accounted for, since Potier (Gram. p. 1., De Litteris) informs us that "'d' aliquando pronunciatur ut 'n' et vicissim 'n' ut 'd.'" As for the superfluous "o" it might be surmised that the one who set down *Caldaria* on the map, after first marking its site with a little circle, so much like an "o," placed this mark, as it really appears on the map, between "Cal" and "daria" and then inadvertently left it to do duty for that vowel which he omitted. If this explanation is waived as far-fetched we should then have to invoke the 8th of the observations on compounding words (Gr. p. 66): "Saepe fiunt erases unius vel plurium syllabarum."

At this stage *Katon-ario* would read *Katodario* or *Katdario*, meaning "the dead, or stricken, or the prisoners so arranged as to form a circle" or for short "the circle of the slain."

3. "*Aia* vel *iskia*, diminutivum formatum a praecedenti [that is "a"], extr. et int. comp., ponitur *aïa* pro sing. et *asa* pro plur. . . . . *iąndatsaia* (dic. *ąndatsaskSi*) petite chaudière . . . *iandatsasa* de petites chaudières" (R. H. 1751 p. 1.). The word "*a*," from which *aïa* is formed, has many meanings: to be of such a height, size, or age, to be in such numbers or quantity, to be of such value, etc. (Id. ib.). But its presence would scarcely be detected in many of the examples that follow. In the one given to explain the use of *aia* or *asa* for the singular and *asa* for the plural, when figuring as diminutives, Potier adds: "cui utrique praefigitur *i* initiale diminutivum" (R. H. 1743, p. 2).*

The final result is now *Katodario-ia* or *Katdario-ia*, and blended according to the second of "Quaedam observanda in compositione substantivi cum adjectivis et verbis (Gram. p. 66) it becomes *Katodaria* or *Katdaria* "The little circle of the slain."

Singularly enough this last attempt at explaining *Caldaria* might claim support, if not corroboration, from the fact that

*See *Ihonatiria*, for the use of the initial *i* more fully explained.

lying towards the south at about the proper distance from the village of St. Denis, and east of the western-most fork of Hogg River, (were it prolonged) a circle has been found. It is formed of a number of shallow pits so plentiful in the neighbourhood. Mr. Andrew F. Hunter, thus places the fact on record:

"4. On the north-east quarter of lot 72, concession I. Robert Brown. Many iron tomahawks and other relics have been found here. Two clay pipes were given to Dr. R. W. Large, in 1892, and when his collection went into the Provincial Museum in 1897 these were included, and now appear as No. 16, 719 and No. 16, 720. (See 10th Archæological Report, page 9). A cornpit was found at this site, and also shallow pits in the ground, similar to those described under the preceding numbers. One observer remarked that some of these were arranged in a circle, etc." (Sites in Medonte, p. 72).

Notwithstanding the plausibility of this latest explanation, based on the supposition that the name *Caldaria* was intended for a Huron word, I submit another and last explanation, the least strained etymologically of all.

Caldaria, in this hypothesis would be taken exactly as it stands, but as a Latin word, just as all the other inscriptions on Ducreux's map are in that language. Its meaning is familiar to classical scholars. We have the adjective *caldarius* or *calidarius*, *a*, *um*, with the rendering "pertaining to or suitable for warming;" *caldaria cella*, the hot bath chamber; so also the noun *caldarium*, *ii*, taken by itself, and the noun feminine *caldaria*, *ae*, a kettle. *Caldarium* signifies also a vessel containing warm water for bathing, or a vessel in which water was heated for the bath (subaudi *aënum vas*). The *caldaria*, as in use by the Romans, as is well known, was supplemented by the *tepidaria*, the tepid bath, and *frigidaria* the cold bath, while the word *thermae*, *arum*, borrowed from the Greek, and taken alone, denoted not only the presence of warm springs but also a structure adapted for warm baths either natural or artificial.

The *Caldaria* of Ducreux's inset map may stand either for the feminine singular or the neuter plural.

Of hot baths, in the form of vapour baths, there is most frequent mention in the Relations, sometimes there is a mere passing allusion to them, as is more generally the case, but a description is occasionally vouchsafed. At times there is mention of pits, at other times this feature is omitted. Bressani, Sagard, Charlevoix and the author of the "Relation par Lettres de l'Amérique Septentrionale-1709-1710" also, describe them with more or less detail. The mode of using them varied. The most

common practice was to build a low cabin or closet for the most part within the lodge, but sometimes, especially when travelling, in the open air. These sweat-boxes were covered with furs so as more effectually to retain the heat. Hot stones were piled in the centre and the bathers crowded round in the space left between the stones and the sides of the cabin. Not infrequently cold water, in a vessel of bark or clay, was shut in with them. Of this they occasionally drank, or with it sprinkled each others' faces, when they felt faint, or else the stones to increase the vapour. After profuse sweating they plunged, even in winter, into a stream, if there was one near by not frozen over, if not they washed themselves in cold water.

But to heat water, either for cooking or for the vapour bath, pits were also in use. Bressani when speaking of the manner in which they prepared their food says: "Before knowing the Europeans, as they had no kettles, they were wont to dig a pit in the ground and fill it with water which they brought to the boiling point by cooling in it a number of stones heated red-hot for the purpose" (Relations, Thwaites' edit. Vol. 38, p. 255; orig. Italian, Macerata, 1653, p. 10 recto; Martin's French Translation, Montreal, 1852, p. 74). His description of the vapour-bath is given on the preceding page, where there is no mention of a pit.

Father Lafitau, one of the old missionaries of New France, in his "Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains" (Paris-1724-Vol. III, p. 79), speaking also of their manner of preparing food gives us to understand that the more sedentary Indians, previous to their coming in contact with white men, used kettles made of clay, while the nomadic tribes carried about with them vessels made of wood. These they filled with water and kept throwing into them red-hot stones until the water boiled, a process thorough enough, he remarks "for people who could stomach meat half-raw." Lafitau's description of the vapour-bath is to be found in Vol. IV., of the same work, p. 87.

A transition from this method of heating water for culinary purposes to its adpotion for vapour baths, if indeed it be really necessary to point out a transition, may be found in the "Mission du Saguenay"—Relation Inédite du R. P. Pierre Laure (Montreal, 1889, p. 50). After describing the usual manner of proceeding, Laure tells us that the Indians had been taught an improved way of taking a sweat-bath. The water used is a decoction of aromatic herbs: "On prepare une cuve où l'on met d'abord une planche en travers pour servir de siège, puis en dehors on cloue aux cercles de la cuve 4 ou 5 petites perches pliantes dont le haut

bout va aboutir à un moien cercle qu'on met à la hauteur du col de celuy qu'on veut y asseoir, en sorte que sa tête passant dehors on a soin de bien couvrir le reste du corps à l'aide des perches qui ne servent qu'à soutenir les couvertures de peur qu'elles ne portent sur les épaules. Tout préparé ainsi on met d'avance la chaudière bouillante dans le fond de la cuve et sous le siège. Pour soutenir les pieds du malade on place sur la chaudière un bout de planche, crainte de la brulure. Le patient enveloppé seulement d'un linceuil se fourre doucement dans la surië avec un petit baton qui lui sert à remuer la medecine à mesure que la chaleur se ralentit, etc." (See also Thwaites' edit. of Relations—with translation, Vol. 68, p. 72.)

All this would be according to rule in our own days. It is the orthodox fashion we have followed, or at least seen depicted in the flashy advertisements of our magazines and reviews, but it has one drawback, it can be enjoyed but by one at a time, and this was not to the liking of the savage. Hence the single tub was in most cases discarded, and pits were dug in the ground, which, where the earth was pervious to water, must have been lined with clay.

The "Relation par Lettres de l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1709-1710" recently published by Father Camille de Rochemonteix (Letouzey et Ané—Paris—1904) at page 97 furnishes an account with ample detail of this description of vapour-bath.

"They (the Indians) are all faster walkers than we are, and are good runners, while among the different nations there are some tribes who surpass the others as much as the latter surpass us. When tired or out of sorts they make a sw at-box. For this purpose they set up four poles over a pit dug in the ground, and these they cover with beaver-skin robes. Then they take their places on a strip of bark in this hollow, close to the red-hot stones, over which from time to time they sprinkle water, or scatter pieces of tobacco, so that the steam arising from them diffuses the heat throughout. Such are the places in which they have their sweat. The outer air does not penetrate, the heat within is excessive, and the sweat exudes profusely everywhere from their bodies, while all the pores are open. This does not hinder them from bathing afterwards though covered with perspiration, and they plunge into cold water without its doing them the least harm."

Lafitau also mentions this custom: "Some, more particularly the sick, content themselves with a spraying of cold water" (Vol. IV. p. 88), and Sagard says: "Having perspired sufficiently they come out and go for a dive in the water, if they be near some

stream, if not, they wash themselves in cold water and then begin to feast" (Grand Voyage, old edit. p. 272, new, p. 190).

No doubt it will be of interest to hear what Ducreux himself has to say concerning the vapour-bath. On page 58 (Historiae Canadensis seu Novae-Franciae Libri Decem- Parisiis—Apud sebastianum Cramoisy, etc., 1664) we read as follows:

"Sudorem autem cient vel maximè, angustiore septo quodam è cancellatis perticis, aggestisque pellibus, tanquam clibano, mediâ in casulâ inclusi: candentibus lapidibus admotis, priùs con calefacto, thermarum in modum, etc."*

The facts made clear by these quotations are, that the Indians made frequent use of vapour-baths, *suerics* in French; that one of the modes of proceeding was to dig holes in the ground to hold the water and hot stones, and that the sweating-boxes erected over them were not always set up near a stream as long as a supply of cold water was at hand.

Now my contention is, not that the shallow pits found in the north-west part of Medonte township were for a certainty vapour-bath pits, but that they might very well have been such.

Of lot 74, concession I. it is said: "The most noteworthy feature of the site is a collection of shallow pits" (Andrew F. Hunter's Medonte, p. 72, No. 1); of lot 73, concession I., "There were from 100 to 200 holes in the ground similar to those described under the preceding numbers [i.e. 1 and 2], some of them arranged in rows and cross-rows" (Id. ib No. 3); of lot 72, concession I., "a corn pit was found at this site, and also shallow pits in the ground, similar to those described under the preceding numbers. One observer remarked that some of them were arranged in a circle" (Id. ib. No. 4). The supposed empty caches on lot 73, same concession, are declared by the same author to be similar to the other shallow pits (Id. ib. No. 2). The same remark might be hazarded with regard to the depressions noticed on lot 69, always the same concession, though spoken of as "single graves" (Id. p. 73, No. 6).

On the east half of lot 16, concession III.: . . . . "remains occur here beside the stream that flows out of the huckleberry marsh mentioned under preceding sites. Iron tomahawks have been found and some shallow pits were to be seen. A few of these

* "As for sweating, they bring it on, and most profusely, by shutting themselves up, as in an oven, in a smaller compartment formed in the middle of the cabin of poles interlaced, thickly covered with furs, and intensely heated beforehand, after the fashion of the 'thermæ,' by means of red-hot stones brought thither for the purpose."

The "thermæ," or hot baths, did not necessarily suppose as an adjunct either the tepid or cold baths.

were examined by two men, who formerly lived near the place. They found a few human bones" (Id. p. 74, No. 12).

"On the east half of lot 15, concession III., Duncan Barr and Chas. Todd. There are ashbeds and ashheaps here, near the left bank of the Sturgeon River. Clay and stone pipes, iron tomahawks, pottery fragments, and other relics have been found. On the same lot some shallow pits have been reported, which on examination yielded a few human bones" (Id. ib. No. 13).

All these sites, with the exception of the last two, which lie between St. Michel and the Sturgeon River, are crowded into a quadrilateral of less than one mile by two, situated in the extreme north-west corner of Medonte township. This is what I shall call the First Group of shallow Pits, or the Waverley Group.

Coming now to the more central part of upper Medonte, another village site is met with which is deserving of attention. Had it been set down on the reconstructed map it would occupy a point on the edge of Vasey Ridge just above the space between the "e" and "o" of Sturgeon in the inscription "Sturgeon River." It lies well to the east of Hogg River, perhaps too far to be identified with the position occupied by *Caldaria* on Ducreux's map. Mr. Andrew F. Hunter gives it a lengthy notice.

"19. On the west half of lot 21, concession VII., John Tinney. Here were found the remains of many camps. At the front of his land, in his garden, and near the road, Mr. Tinney found relics, including iron tomahawks, a stone mortar, pottery fragments, pipes, Indian corn (carbonized by age), etc. While doing statute labour on the road near Mr. Tinney's gate a few years ago one of the workmen ploughed up some human bones among the Huron camps. The most notable feature of this site was a group of shallow pits or depressions in the ground, at a short distance from it. My attention was called to these by James Davis, then of Coulsons Corners. Mr. Davis described them as "rifle pits," and considered them to have had their origin in connection with the war in which the Hurons were engaged. He had traced 140 of the pits about the year 1870, before the forest was cleared. In the year 1889, I made a brief inspection of them, having been guided to the place by Mr. Tinney, who had lived on this farm since 1876. They appeared to be irregularly distributed over the surface of the ground. But what I saw on that occasion, I should hardly describe as pits, although the land had been under cultivation for some years and the appearance of the surface had doubtless changed. The ground was uneven, and made so apparently by artificial means; but the irregularities might have been intended for cornhills, the Hurons having used

very large hillocks for this purpose. The pits would thus be depressions between the cornhills. Prof. Montgomery also noted these, and describes them in the following terms, in reply to my enquiries:—'Not far from this ossuary [situated on lot 21, concession VI, and spoken of by Mr. Hunter on p. 75, under No. 18], perhaps a mile,—then in the woods,—I found numerous artificial pits. These may be the pits referred to in your catalogue. My recollection would lead me to place the pits I found near by to the east of the ossuary . . . . They were mere shallow, circular depressions in the ground, but a few feet in diameter. Of the few examined, that is, excavated, most seemed to be barren as to skeletons and relics. But some Indian corn, entirely charred and in perfect shape, was found in one of them. I kept about a pint cupful of this corn in excellent condition for many years' " (Id. p. 75-76, No. 19).

This single village site contains what I would call the Second or Vasey Group of Shallow Pits.

Water was not lacking for the Waverley Group. Mr. Hunter established the fact. The site (No. 1, lot 74, concession I, "with the four following is on the highest ground in this part of the township. The indispensable supply of spring water was easily obtained from an old (though still water-bearing) beach, 110 feet above the 'Algonquin' " (Medonte, p. 72, No. 1). The others occupy points either on a tributary of Sturgeon River or near the river itself.

Of the two groups of shallow pits that of Waverley is more likely to occupy the place which Ducreux intended to designate as *Caldaria*.

From all that has preceded one general conclusion may be drawn, which presumably no one will be disposed to controvert, viz., that throughout the region in which Ducreux has set down his *Caldaria* there were shallow pits scattered profusely—there and no where else so lavishly, and that consequently whatever *Caldaria* may stand for, and whatever may have been the use to which these pits were put, their topographical proximity is suggestive of some relation of these features to the name inscribed.

As soon however as we would attempt to draw some more definite conclusion (be it, that the word *Caldaria* was purposely chosen to designate on the map a locality where hot baths were used more than elsewhere, and conversely that the shallow pits, which are found to abound just in the neighbourhood indicated, had really been used for that purpose, though here and there some might have been turned to other uses) we must be prepared to parry the very pertinent question: "But is it not very odd

that if these baths were so very extensive, though grouped together in one particular part of Huronia, forming a kind of fashionable but barbaric Carlsbad, no mention whatever of their existence in this privileged locality should find place in the Relations?"

If what has already been pleaded for the theory is not a sufficient answer, it may as pertinently be asked in turn: "Does it not seem singular to a degree that a name should figure on the map (where not very many other names are given), very distinctly written, with the very obvious—in fact only possible meaning of "Hot Baths" or "Kettles," and that no village, more or less noted for its baths, or whose inhabitants were given more than others to bathing, should have existed in the neighbourhood?" And what of the explorer of Huron sites, puzzling over these shallow pits? He may indeed wonder how it could happen that the missionary annalist could have ignored them, but he cannot reasonably blame the chorographer, since the inset map gives him the clue by placing very conspicuously on the spot the "topographical label" *Caldaria*.

At all events, all the data obtainable, bearing on the question, have been gathered here, and experts are free to draw their own conclusions. Personally, I think the choice lies between the theory that, supposing the name to be a Huron word, *Caldaria* stands for *Katdaria*, "The Little Circle of The Dead, etc.," and this other theory which takes *Caldaria*, just as it stands, for a Latin word with its natural meaning of "Hot Baths" or "Kettles." Of these two theories the latter, it would seem, has most to commend it, in fact, it might claim to be sanctioned by the chorographer himself, for on his general map he certainly uses the word for *Kettle* or *Caldron*. The well known Chaudière Falls (Falls of the Kettle or Kettle Falls), on the south shore near Quebec, he designates twice by the name "Saltus Caldariae."

TWO PLACES WITH HURON NAMES IN THE ALGONQUIN COUNTRY.

Endaraihy.

The mention of this village or encampment occurs in Rel. 1656, (p. 43, 1 col.): "I became, says the same Father [Claude Pijart], most intimately acquainted with him [Father Léonard Garreau] while in the country of the Hurons, and admired the exalted virtue of that man of God. I remember that when I was

passing the winter with him, in 1644, at a place named *Endarahy*, we were crossing a frozen pond, on the fourth of December, St. Barbara's day, the ice broke under my feet and I sank into the water. Without thought of danger he ran to my rescue, etc."

Turning to the end of the last chapter of the Rel. 1645, (p. 51, 1 col.) we read: "The seventh Church [i.e. group of Christian Indians] that of the 'Sainct-Esprit,' is made up of Algonquins, of whom several nations gathered together and wintered on the great lake of our Hurons about twenty-five leagues from us [i.e. from Huronia]. This obliged Father Claude Pijart and Father Léonard Gareau, chosen as their instructors, to pass the winter [1644-45] with them, etc." This Relation was closed on May 15th, 1645; see following page, 52, 2 col.

The two Fathers mentioned broke up camp on May 7th, 1645, as is stated in Rel. 1646 (p. 81, 2 col.) so that few particulars of their adventurous mission could be recorded in the Relation of 1645, which, as was just stated, closed on May the 15th: these particulars find place in the Relation 1646, where their escape from death, when they broke through the ice, is described (p. 81, 1 col), and where the date of their departure from Huronia for their mission is determined as having taken place at the end of November.

In our first quotation (from Rel. 1656) we have the name of the place given, *Endarahy*. In the second its distance from Huronia is set down at about twenty-five leagues, otherwise about seventy-five miles. While what is contained in Rel. 1646, establishes the parallelism of the passages, and consequently shows that in the citations there is always question of *Endarahy*.

A distance of about seventy-five miles from Huronia, along the shores of Lake Huron, would reach as far as Parry Sound, and the "étang" mentioned might be Mill Lake or Fetherstone, or any one of the small lakes in Foley or McDougall townships.

Derivation of *Endarahy*. The name is compounded of three roots.

1. "*Enda*, robbe de peau, vide *ʔAndScha*" (R. H., p. 295, 1 col.). "*ʔAndSch(r)a*, robbe de castor, de chat, etc." (Id. p. 290, 1 col.); a fur robe, a beaver skin robe, a wild catskin, etc.

2. "*Ar* vel *ara*, in comp. 1° active peindre, representer, figurer, effigier . . . . 2° passive, être peint, etc." With the passive meaning to be painted, drawn on, etc. (Id. p. 167.). From these two radicals *endi-ara* we have the compound word *endara* "The painted beaver skin robe."

3. "*I*, ... in comp., être plein . . . . être entier" (Id. p. 233.) the first example given by Potier is "*ąnnonchi*, la mai-

son est pleine," this seems a little singular as the full word for house or cabin is *ąñ̃onchia* (*atennonchia* vel *ennonchia*, Id. p. 291, 1 col.), and instead of adding another "i" the final "a" is eliminated and the syncopated form *annonchi* stands for "a full house." In *endarahy*, the word before us, the case is quite different, the "i" is added as a suffix, and, to prevent its coalescing with the "a" preceding it, the aspirate "h" is added, and the "h" in Huron is always aspirate: "semper consonat, semperquo cum aspiratione effertur" (Potier, Gram. p. 1). Properly speaking there is no "y" in Huron. Potier mentions it neither among the letters wanting in Huron, nor in the enumeration of those in use. It never appears in the written text. Its place is not taken by the "i" for "'i' nunquam est consonans" (Gram. p. 1), but its place is very well supplied by the *iota* subscript. Our word to be thoroughly Huron should read *Endarahi* and not *Endarahy*, and has for meaning "A whole beaver-skin-robe painted" or "The beaver-skin-robe all painted." or "covered with paintings."

Tangouaen.

This name occurs in Relation 1646, p. 76, 2 col. "Le Pere Iean de Brebeuf alla sur la fin de l'automne en vn lieu nommé *Tangouaen*, où demeurent quelques Algonquins et où quelques cabanes de Hurons se sont refugiées pour y viure plus à couuert des incursions des Iroquois: car c'est vn pays écarté et entourré de tous costez de lacs, d'estangs et de riuieres, qui font ce lieu inaccessible a l'ennemy."

The distance from Huronia to this spot is given in the first column of the following page approximately as a journey of five or six days. Travelling on foot, according to Relation 1641 (p. 71, 2 col.), to cover about forty leagues it would take four or five days, so the rate would be eight to ten leagues a day, from twenty-four to thirty miles. Had Father de Brébeuf and his companion gone on foot to *Tangouan* the distance could be set down at any figure between forty and sixty leagues or 120 to 180 miles. This pace of eight or ten leagues a day, over broken ground could hardly be kept up for five or six days. But the main portion of the journey was to all appearances made in a canoe, for it is added in the sequel (p. 77, 1 col.) that ice impeded their progress homewards.

"Le Pere ayant passé quelques iours en cette solitude, fut pressé de haster son retour, craignant d'estre surpris des glaces et de l'hyuer qui commençoit, et qui en effet l'arresta en chemin

et le mit en danger de mourir et de faim et de froid, et de perir dans les lacs et riuieres qu'ils auoient à passer."

We are enabled to make a very fair surmise as to the direction by an entry in the "Journal des Jésuites" under date of July 4, 1651, p. 156: . . . . "Nouuelles de l'estat des Hurons & de la defaite des *TangSaonronnons* dans le lac des Nipissiriniens par 50 Iroquois."

Lake Nipissing lies 100 miles due north of the Huron country, so that *Tangouaen* was situate in the region north of the lake anywhere between Lake Wahnapitaeping and Seven League Lake on the Sturgeon, Smoke or Anthony Rivers. That it was on a river, or where a river falls into a lake, is evinced when we consider the meaning of the word.

Though it would seem from the last quotation from the Relations that Father de Brébeuf and his companion travelled by canoe, it need hardly be assumed on that account that the distance covered daily was appreciably greater. The rough weather at that season along Parry Sound, (in spite of the shelter of its numerous islands), and the many portages they must have been forced to make when they struck inland no doubt contributed greatly to equalize results.

Derivation. *Tangouaen* is compounded of *angSa* and *aen* with the *Te* localitatis as prefix.

"*Ą́ngSa*, torrent, rapide, (vel *angSara* et *ą́skonchia*)." R. H. 1751, p. 290, 1 col.; ą́en . . . . extra et intra compositionem, neut impers.: y avoir de quelque chose en quelque lieu. . . . . *ą́ndataen* il y a un village, et alia innumera." Id. p. 61. Or else from "*ą́en* . . . . extr. et int., voir." Id. p. 83, No. 81, *Te-angouaaen*, *Tangou-aen*, "In sight of the Falls or Rapids," "Where there are Falls or Rapids."

DERIVATION OF HURON NAMES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A. HURON ALPHABET (Facsimile)

B. ON COMPOUND WORDS (Facsimile).

C. AHOUENDOË—Charity, Christian or St. Joseph's Island.

D. TEANAOSTAIAË—St. Joseph II.

E. SCANONAENRAT—St. Michel.

F. OSSOSSANË.

G. IHONATIRIA—St. Joseph I.

H. KHINONASCARANT or QUIEUNONASCARAN.

I. CARHAGOUHA.

J. TEANDEOUIATA or TOANCHÉ II.

K. CAHIAGUÉ—St. Jean-Baptiste of the Relations.

L. TAENHATENTARON—St. Ignace I.

M. KAÖTIA or KAONTIA—Ste. Anne.

N. L. ISIARAGUI—Mud Lake.

O. EKAENTOTON—Manitoulin Island.

P. PAGUS ETHAOÜATIUS.

Q. LACUS OUENTARONIUS—Simcoe Lake.

R. LACUS ANAOUITES—Cranberry Lake.

S. ANATARI—Thorah (?) Island.

T. SCHIONDEKIARIA—Beausoleil, Prince William Henry Island and CHIONKIARA Mouth of the Severn, along the South Shore.

DERIVATION OF HURON NAMES.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Before submitting my attempts at decomposing the Huron names of places as found in the Relations and on Ducreux's inset Map, I wish to disclaim formally any pretentions to inerrancy.

Having scrupulously quoted phrase and rule on which my deductions are based, and whatever else I deemed of a nature to throw light on the matter in hand, any reader who can master his distaste for so wearisome a task may form his own estimate of the correctness of the derivations.

The diffieulties of the language are innumerable, as Huron became practically a dead language a score of years ago, and without a living master might I not add these difficulties are well nigh insurmountable?

During about a century and a half of close observation, the succeeding generations of missionaries singled out and carefully compiled a list of a little over eight hundred verb-roots, and upwards of five hundred and sixty nouns either primitives or immediately deriving therefrom. Of adjectives there is in their lists but a thin scattering.

On the other hand, in any work written in Huron the number of compound words is, in comparison, endless, and the complexity of their structure appalling for any beginner however enthusiastic. In fact what Brébeuf says is enough to damp the ardour of any amateur linguist: "Nous sommes employez en l'estude de la langue, qui, à cause de la diuersité de ses mots composez, est quasi infinie" (Rel. 1635, p. 37, 1 col.). And again: "Les mots composez leur sont plus en vsage . . . . La varieté de ces noms composez est tres grande, et c'est la clef du secret de leur langue" (Rel. 1636, p. 99, 1 col.).

But at the outset what most disagreeably surprises one intent on dissecting compound words, so as to segregate their roots, is that most of the words in any phrase in Huron begin with a consonant, while the root-words in the *Radices Huronicae* almost invariably begin with a vowel. The reason of this is that particles denoting time, place, duality, negation, affirmation,

reciprocal relation, reduplication, re-iteration, etc., etc., are in constant and necessary use, and, as a general thing, figure as prefixes.

L'Abbé Cuoq, P. S. S., in his *Lexique Iroquois* (J. Chapleau et fils, Montreal, 1882, p. 204), in speaking of the Iroquois language, which is akin to the Huron, so much so that it may be considered but a dialect, remarks:

"For the understanding of the language either written or spoken, it is important before all else to disengage the roots be they verbal or nominal, which for the most part are involved with all manner of prefixes, particles expressing relation, accidents and suffixes or enclitics, and, as it were lost in their surroundings." This process of disentangling he tells us, is the great stumbling-block for the beginner. It is a task perplexing enough when there is question of single derivatives, but which becomes intensely so when lengthy compound words are to be resolved into their component parts.

Nor would I have given a second thought to inquisitive promptings to know what, after all, these Huron names of villages, towns, lakes and hills really meant, were it not that I found to hand, methodically compiled and admirably transcribed precepts and roots of the language of a stricken and dispersed nation.

Among the many precious relics of the past which have been gatherd into our collection at St. Mary's College, are five volumes in Fr. Pierre Potier's handwriting. This father was the last missionary to that portion of the Huron nation which settled in Western Canada in the vicinity of Sandwich. He died at that town July 16, 1781.

Immediately on his arrival at Quebec in October 1743, he was sent to Lorette to study the Huron language under Fr. Pierre Daniel Richer, who had had charge of the Hurons almost from the time he first landed in the country in 1714. Potier spent a little over eight months under Fr. Richer's tuition, and reached the scene of his labours, near Detroit, September 25, 1744.

The first of the volumes above mentioned is, according to his own title, *Radices Linguae Huronicae, Tom. I.* It is a closely written small 8vo of 260 pages, and was completed December 22, 1743. It comprises the Huron Radicals or Roots of the First, Third, Fourth and Fifth Conjugations. This volume is referred to in the following notes and throughout as *R. H. 1743.*

The second volume, of 302 pages, entitled *Radices Linguae Huronicae, Tom. II.*, comprises the Huron Roots of the Second Conjugation, and was completed February 18, 1744. These two

volumes were consequently copied, while Potier was still at Lorette, from pre-existing works. It is referred to as *R. H. 1744.*

The third volume, entitled *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae*, comprises the Huron Grammar properly speaking, of 109 pages, a Compendium of Huron Radicals of 37 pages, and a census of the Hurons of his mission etc., in all 158 pages. The Grammar and Compendium were completed May 21, 1745. In quotations it appears simply as Gramm. or Gr.

The fourth volume is a collection of sermons in Huron, homilies, a treatise on Religion etc., with the names, when known, of the different missionaries who composed them. The first part was completed July 2, 1746, and the last date given in the second part is April 1, 1747.

The fifth and last volume, entitled *Radices Huronicae*, which comprises the two previous volumes of Huron Roots, with many additions, and a list of some 566 nouns, in the order of the conjugations to which they belong, under the heading *Quaedam Substantivae*, was completed September 20, 1751. It is quoted as *R. H. 1751*, or simply as *R. H.*

Now these would be very useful and effective tools in the hands of a skilled workman; but I am not proficient in the Huron Language. This will account satisfactorily, I hope, for reflections made, as it were, aloud, while I am casting about for some root that resembles the Huron name of whose derivation I am in quest. Far from having any desire to load these few pages with pedantic quotations, I simply take the public into my confidence, and invite critics to set me right when I go astray, or to brush aside any far-fetched derivation they may detect. Huron is a dead language, and the first comer may learn as much about it as the next. The last Indian who could speak the language, Chief Bastien, died some years ago at Lorette. Moreover, works on the Huron Language are exceedingly rare, and there are none in print, I believe. Consequently I thought it would be more than unfair to proceed to pronounce dogmatically on the derivation of a word, while those as able to judge of the correctness of the etymological meaning were precluded from consulting the sources to which I alone have access. I regret exceedingly that I have no Huron dictionary, for with it the work would have been greatly simplified and, what is of more consequence, the results less dubious.

I offer no apology for repetitions of certain quotations from the *Grammar* or *Radices*. They were made advisedly to spare the reader the trouble of too frequently turning back to preceding pages to refresh his memory.

C.—AHOUÊNDOË

CHARITY, CHRISTIAN* OR ST. JOSEPH'S ISLAND.

In the old records the same name appears under different forms. In the Relations it is printed *AhSendoc* (R. 1649, p. 29, 1 col.) *Ahouendaé* (R. 1652, p. 10, 2 col.). Ducreux's map has *Gahoëdoë*, a contraction for *Gahoendoë*, while in the "Journal des Jésuites" we find *AhSendoę* (p. 151) and *AhSen'doę* (pp. 152, 170).

The main root is "*ąhSênda* (*akSênda*), espace de terre séparée, île," *R. H. 1751, p. 288, 1 col.* distinguished by the circumflex accent over the "e" from "*ąhSenda* paquet de poisson [a string of fish]," *Id. ib.*, and "*ąhSenda*, gras de jambe [the calf of the leg]" *Id. ib.*

Ąhsênda, meaning a stretch of land cut off, separated, or an island, derives in turn most probably from "*ąSi*, être ceint, avoir un brayer" *Id. p. 162, No. 2*, to be girdled or girt about, to wear a breech-clout.

In the Huron dictionary of Lorette, near Quebec, sub voc. "île" what follows is to be found "Insula, *ąhSêndo; ahSêndoë* dans l'île; *ekaSeSêndonnion* aux îles; *atihSêndo*, vel *atiSêndarak* les Hurons, quia in insula habitabant; *AhSêndoronnon*, les insulaires, les Anglois et autres."

Potier (Gramm. p. 155, 1 col.), in giving the Huron names of different nations, writes: "*Sendat*, Huron; *ekeenteeronnon* vel *hatin(g)iaSointen*, sauvages de Lorette," while to designate the English he gives the word "*etiorhenchtronnon*, anglois," which he explains on page 65 (Id. sub. No. 7) "*etiorheneh(t)ronnon*, anglais, habitants du Levant," dwellers in the east, referring probably to the New Englanders.

Decomposing the name *Ahouêndoë* we have *Ahouênd-o-aë*.

1. "*Ahouênda*, île" (R. H. p. 288, 1 col), an island.

2. "*O* . . . . 1° extr. comp. . . . . y avoir de l'eau ou quelque liqueur semblable à l'eau coulante et humide, comme l'eau dans quelque lieu ou vase . . . . item, être en quelque corps transparent, ou y paroitre par l'image qu'on y forme." Among the derivatives given are "*Aronto*, une arbre dans l'eau qui sert de pont pour passer une rivière, un pont; *ASêndo* il y a une île dans un lac, dans une rivière, etc." (Id. p. 241). Hence *Ahouênda-o, Ąhouêndo*, there is an island in a lake; adding the suffix *ae* and eliding the "a," *Ahouêndoë*. The *ae* is placed after words in

*See Rel. 1649, p. 27, 2 col.

answor to the question *"annen?"* [expressed or understood] ubi? quo? qua? unde? *annen ihentron? andataę̄*, ubi est? in pago" (Gramm. p. 87), where is he? in the village.

D. -TEANAOSTAIAË

St. Joseph II.

There are various readings of this name in the Relations: *Teanaustayaé* (R. 1637, p. 56, 2 col.; p. 64, 1 col.; p. 66, 2 col.); *Icanausteaiae* (R 1637, p. 107, 2 col.); *Teanaostahé* (Id. p. 127, 2 col.) *Teanansteixé* (R. 1640, p. 63, 1 col.) an evident blunder of the copyist, and *Teanaostaiaé* (R. 1637, twice on p. 161, 2 col.; p. 162, 1 col.). I have adopted the last mentioned form.

This word may be resolved more or less satisfactorily into its component parts in three ways.

First Combination of radicals:

1. *Te* or *T* (Gramm. p. 75): "De praepositionibus—ex particulis quae praeponuntur, aliae sunt separabiles, *intaę̄*, *etaę̄*, infra, *ach(r)aδi* supra, sursum; aliae sunt inseparabiles ut 1° *s* quam vocamus partieulam reiterationis, unitatis et exeessus, 2° *T* quam vocamus notam distantiae, temporis, vel loei, 3° *Te* quod vocamus affirmationis, dualitatis, divisionis vel notam perennitatis et totalitatis, 4° *chiate*, nota aequalitatis."

"Ceteris temporibus (besides those enumerated above on the same page of the grammar) et modis nihil mutatur, sed praefigitur *te*, quod ante vocalem eliditur cum apostrophe" (Gramm. p. 26, 4°).

2. "*Eą̄* (*ateą̄*) eau, liqueur" (R. H. p. 294, 2 col.), water, liquid.

3. "*Annon* . . . . in comp. cum voce pass. significat garder quelque chose ou quelque personne en avoir soin" (R. H. p. 148, No. 54.), in English, to take eare of, to stand guard over.

Thus far: *Te-ca-annon* which becomes *Teannon*, in compliance with the first and second rules to be observed in compounding words: "Quaedam observanda in compositione substantivi cum adjectivis et verbis—1° Subtantivum semper praeit. 2° Ultima vocalis substantivi perit, et consonans adjectivi vel verbi quae initialis est eliditur, seu (quod idem est) perit vel ultima primi verbi [word] littera, vel prima littera secundi verbi [word]." (Gramm. p. 66).

Teannon may be written *Teanon*, for it must be remembered that Potier (De Litteris—Gramm. p. 1) warns us: " 'n,' si sola sit, vocali praecedenti jungatur, v.g. *atenion*, far torrere, graler

du blé [to roast or pop corn] dic *aten-ion*, non vero *ate-nion*, si geminetur nil difficultatis est." So that it would be very difficult to determine by merely hearing it pronounced whether there was a single or a double "n" in any Huron word.

Teanon, as it now stands, is a complete compound word of itself, meaning "The Guardian of the Spring, or River" and may be combined according to rule with other words or roots.

4. "*ASasti*, in compositione cum quibusdam nominibus significat être beau, bon" (R. H. p. 158), to be beautiful, good etc.

Teanon-aSasti, combined, *TeanaSsti*. Were I attempting to account for *Teanaustayaé*, the form adopted in Relation 1639 (pp. 56, 64, 66 vid sup.), I should call attention to the presence of the "u," but would remark at the same time that "u" is not the equivalent of "8:" "'8' sonat ut 'ou.' Nota 'i' et '8' saepe facere unam tantum syllabum cum vocali aut diphthongo sequenti, v.g. *kSaraskSa*, partons [let us depart, let us go], *chion-Sesen*, tu est liberal [thou art bountiful], *tionSesen*, nous sommes liberaux [we are bountiful]: quae omnia trissyllaba sunt. At quando notantur duobus punctis [diaeresis], faciunt duplicem syllabam cum sequente vocali aut diphthongo. * v.g. *hotïai*. ils ont coupé [they have cut] quadrisyllabum; *hotiai* il est coupé [he is cut] trisyllabum; sic *eskïon* elles rentreront [they (femin.) will re-enter], est trisyllabum, et *eskion*, je rentrerai [I shall re-enter] dissyllabum." (Gramm. p. 1).

The form *Teanaostaiaë*, however, has been adopted because it appears to be the more correct, seeing that the change of "8" into "o" is in accordance with Huron usage: "'O' semper pronunciatur ut apud Gallos. 'O' et '8' aliquando promiscue adhibentur" (Gramm. p. 1).

Teanon thus combined with *aSasti*, *Teanaosti*, would mean "The Keeper (or Guardian) of the Beautiful Spring (or River)." To this the diminutive is now added.

5. "'A,' in sing. *a*, *ak*, *aha*, *ache;* in plur. *as*, *askSa*, *aska*, *aska cenk*, ... extr. et intr. comp. (vide grammaticam) [p. 30, 70], varia significat, etc." (R. H. p. 1.), and its derivative a few lines lower down on the same page:

"*Aïa* vel *iskaia*, diminutivum formatum a praecedenti, extr. et int.: in compositione ponitur *aïa* pro sing., et *asa* pro plur.: *iSaskaia*, vel *iSaia*, vel *iSaia θo*, il y en a un peu, vel il y en a

*For this reason, *Wenrio*, a very common modern way of spelling the name of the Huron village *Oënrio*, *Sënrio* or *Oüenrio*, is not correct, as it makes only three syllables, while the name should be pronounced as a word of four. If the diaeresis is sometimes omitted, it must be ascribed to the carlessness of copyists.

peu. *IskSaia*, fort peu, est reduplicativum [there is a little, there is but little, there is very little] *Iandatsaia* (die *andatsaskSi*) petite chaudière, *iandatsasa*, de petites chaudières, etc.," (R. H. p. I) [a little kettle, little kettles, from "*andatsa*, chaudière [a kettle, pot], *anneno* extr. comp." (Id. p. 289, 1 col.)

Potier refers us to the Grammar, where on page 30 ample explanation of the manner of conjugating the verb '*a*,' of its combinations and meanings, is given. What concerns us most is contained in paragraph seven: "7° Verbum '*a*' per se significat praecise magnitudinem vel aetatem, additione litterae 's' rem saepe magnam dicit, addito in fine *aia* est verbum diminutivum, unde adverbium *iSaïa* vel *iskSaia* (redup.). Potest componi, v.g. *annonchiaia* [from "*anñonchia (atennonchia* vel *ennonchia*, cabane, maison," R. H. p. 291, 1 col., a cabin, hut, house], *andatsaia*, *iSasaia*, petite cabane, petite chaudière, petit plat [a little cabin, a little kettle, a small plate. The last word is from "*asa*, *atsen* extr. (*atesa*) plat, cuiller, bassinet de fusil" (R. H. p. 293, 1 col.), a plate, spoon, the pan of a flint lock]. In pluribus dicitur *asa* pro *aia*, v.g. *iannonchiasa*, *iandatsasa*, etc., de petites cabanes, chaudières, etc." little cabins, little kettles, etc. See also under *Ihonatiria*.

Hence, *Teanaosti-aia*, *Teanaostaia*, "The Guardian of the Beautiful Little River, or Spring.

6. The last addition needed to make the two words *Teanaost aiaë* and *Teanostaia* wholly alike is of the suffix *ae*, denoting place, permanency, number, etc. The function of *ae*, which is very extensive, is explained at great length in R. H., 1751 (p. 82, No. 80), and in the Huron grammar (p. 75, passim, and p. 87, under "*annen?*" But such exhaustive explanatory details could not find place here. Suffice it to say that it is frequently added, as a suffix, to names of places, and that owing to elision the "e" alone sometimes remains: "Porro aliquando accidit ut in compositione nominum cum verbo '*ae*,' fiat contractio ita ut vix appareat pars ulla verbi, v.g.: *θo iąnnonske* (pro *θo iąnnchiaę*? Combien de cabanes? *a te annonske* (pro *a te annonchiaę*) dans toutes les cabanes, *a te ondechrae* (pro *a te ondechrae*) par toute la terre" (R. H. p. 82, in fin.), how many cabins? in all the cabins, everywhere on earth. The following passage renders sufficiently clear its use when there is question not of numbers but of place: "Ad quatuor quaestiones loci, ubi? unde? quo? et qua? respondetur eodem modo per istam finalem . . . . v.g. *annen ihentron*? où est-il? *andataę* [or—aë], il est au village; *annen tontare*? d'où vient-il? *ąndataę*, du village: *annen are-*

tande? où va-t-il? *andatae*, au village; *annen a'rendi?* par où a-t-il passé? *andatae*, par le village" (Gramm. p. 75).

So that if the question be either: Where is he? Whence comes he? Whither goeth he? or: Through what place did he pass? and you wish to answer: He is at (or in) the village, He comes from the village, He goes to the village, He passed through the village, the answer is the same in Huron: *Andata-ae*, contracted to *andataë* (or *andatae*); "*Andata* (*endata* or *atendata*" (R. H. p. 288, 2 col.), meaning a village or town. This accounts for the finals in *Ahouendoë*, *Toanchë*, *Arentë*, *Ossossanë*, *Teanaostaiaë*, *Cahiaguë*, *Andiataë*, etc. in answer, as it were, to the question, Where? (understood), and denoting site or place, as, there where, or where such a village stands, etc.

When we come to consider the appropriateness of the name *Teanaostaiaë*, "Guardian of The Spring, River or Water," we must bear in mind that the village stood in a commanding position, overlooking the deep valley of the Coldwater, which river takes its rise to the south not far from it, and with many windings feels its way northwards, emptying finally into Matchedash Bay. And I have no doubt that the village site, cleft in two by the Penetanguishene road, at lots numbered 35 in Oro and Vespra was one of the several positions occupied in turn by the villagers of St. Joseph II. It is of very considerable extent, and any traveller, passing that way, cannot fail to notice a very abundant spring but a short distance to the west of the roadway.

Second combination of radicals:

The same as the preceding, but with *ea* omitted, while *annona* would take the place of *annon*, thus, *Te-annona-aSasti;* to which *aiai* would be added with the enclitic *ae*: *Te-annona-aSasti-iai-ae*, contracted *Teanaostaiaë*.

2. *Annona*, with identically the same spelling and the same signs has five different meanings:

Annoña, le fond de l'eau.

Annoña, abyme, précipice.

Annoña, tresor, magasin, une pêche, etc.

Annoña, (in comp.) coutume, usage, moeurs.

Annoña, le dos" (R. H. 1751, p. 291, 1 col.).

In English: 1. The bottom of the water, 2. An abyss, a precipice, 3. A treasure, hoard, store, a catch (draught of fishes) etc., 4. A custom, usage, manners, and 5. The back.

The first, third and fourth meanings may be set aside as being hopelessly unsuggestive of anything which might relate to this Indian village. The choice would lie, I think, between *annoña*, an abyss, a precipice, and *annoña* the back. There would be some

significance in the latter, since *Teanaostaiaë* stands at the very edge of the height of land extending from that point diagonally across the township, through Mount St. Louis and Moonstone, towards the village of Coldwater. But this would be taking the word in a metaphorical sense.

Ąnnoña, with the meaning of abyss, precipice, etc., seems more apposite, for the cliff, or bluff on which St. Joseph II. stands is indeed precipitous. This reminds us of what Father Bressani said of it: . . . . "As the enemy could approach it on one side only, thus betraying his presence, on account of the elevated site of the village (per l'eminenza del borgo,—Ital. Orig. p. 106), the inhabitants who chose to do so, had time to escape by the side opposite" (Martin's French Transl. p. 247).

4. *Aiaį*, the fourth root is thus noted in Radices Huronicae. 1751, (p. 103, No. 28): "*Ąiaį* (vel *aai*) . . . . extr., couper rompre, briser, casser," to cut, cleave, break, sever, and inferentially no doubt to shape, or something to that effect. "*iai* . . . . in comp. (pro *aiai* extr.)" (Id. ib.) with the same meaning. As *aiai* is marked "extr.," i.e. "extra compositionem" we must use its equivalent, *iai* in compound words, thus:

Te-annoña-aSasti-iai-ae.

Applying the second rule, quoted above, we have *TeanoaSastiaiaë*, whose further contraction to *Teanaostaiaë* is sanctioned by rules seventh and eighth. These rules run thus:

"7° Aliquando duplex aut triplex vocalis eliditur in substantivo, etc."

"8° Saepe fiunt erases unius vel plurium syllabarum, v.g.: *haakSasti*, il est beau [he is handsome] pro *haataSasti; ąnnonskSei*, cabane bouchée [a well closed cabin, i.e., all crannies and chinks stopped or plugged] . . . . *ondechen*, il y a une terre [there is a stretch of land] pro *ondechaen*, etc." (observanda in compositione, etc.—Gramm. p. 66.).

This second combination would mean. "The Beautiful Cliff shaped," "The Beautifully shaped Cliff." Nor can it be found fault with as being at variance with the ninth rule: "Verbum [a verb] non componitur cum alio verbo, etc.," for the process seems to be authorized by Potier (De Nominibus—Gramm. p. 65, 10°): "A verbis [verbs] et adjectivis formantur vera substantiva, etc." And in the present case *Teanaosti* has already been transformed into a noun before combining with *iai*, which otherwise would be the second verb.

Third combination of radicals:

There is but one other root I can discover, which in combination with the others just mentioned, could give as resultant *Teanaostaiaë*.

4. "*Atai* (die *Staï*) . . . . être coloré (couleur brillante, éclatante) utuntur tantum praesenti *Staï*, cela est coloré, etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 20, No. 19). *Atai* would supplant *aiai*, making *Teannona-aSasti-atai-ac, Teanaostaiaë*, "The Beautifully Coloured Cliff," referring to the autumn hues when the ridge was still thickly wooded.

Of the three combinations the first is the least anomalous.

E.—SCANONAENRAT.

St. Michel.

The spelling of this word is anything but uniform, in the Relations. In Relation 1635, (p. 35, 2 col.) *Scanouenrat* is given; in R. 1636, (p. 77, 1 col.) and in R. 1637, (p. 161, 2 col.) *Scanonaenrat;* in R. 1639, (p. 72, 1 col.) *Scanonaentat.* Some of these are probably misprints. The name of the nation is given in R. 1637, (p. 113, 1 col.) as the *Tohontaenras*, in R. 1639, (p. 50, 2 col.) as the *Tohontaenrat*, and finally in R. 1644, (p. 93, 1 col. in heading) as *Tahontaenrat.* The "Journal des Jésuites" modifies slightly this last variant by separating the two last syllables, thus, *Tahonta enrat.* Let us deal with the latter appellation first.

Tahontaenrat is made up of three roots.

1. *Te.* See what has been said of this prefix under the heading *Teanaostaiaë.*

2. There are but two roots which, without violent wrenching, can be made to do service in building up this word.

"*Ahona* (*atchona*, vel *akona*) canot" (R. H. p. 287, 2 col.), a canoe. This is the form used exclusively in compound words: "*ia* extr., *ahona* in comp." canot (Id. p. 295, 2 col.) But as, in combining, a "t" would have to be inserted to bridge the hiatus, of which make-shift, instances seem extremely rare, I prefer the following:

"*Ahonta*, brossailles" (Id. p. 287, 2 col.) The French word brossailles or broussailles is equivalent, according to the context, to our words: thicket, brushwood, underwood, scrub, or else, bushes, briars, brambles, thorns.

That this is really the root-word made use of in compounding the name seems evident from the non-contracted form given in the variant at page 150 of the "Journal des Jésuites," where it is separated from the third component by an inverted comma, thus *Tahonta enrat.*

3. "*Aenrat*, in comp. être blanc" (R. H. 1751, p. 87, No. 93), [to be white], *enkSaraenrat*, coverte blanche [a white blanket], *endaenrat*, avoir la peau blanche [to be white skinned], *chindaenrat*, tu as la peau, le teint blanc [thou hast a white skin, a fair complexion], *aonskenrat* (pro *aonchiaenrat*) avoir le village blanc [to have a white village], *hatiqnskenrat* ils ont, etc. [they have, etc.].

Combining the three roots we have *Te-ahonta-aenrat*, *Tahontaenrat*, with the signification "The White Thorns." If *ahona* had been used, "The White Canoes."

Scanonaenrat, the Huron name of the village of St. Michel is also composed of three roots: *skat-annonchia-aenrat*.

1. *Skat* is listed by Potier among the "Adverbia Numeri" (Gramm. p. 105): "*Skat*, 1; *tendi* vel *te*, 2; *achienk*, 3; *ndak*, 4; *Sich*, 5; *Sahia*, 6; *tsStare*, 7; *a'tere*, 8; *entrou*, 9; *a'sen*, 10, etc." One, two, three, four, five, etc. It derives from *At* which has a fourfold meaning, the sense to be determined by the way it is employed. 1. "*At* (die *kat*) être debout" (R. H. 1751, p. 196), to be erect, to stand, to be standing; 2. "*At*, ... y avoir quelque chose dans un autre," (Id. p. 197), something to be contained in some kind of receptacle; 3. "*At* . . . . cum particula reiterationis, significat unitatem unius rei" (Id. p. 197, in fin.). 4. "*At*, significat identitatem unius ejusdemque rei secum, vel aequivalentiam" (Id. p. 198), it implies identity of some one object, and also equivalence.

It is with *at* in the third sense we have to do, that is *at* denoting singleness or unity. The following are some illustrations of its use "*Skat*, une seule chose [one single thing]; *SkarihSat* (vel *tsorihSat*), une seule affaire (une seule chose) [one matter only]; *Skarontat* [one solitary tree]; *tsStaćta*, une buche fendue [a split log]; *skaentat*, une buche ronde [a round log, i.e. one that is not split into pieces]; *skaSendat*, une seul voix, item, une seule île [a single voice, the same word means also a single island]; *skontarat*, [one single lake]; *tsondechrat* vel *tsonhSentsat*, une seule terre [one land only, or one single stretch of land]; *skannonchiat*, une seule cabane [one single lodge or cabin]; *skSeat*, une seule eau [one single expanse of water]" (Id. pp. 197, 198).

2. The second to the last of these examples shows how *skat* is combined with "*añnonchia*, (*atennonchia* vel *ennonchia*), cabane, maison" (cabin, house, lodge) which is our second root-word. Consequently we have *Skannonchia*, a single lodge.

3. "*Aenrat*, (R. H. p. 87, No. 93), in comp. etre blanc [to be white] *enkSaraenrat*, étoffe, couverte *blanche* [white cloth, white

blanket, from "*enkSara* (*endikSara* passiv., *atendikSara*, recip.) étoffe, couverte, linge, dicitur etiam *enhSara*" (R. H. p. 295, 1 col.), cloth, blanket, linen]; *ęndaęnrat*, avoir la peau blanche [to be white skinned]; *chindaęnrat*, tu as la peau, le teint blanc [thou hast a white skin, a fair complexion]; *ąąnskenrat* (pro. *ąąnchiaęnrat* avoir le village blanc [to have a white village], *hatiąnskenrat*, ils ont le, etc., [they have their village white, or a white village] (Id. p. 87.). From "*ęnda*, robbe de peau (vide *andScha*); *ęnda*, le teint (*endinda*), a robe of skins, the skin, complexion. As for *anñonchia*, it means cabin, lodge or house (R. H. p. 291, 1 col.), and cannot be rendered by the word "village" save by synecdoche. *Ąndata* was the word in current usage for village (Id. p. 288.

This example however occurs very opportunely, for it shows that among the Hurons such a thing as a white village was not a fanciful creation. And what is of no little help for us *ąąnskenrat* for brevity, and perhaps also for euphony's sake, is substituted for the more regular form *ąnonchiaenrat*. We can now with better grace have recourse to the eighth observation on the compounding of Huron words, where we find among the examples *anñonchia* again figuring in a disguised form "saepe fiunt erases unius vel plurium syllabarum, v.g.; . . . . *ąnnonskSei*, cabane bouchée, pro *ąnnonchiaSei*, etc.," (Gr. p. 66) meaning a weather-tight cabin or lodge. Our three roots combined should read *Skanonchiaenrat*, but by a temperate use of the privilege of "erasis" we suppress one syllable, *chi*, and as final outcome have *Scanonaenrat*. I again call to mind that I am innocent of the compounding and have but to do with the analysis of a word already existing, and of which the Huron nation itself was the originator. What they had in mind when they first coined it may be inferred from a passage to be found in Relation 1639, p. 72, 1 col.:

"The village upon which, at the outset, we cast our eyes was *Scanonaenrat*, both because it is one of the most important of the country,—*itself alone forming one entire nation* of the four that compose the Hurons, as we have explained in the first chapter,—and because it is distant only five quarters of a league from the residence of St. Joseph." (See also Cleveland edition of the Relations Vol. 17, p. 87).

Now, as we all know, it was customary to designate a nation metaphorically as "a cabin," "a house," "a lodge." The confederacy of the Five Nations was for this reason termed "The Long House, or Lodge." Father Millet, in his letter from Oneida (Onneiout) July 6th 1691, gives a short summary of an

Indian harangue, in which the orator, an elder of the Bear Clan, speaks of the Five Nations as "La Cabane Iroquoise" (Relations, Cleveland Edition, Vol. 61, p. 80). In Relation 1660 (p. 38, 2 col., and Clev. edit. Vol. 46, p. 122) this custom is mentioned explicitly ". . . . l'année prochaine sera plus redoutable pour nous que les precedentes, parce que *toute la cabane* [the entire cabin], c'est ainsi qu'ils parlent pour exprimer les cinq Nations Iroquoises, se doiuent liguer et former vn grand dessein de guerre contre nous." But the most striking instance in this regard is the remonstrance of the Mohawk chief recorded in Relation 1654 (p. 11, 1 col.; Clev. edit. Vol. 41, p. 86): ". . . . 'Nous ne faisons qu'vne cabane nous autres cinq Nations Iroquoises; nous ne faisons qu'vn feu et nous auons de tout temps habité sous vn mesme toit.' En effet de tout temps, ces cinq Nations Iroquoises, s'appellent dans le nom de leur langue, qui est Huronne, *Hotinnonchiendi*, c'est à dire la Cabane acheuée, comme s'ils n'estoient qu'vne famille, etc."

Quite in keeping with this manner of speaking, the inhabitants of the village of St. Michel, forming by themselves one entire nation or clan of the four which went to make up the Huron confederacy, were styled "The one single cabin," *Scanonchia;* which combined with the word expressing the colour they had adopted (found also in their name as a people) viz.: *acurat*, has for outcome *Scanonacurat*, "The One single White cabin," or "The Lone White Cabin."

One, interested in the matter, searching for the meaning of Huron names, would be led to enquire at this juncture if no other root could be found to replace *annonchia*, so as to avoid maiming the word by the suppression of the syllable *chi*.

There are in fact two others: *annona*, already mentioned (under the heading of *Tcanaostaiaë*) with its five different meanings: 1. The bottom of the water; 2. an abyss or precipice; 3. a treasure, store, hoard, a catch or draught of fishes; 4, a custom, usage, manners; 5. The back. None of these seems at all applicable. The other root is "*annonhia* [with a bar across or over the "h"], présent public" (R. H. 1751, p. 291, 2 col.), meaning a public present. As no further explanation is vouchsafed, it is not easy to define exactly what is meant by a "public present." Were it interpreted as a donation made to, or by a whole community or village it would have some significance in view of the fact that this nation or clan had cast their lot in with, or given themselves to the three elder clans of the Hurons, somewhere about the year 1609 (Rel. 1639, p. 50, 2 col.; Cleveland Edit. Vol. 16, p. 227).

F. -OSSOSSANË

Ossossane is the most common reading of this name in the Relations, but there are variants: *Ossosané*, with one "s" less, R. 1637, p. 139, 2 col.; Id. p. 140, 2 col.; Id. p. 142, 1 col.; Id. p. 143, 1 col., etc. *Ossossarie* occurs twice on p. 63, R. 1640; but it may safely be set aside as a misprint.

Ossossanë is composed of a noun, a verb and the enclitic *aë*.

1. "*Aosa*, feuilles vertes qui couvrent l'épi de blé." R. H. 1751, p. 292, 1 col., the green leaves forming the sheath of an ear of maize or Indian corn, corn-tassel. It is classed by Potier among the substantives of the second conjugation, those with an initial "a." Let me here remark that nouns as well as verbs in Huron are said to be of the first, second, third, fourth or fifth conjugation according as they have for initial letter 1. an "a," 2. an "a," 3. an "e" 4. an "e," or "i," 5. an "o" or "8." They admit of no change of case: "Nomina non inflectuntur per casus, adeoque non patiuntur ab alio nomine aut verbo ullam alterationem, nisi in compositionem cum illo intrent, v.g.: *onnenha*, blé (wheat, corn), sive praeponatur sive postponatur verbo *ąichSas* j'ai besoin (I need), idem semper et eodem modo manet, dicesque: *onnenha ąichSas* vel *ąichSas onnenha*, j'ai besoin de blé (I need corn). Ad pluralem numerum exprimendum saepe additur "s," v.g.: *chicannen ionnenhas*, vel *onnenhSannens* ce sont de gros grains de blé (they are big grains of corn), nam in singulari dicitur: *chicąnnen onnenha*, gros grain (a big grain). Sic *haSennen*, c'est un ancien (he is an elder), *hatiSannens*, ce sont des anciens (they are elders)" Hur. Grammar p. 65.

Consequently, *aosa* though it may be singular or plural, must be changed to *aosas* if we wish it to be taken unmistakably for the plural.

2. The verb is "*Oïanni* [5th Conj.], agiter, troubler, interrompre." R. H. 1751, p. 273, (to agitate, to trouble, to interrupt); hence:

Aosas-oïanni, and in conformity with the second remark under the title "Syntaxis Substantivorum cum adjectivis" (Gram. p. 65): "Substantiva quae componuntur, in hoc tantum conveniunt cum adjectivis quibuscum junguntur,—quod saepe induunt naturam eorum paradygmatis, v.g. *ąnnonchia*, cabane, si componatur cum *ąSasti* beau [R. H. 1751, p. 158, No. 92 in 2°] dices: *annonchiaSasti*, belle cabane (paradyg. C.) quia *aSasti* est parad. C; si vero componatur cum adjectivo *ondiri*, fort (par. S), dices: *onnonchiandiri*, cabane forte, (par. S) quia ondiri est par. S.," *Aosas-oïanni* becomes *Oosas-oïanni*; and in the

blending, *Osasanni*, not simply in virtue of the second rule in compounding words, but also of the eighth: "Saepe fiunt erases unius vel plurium syllabarum" (Gram. p. 66, 8°).

Furthermore, bearing in mind that the authors of the Relations for the most part spelled the Huron words so that a Frenchman would pronounce them as near as possible as a Huron would, the double "ss" in *Ossossane* are easily accounted for: "'S' nunquam pronunciatur ut "z," licet inter duas vocales, sed ut duplex "ss" v.g.: *a'sara*, anse de chaudière (the handle of a kettle)" (Gramm. p. 1), the hard breathing sign over the "s" showing that it is to be sounded as a double "ss."

Hence *Osasanni* is written *Ossassanni*.

As for the "n" it is quite immaterial whether it be written single or double as it must always be linked and sounded with the syllable preceding: "'n' si sola sit, vocali praecedenti jungatur, v.g.: *ateuion*, far torrere, graler* du blé, dic *ateu-ion*, non vero *ate-nion*. Si geminetur, nil difficultatis est" (Gramm. p. 1).

The result, at this stage, is *Ossassani*, with the meaning "The waving corn tops," and with the enclitic, *Ossassani-ae*, *Ossassanë* "Where the corn-tops wave."

Yes, but *Ossassanë* still differs from *Ossossanë*.

True enough, and I can account for the difference only by pointing out that, as in western France, whence most of the early French missionaries came, the "a" was sounded very broad as "a" in "paw" and not as "a" in "far," it would answer perfectly to the "o" in our English word "boss." Now, the name *Ossossanë* was in print as early as 1636 (Rel. 1636, p. 134, 1 col.), long before the language was completely mastered grammatically, or later etymologically, brought under rule, supplemented with classified compilations of radicals, which had been worked out laboriously by several generations of missionaries, such as we find it to-day in the admirable manuscript volumes which have come down to us. The form *Ossossanë*, once made familiar by frequent repetition to the readers of the Relations was not likely to be modified in succeeding years when the change would matter so little to the general reader.

Graler, old French patois for *brûler*, *rôtir*, *sécher*. This is beyond question the sense intended, first because it is given here as an equivalent of *torrere*, and secondly because it is used elsewhere with this meaning by Potier himself: "*oSaitsa* blé gralé, fleuri et crevé au feu" (R. H. 1751, p. 293, 1 col.). The English rendering of *aSaitsa* would be "popped-corn."

The work in hand, be it remembered, is not synthetical but analytical. There is no question here of building up words, but of striving to detect roots in existing compound-words and of resolving these words into their component parts. The latter process may be attempted by a tyro, the former could be undertaken only by an accomplished Huron linguist unless he had to deal with the simplest combinations.

The name *Ossossanë* is compound. Nothing bearing the least likeness to it as it stands can be found among the fourteen hundred roots and their immediate derivatives, as set down in Potier's "Radices Huronicae," this is a test all-sufficient to warrant the assertion. And the combination of roots I have suggested, with the exception of one other is the only possible one which yields as a result anything resembling the word sought for.

The alternative would consist in the substitution of *oscnni* for *oïanni*, the other components remaining unchanged.

"*Oscnni* (5th conj., parad. 8) 1° sine "te" dual., quelque chose appartenant à quelqu'un tomber dans l'eau. 2° cum "te" dual., eblouir, nuire aux yeux, etc. in comp. *OnchonraSentSs* mon fusil, mon arme est tombe à l'eau; *Kandiniontoscnni*, être ébloui par la neige, ou la glace . . . . *kasatoscnni* (ou *akSaastNi*) la fumee entrer dans les yeux et les incommoder" R. H. 1751, p. 242. Without the dual sign the word means, to fall into the water, with it, to dazzle, to hurt the eyes.

Compounding the roots *aosas-oscnni-aë* the result would be *Ossosscni*, and on account of the absence of the "te" verbale (otherwise the "te" dualitatis), with the meaning "There where the leaves of the corn-sheaths fall into the water," taken metaphorically, "Where the corn-tops, or corn-tassels, or corn-blades droop into the water."

This would be quite in keeping with the original location of La Rochelle, the French name of Ossossanë, conferred on it for the very reason that when first visited by the traders its site was at Point Varwood, close to the shore of Nottawasaga Bay. In view of this fact it would be very desirable to have an "a" substituted for the "e" in some way strictly in accordance with Potier's rules, but a mere "presto change" is quite powerless to effect it. Perhaps an adequate reason may be found later. Meanwhile, as second root, I shall adopt *oïanni* in preference to *oscnni*, following Nature's lead in reaching the term by "the way of least resistance."

G.—HONATIRIA.

St. Joseph I.

Variants of this name are few. As written above it occurs in R. 1635, p. 3, 1 col., p. 30, 2 col., p. 11, 2 col., in R. 1636, p. 139, 2 col; in R. 1638, p. 56, 2 col., and in R. 1639, p. 66, 1 col. Written with "tt" it is to be met with in R. 1637, p. 138, 1 col., p. 177, 2 col., p. 179, 2 col., and in R. 1638, p. 53, 1 col., p. 59, 1 col.

There is nothing doubtful as to its etymology. The three component roots are modified, after comb' ing, by the usual formative signs of the diminutive.

1. "*Ahona (atchona* vel *akonha*) canot" (R. H. 1751, p. 287, 2 col.), "*ia*, extr, ahona in comp." (Id. p. 295, 2 col.) a canoe.

2. "*It* 1° act. embarquer quelqu'un . . . . 2° neutr. être embarqué . . . . in comp. (vide *gaSi*, aller en canot [Id. p. 48, No. 7]) (R. H. 1751, p. 238, No. 31), to put one aboard, to be on board or embarked, to go in a canoe. But *It* is also given as the passive of "*Atit* (pass. *it*) 1° in fieri, s'embarquer . . . . 2° in facto, être embarqué" (Id. p. 239). To go on board, to be shipped, to be loaded, to be freighted.

3. *Iara* is the third root. Potier in his grammar under the heading "quo modo praepositiones Latinae efferuntur per particulas quae postponuntur" (p. 75) dealing with *sub*, *intus* and *super* informs us: "Saepe per easdem particulas exprimuntur, ut *annenhSane iSat*, cela est dans le sac [from "*annenhSen*, vel *annenhoin*, sac à mettre du blé," R. H. 1751, p. 290, 2 col., a bag, a sack for wheat]. *annonchiaę iara*, dessus la cabane," on or on top of the cabin. On the next page (76), always under the same heading, we have: "Super, supra [ou, over, above, etc.], *endich(r)ae iara* cela est sur le buffet, that is on the side-board: "*θo iara*, cela est là dessus" R. H. 1751, p. 172, sub. *ara*.

Hence *Ahona-it-iara*. Applying the second and eighth rules for compounding words the resultant left is *Ahonitira* with the signification "Above The Loaded Canoe." But as St. Joseph I. was the merest hamlet (R. 1636, p. 121, 1 col.: Clev. edit. Vol. 10, p. 241) it is not surprising to see the Huron name take on the diminutive form.

4. "*Aïa* vel *iskaia*, diminutivum formatum a praecedenti [i.e. "A"], extr. et int.: in compositione ponitur *aia* pro sing. et *asa* pro plur., *iSaia* vel *iSaskaia* vel *iSaia θo*, il y en a un peu, ou, il y en a peu, etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 1, No. 1). This has already been quoted while *Teanaostaiae* was undergoing analysis. But here an important remark is in order.

Father Pierre Potier, who arrived at Quebec, October 1, 1743, began immediately to make a copy of Father Etienne de Carheil's Ms. on Huron Roots compiled between the years 1666 and 1700. His first manuscript volume, comprising words of the first, third, fourth and fifth conjugations, was completed December 22, 1743; his second, containing words of the second conjugation, on February 18, 1744, a few months before his departure for his mission on the Detroit River. In these two volumes (Radices Huronicae, 1743 and Radices Huronicae, 1744) quite a number of explanations are given which are omitted in his second transcription, made at the Detroit Mission in 1751, perhaps deliberately, or it may be through some oversight. What is omitted concerning *Ia* is too important to have been suppressed on purpose, for it is an explanation to be found nowhere else, not even in his Grammar. It explains the use of the initial "I" in diminutives, and runs thus:

"*Ia* (verbum diminutivum) formatur a praecedenti primitivo I. Significat être petit, être en petit nombre, y avoir peu de chose [to be little, small; to be few in number; to be sparse, scarce, a scanty supply]; intra et extra compositionem; paradig. *chi. ISaia* vel *iSaia* ꝺo, il y a un peu, vel, il y en a peu [there is a little, or there is but little].

"Intra compositionem dicitur *aia* vel *asa*, pro singul., *asa* pro plurali numero, cui utrique praefigitur 'i' initiale diminutivum. Sic dicitur "*iandatsia* (vel *adatsaskSi*) [from *andatsa* chaudière, *annenio* extra—R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.—a kettle] petite chaudière; *iandatsasa* de petites chaudières; *iannonchiaia* [from *ɋañonchia* . . . . cabane, maison—R. H. 1751, p. 291, 1 col.—a cabin, a hut, a house] une petite maison [a little cabin, etc.], *iɋanonchiasasa* de petites maisons [little cabins]: *iSasaia*, un petit plat [*ɋsa*, *atsen* extr. (*atesa*) plat, etc., a plate, etc.—R. H. 1751, p. 293, 1 col.], (R. H. 1743, p. 2).

Thus *Ahonitira* becomes in its diminutive form *I-ahonitiraaia*. Consulting, at this final stage, "observanda in Compositione, etc." (Gramm. p. 66) we find authority for eliding and for suppressing the redundancy of vowels in the seventh and eighth:

"7° Aliquando duplex aut triplex vocalis eliditur in substantivo, v.g.: *arihiaɋ* déchirer un papier, un livre [to tear a paper, a book] pro *arihSaɋi* ab *arihSa*, [*arihSa*, *atrihSa* passiv., *atatrihSa* recip., chose, affaire, nouvelle, présent public; a thing, an affair, news, a public present. R. H. p. 293, 1 col.] et *ɋaɋ* [*ɋiaɋ* vel *ɋaɋ*, extr., couper, rompre, briser, casser—R. H. 1751, p. 103, No. 28—to cut, break, etc.], etc. (Gram. p. 66.)

"8° Saepe fiunt erases, etc." Already quoted when treating of *Tcanaostaiae*.

By such warrant is *I-ahonitira-aia* reduced in its proportions to *Ihonatiria*, with the rendition "The Little (Hamlet) above The Loaded Canoe."

This was the one thing *Ihonatiria* could boast of, it was conveniently perched on the bluff overlooking a snug little harbour, well sheltered from wind and wave, where the canoes from Quebec landed their stores. It was this point that the chief Aenons brought out so clearly in his harangue before Father de Brébeuf when he urged him to abandon *Ihonatiria* and to come and live with him in the new village he was to build. After skilfully setting forth the advantages of such a move, he anticipated the great objection the Father might have to his proposal (R. 1636, p. 123; Cleveland edit. Vol. 10, p. 236):

"Echon," he continued, "I know well that you are going to say that you dread being further away from the Lake [Huron] than you are now; but I pledge my word, that you will not be as far from it as you might well think. And were it even so, where is the cause for worry. You are not going to fish; all the village will do that for you. You will find it hard to embark your parcels for Quebec? Not at all; there will not be a soul in the village who will not deem it a pleasure to serve you in this matter. True enough you will not be on the edge of the Lake to receive the parcels sent to you; but what matter, since they will be carried to your very door? And in case you wish to employ the villagers of La Rochelle, if they care for you, as they usually pass before the village which we purpose building, they will not put you to the trouble of going all the way for them to their village" (R. 1636, 124, 2 col.; Clev. Edit. Vol. 10, p. 242).

Surely St. Joseph I. could not have found a better, a more appropriate name than *Ihonatiria*, "The Little (Hamlet) above The Loaded Canoe."

H.—KHINONASCARANT.

OR QUIEUNONASCARAN.

The former spelling occurs in Relation 1637 (p. 128, 1 col.), the latter in Sagard (passim, and Grand Voyage, p. 64 new, 93 old edit.).

If we are to accept *Khinonascarant* strictly as a compound word, and not as a mere juxtaposition of words coalescing but imperfectly, there is only one etymological solution: *Xa-hiñnon-askarent*.

1. The first root is *Xa*: "*Xa* vel *cxa* vel *dexe*, hic, huc, hac, hinc [here, hither or thus far, hence, etc.], (Gramm. p. 68): *xa aotae acchiatorha*, vel *x'aotae*, etc., j'ai mal icy." I suffer here, here is where it pains.

"*K* et *x* sonant ut *kh*, v.g. *xa*, hic, haec, hoc, dicitur *kha*. (Id. p. 1).

2. "*Hiñnon*, le tonnerre [the thunder]," (R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.). The primitive of this noun is the verb "*ISinnon* . . . . in comp. cum voce pass., trainer [to draw, to drag]" (R. H. p. 163). Hence also: *atiataSinnon*, se trainer, ramper, marcher sur le ventre, comme font les serpents" (Id. ib.), to drag one's self along, to creep, to crawl along the ground serpent-like; and "*atonSinnon* (pro *atchonaSinnon*) trainer son canot [to draw or drag along one's canoe] (Id. ib). Hence also "innon . . . . trainer, faire aller, mener, conduire [to draw or drag, to drive, to make go, to lead, to conduct] in comp. cum utraque voce, cum quibus semper significat aliquem motum; sed cum aliis ponitur absolute, cum aliis relative, cum aliis neutr., cum aliis active: *annenrinnon*, aller en armée quelque part, y conduire une armeé (to march somewhere with an army, to lead an army thither], etc. etc.; *akootsinnon*, glisser comme font les enfans sur la neige trainant sous eux une écorce qui leur sert de glissoire, et qu'ils appellent *akoocha* [to slide as children do on the snow having under them a piece of bark in lieu of a sled, and which they call an *akoocha*" (Id. ib.).] Hence also derives our noun: "*hiñnon*, le tonnerre [the thunder] quod quasi motu reptabundo feratur" (Id. ib.).

3. "*Iskarent* [the mouth to open] l'ouverture de la bouche, per contractionem (*achiaharent* ab *achia* bouche)" (R. H. 1751, p. 78), the opening of the mouth, from the primitive:

"*Iarent*, 1° active, ouvrir (to open) . . . . 2° neutraliter, y avoir un trou, une ouverture en quelque lieu, en quelque partie (an aperture, a hole, an opening to exist somewhere, in some part] . . . . in comp. Componitur cum nominibus partium corporis quae sunt apertae et patentes; usurpatur ad eas significandas, hinc: *kaqkarent*, l'ouverture, l'orbite des yeux, l'endroit où les deux yeux sont ouverts (per contractionem pro *te aqaraqarent*, ab *aqara*, oeil, vel potius pro *te aqtaqarent* ab *aqta* idem quod *aqra*) [the opening, the cavity, the orbit of the eyes, the place where the two eyes are opened] . . . . *ks ahontaarent*, l'ouverture des oreilles [the opening of the ears] (ab *ahonta* oreille)" (Id. ib). etc.

These three roots, *xa* or *kha*, *hiñnon*, and *askarent*, combined in a regular compound word give us *Khinonaskarent*, the last

syllable of which, whether written *ront*, *rant*, or *ran*, would be pronounced the same way by a Frenchman as *an* or *ant* in the word *enfant*, a child.

The idea conveyed by the word is "At this point is the mouth of the opening called Thunder," "From here the mouth-opening of the Thunder," "Here Thunder Straits yawn open," "Beginning of Thunder Straits" "Entrance to Thunder Sound" or "Thunder Channel," in reference to the strait separating *Ahouendoë* or Christian Island from the mainland.

As those who are conversant with the geography of the region know, Thunder or Douglas Bay lies only a short distance to the east from the Strait, beyond and around Cedar and Mark's points. It might be well to add here that the root *askarent* and the words *isati* and *ontarisati* are in nowise akin. In the Huron dictionary, already mentioned, the former is set down for "baie, enfoncement, sinus (a bay or inlet) the latter as being the Huron for "golfe" (gulf).

As *innon*, already mentioned above, is the only other root, which taken with *xa* and *askarent*, will yield *Khinonascarant*, and as it is itself a verb, we are confronted with the ninth rule (Gr. p. 66):

"9° Verbum non componitur cum alio verbo vel adjectivo, v.g. non dices *ąkensahiaton* [from *akense* . . . . . regarder, considerer quelque chose ou quelqu'un, to see, to watch or to consider some object—R. H. p. 6.—and *ąhiaton* . . . . ecrire,—to write, Id. p. 101, No. 20] sed *ąhiatonchraenk* vel *atchiatonchakensek* je regarde l'écriture [I see the writing or what is written]. *Akense*, regarder, exigit passivam vocem in compositione."

Neither verb is modified in the name, so the conclusion must be that, in the hypothesis, it is not a compound but an agglutinate word, unless we take what is said of *innon* by Potier (R. H. 1751, p. 163) as legitimizing this form: " in compositione cum utraque voce, etc.," already quoted above.

Mindful of the main object in view, which is not so much to vindicate the correct formation of Huron village names, fashioned as we find them in the Relations and on Ducreux's Map, as to discover their meaning, it remains for us to see what we can make out of the idea of *dragging, drawing, hauling*, etc., (*innon*), coupled with the other idea of *a yawning cavity, the beginning of an opening, an open mouth*, etc. (*askarent*), taken either literally or metaphorically.

Some of the derivatives from the primitive *aSinnon* may prove suggestive. There are two especially which seem adaptable. One we have met with in a previous paragraph, *aθonSinnon*, to haul

one's canoe. Conjointly with *xa* and *askarent*, *inuon* might mean the "Hauling place at the Strait." But to haul their canoes overland to Thunder Bay from *Khinonascarant* would be, one might fancy, more arduous for the Indians than paddling around Cedar Point, unless a fierce gale were blowing from the north or north-east. A portage it certainly was not in the ordinary sense, for the Huron verb *ennencha* means to carry on one's shoulder (R. H. 1751, p. 283, addita), evidently from the noun *ennenchia*, the shoulder (Id. p. 294, 2 col.): while the nouns *ęnta* and *enθona* mean a portage (Id. p. 295, 1 col.), with the corresponding verb *entiaį* to make a portage (Id. p. 234, sub. *iaį*).

EnditsaSinnon (R. H. 1751, p. 163) is the second derivative I have in mind. Potier translates it: "trainer son appât, son amorce," to trail one's bait or lure, to troll: and two lines below: "*ąSindeti* . . . . trainer une chose avec une autre: *enditsaSindet* vel *ostiesara* vel *aontsenta*, hameçon, ce avec quoi on traine l'amorce," that is, to trail something by means of something else, a hook, by means of which one trails his bait. From what precedes I infer that trolling for fish was practised by the Hurons. Derived from *inuon*, in this sense the name might mean "The Opening or Beginning of the Trolling Grounds."

Personally, I must say, I prefer the derivation of *Khinonascarant* from *hiñnon*, thunder.

1.—CARHAGOUHA.

This name is written as above by Champlain (Œuvres, Tom. IV., up. pg. 28, low. 516 et passim). Chrestien Le Clercq substitutes a second "r" for the first "h," *Carragouha* (Etablis. de la Foy, Tom. I., pp. 76, 87, 127).

The word is composed of three roots: the prefix *Xa*, the noun *arha*, the verb *aSi*, with the suffix *a* modifying the resultant.

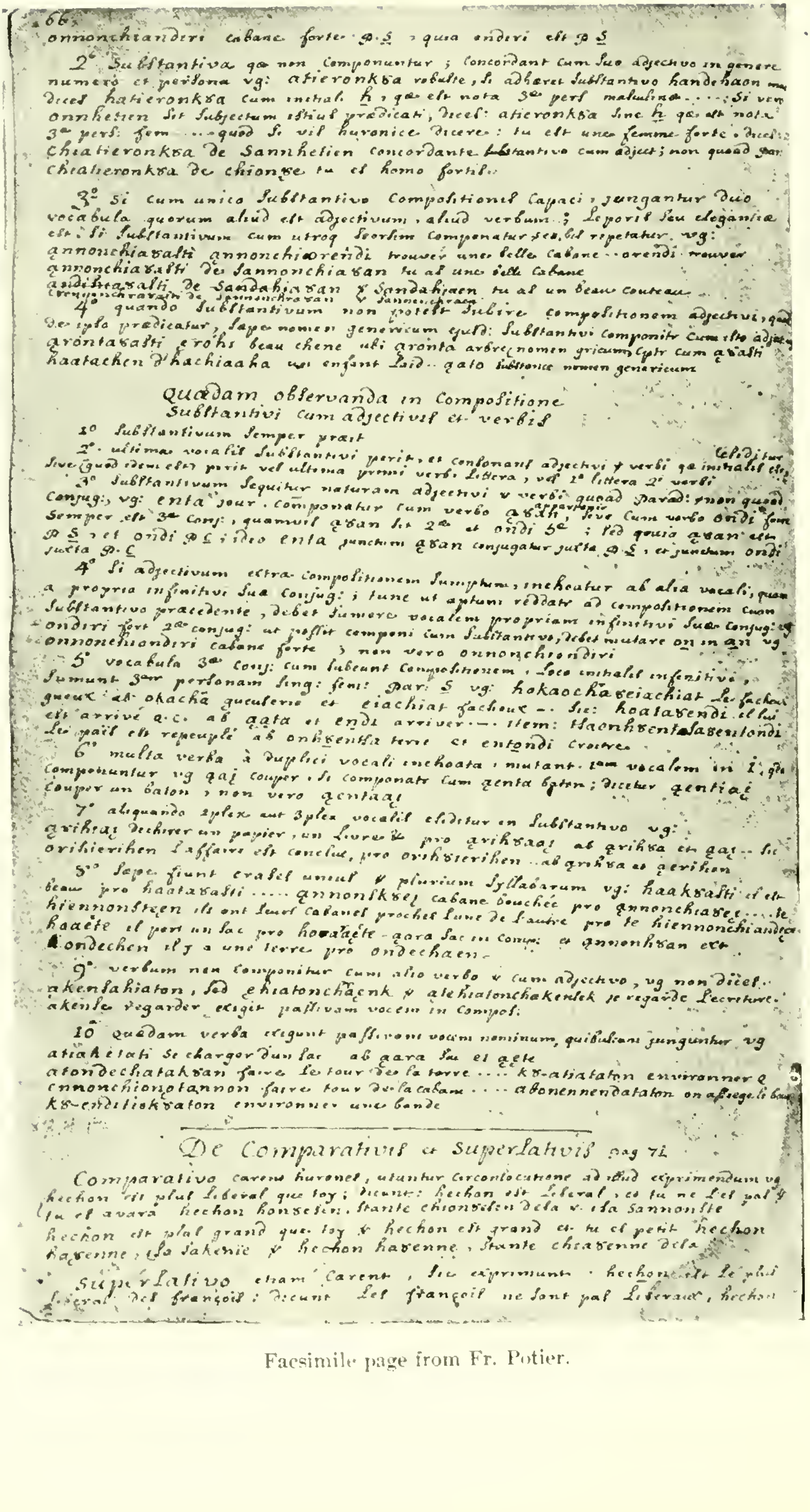
1. "*Xa*, hic, haec, hoc" (Gramm. p. 1.), or "*Xa*, vel *exa*, vel *dexe*, hic, hue, hac, hinc (Id. p. 68, 1 col.).

2. "*ęArha*, vel *arhaha* (atraha), bois, forêt [wood, woods, forest]" (R. H. 1751, p. 292, 2 col.).

3. "*ASi*, être ceint [to be girt or girdled, to be encircled, encompassed]" (Id. p. 162, No. 2), thus:

Xa-arha-aSi.

I wish now to draw attention to the "a," with the iota subscript in *aSi*. On the first page of Potier's grammar we find the heading: "De "i" seu "j" (iota)" and under which, treating of it not only as an iota subscript, when marked under a vowel, but also when used as an aspirate sign either above or below the line, he says:



66

onnonchianderi cabane forte p. s. quia enderi est p. s.

2° Substantiva quæ non componuntur; concordant cum suo adjectivo in genere numero et persona vg: atieronkȣa robuste, si adhæret substantivo handehaon dicet hatieronkȣa cum initiali h, quæ est nota 3æ pers masculinæ....; si vero onnhetien sit subjectum istius prædicati, dicet: atieronkȣa sine h quæ est nota 3æ pers: fem ...quod si vis huronice dicere: tu est une femme forte, dices: chiatieronkȣa de sannhetien concordante substantivo cum adject; non quoad per. chiatieronkȣa de chionȣe tu es homo fortis.

3° Si cum unico substantivo compositionis capaci, jungantur duo vocabula quorum aliud est adjectivum, aliud verbum.; lepores seu elegantia est, si substantivum cum utroq seorsim componatur seu bis repetatur. vg: annonchiaȣasti annonchiorendi trouver une belle cabane ..orendi trouver annonchiaȣasti de sannonchiaȣan tu as une belle cabane andihtaȣasti de sandahiaȣan ȣ sandahiaen tu as un beau couteau.

4° quando substantivum non potest subire compositionem adjectivi, quod de ipso prædicatur, sæpe nomen genericum quod substantivi componitur cum isto adject. arontaȣasti erohs beau chene ubi aronta arbre, nomen gricum, cptr cum aȣasti haatachen d'hachiaaha un enfant laid.. gato substance nomen genericum

Quædam observanda in compositione
substantivi cum adjectivis et verbis

1° substantivum semper præit

2° ultima vocalis substantivi perit, et consonans adjectivi ȣ verbi quæ initialis est, sive (quod idem est) perit vel ultima primi verbi littera, vel 1a littera 2i verbi elidetur

3° substantivum sequitur naturam adjectivi ȣ verbi quoad parad: non quoad conjug:, vg: enta jour, componatur cum verbo aȣan appartenir, sive cum verbo ondi, semper est 3æ conj:, quamvis aȣan sit 2æ et ondi 5æ; sed quia aȣan est p. s. et ondi p. c. ideo enta junctum aȣan conjugatur juxta p. s., et junctum ondi juxta p. c.

4° si adjectivum extra compositionem sumptum, inchoatur ab alia vocali, quam a propria infinitivi suæ conjug: ; tunc ut aptum reddatur ad compositionem cum substantivo præcedente, debet sumere vocalem propriam infinitivi suæ conjug: vg ondiri fort 2æ conjug: ut possit componi cum substantivo, debet mutare on in an vg. onnonchiandiri cabane forte, non vero onnonchiondiri

5° vocabula 3æ conj: cum subeunt compositionem, loco initialis infinitivi, sumunt 3am personam sing: fem: par: s vg: hokaochaȣeiachiat le facheux gueux ab okacha gueuserie et eiachiat facheux -. sic: hoataȣendi il lui est arrivé q. c. ab aata et endi arriver -. item: ttaonhȣentaȣentondi le pais est repeuplé ab onhȣentsa terre et entondi croitre.

6° multa verba à duplici vocali inchoata, mutant 1am vocalem in i, quando componuntur vg aai couper, si componatur cum aenta baton; dicetur aentiai couper un baton, non vero aentaai

7° aliquando 2plex aut 3plex vocalis eliditur in substantivo vg: arihtai dechirer un papier, un livre ȣ pro arihȣaai ab arihȣa et aai.. sic orihierihen l'affaire est conclue, pro orihȣierihen ..ab arihȣa et aerihen

8° sæpe fiunt crases unius ȣ plurium syllabarum vg: haakȣasti il est beau pro haataȣasti ..... annonskȣei cabane bouchée pro annonchiaȣei.... te hiennonsteen ils ont leurs cabanes proches l'une de l'autre pro te hiennonchiandea haaete il port un sac pro hoȣaaete - aora sac in comp: et annonhȣan etc. ondechen il y a une terre pro ondechaen -

9° verbum non componitur cum alio verbo ȣ cum adjectivo, vg non dicet.. akenlahiaton, sed ehiatonchaenk ȣ atehiatonchakenlek je regarde l'ecriture. akenle regarder exigit passivam vocem in compos:

10° quædam verba exigunt passivam vocem nominum, quibuscum junguntur vg atiahetati se charger d'un sac ab aara sac et aete atondechatakȣan faire le tour de la terre .... kȣ-atiatatan environner e onnonchionotannon faire tour de la cabane .... abonennendataton on assiege li kȣ-endiliokȣaton environner une bande

De Comparativis et superlativis pag 72

Comparativo carent hurones, utuntur circonlocutione ad illud exprimendum vg hechon est plus liberal que toy; dicunt: hechon est liberal, et tu ne l'es pas ȣ tu es avare hechon honȣesen, stante chionȣesen de la ȣ sa sannonste hechon est plus grand que toy ȣ hechon est grand et tu es petit hechon haȣenne, sa sakenie ȣ hechon haȣenne, stante cheaȣenne de la

Superlativo etiam carent, sic exprimunt: hechon est le plus liberal des françois: dicunt les françois ne sont pas liberaux, hechon

Facsimile page from Fr. Potier.

"Haec virgula seu semi-littera "i" vel "j" maxime est usus:

1° Ad pronunciandum; v.g. *atatiak* die *iatatiak*, *chiatonk* die *ichiatonk*, etc. Ante alias vocales idem, sed lenius quasi prope "i," non vero omnino; usus docebit."

Obeying these directions let us insert the "i" and instead of *Xa-arha-aSi* the word becomes *Xa-arha-iaSi*.

But what else has Potier to say concerning iota which might be helpful in our case?

"7° Utilis est ad discendum idioma Iroquaeum, nam scribunt 'g' ubi scribimus 'i' [i.e. the iota subscript]" (Gramm. p. 2).

Since the "g" is of extremely rare occurrence as an initial in purely Huron words, we have reason to suspect that *Carhagouá* is of Iroquois dialect rather than Huron, which indeed was more prevalent in Champlain's time and in Sagard's.

I take at random two or three instances out of several that I have chanced to notice. Sagard for the French word cabane (a cabin, house, hut) gives *Ganonchia* (Gr. Voyage, up. pg. 81, low. 118; idem in his dict. under *Ca*), which, though often to be met with in Potier, is invariably written *ąãnonchia* with the iota subscript under the initial "a" (R. H. 1751, p. 291, 1 col. et passim in Gramm. and Radices). *Gaguenon* is the Huron for dog, acording to Sagard (Gr. Voy. up. pg. 100, and in his dict. under heading *animaux*), while Potier sets down the word *an(g)ñiennon*, chien, dog (R. H. 1751, p. 291, 1 col.), with a diminutive "g" over the first "n," which I have placed after it in parenthesis. Sagard interprets *Garihoüa andionxra* as "Capitaine et chef de la police," (under heading *armes*), the same root is to be found in Potier but written *arihSa* (R. H. p. 293, 1 col.) with the meaning "chose, affaire, nouvelle, présent public." Other examples might be adduced, but these are sufficient to sanction the change of *ąSi* into *gaSi*.

Nor must it be thought that the use of the initial "g" as a substitute for the iota subscript had become entirely obsolete even at a much later date. For instance, it had not wholly fallen into disuse when Duereux's map was made. On it we find the inscription "*Ins. Gahoïdoë*" (contraction for Gahoendoë). Now, this name appears in the Relations as *IhSendoe* (Rel. 1649, p. 29, 1 col.), where we can scarcely expect to find the iota subscript marked, but Potier never omits it either in his grammar or Radices (R. H. 1751, p. 288, 1 col.:).

The shape our word has now assumed is:—*Xa-arha-gaSi*, and by blending these roots according to the second and eighth rules of "quaedam Observanda in Compositione" (Gramm. p. 66), it reads: *XarhagSi*, a compound word one of whose roots is of the Iroquois dialect.

The ultimate form is reached by adding the suffix "a," thus: *XarhagNi-a*, *XarhagNa*, or *Carhagouha*.

The import of this last addition is sufficiently explained in Potier's own words: "Verbum "*a*" per se significat praecise magnitudinem vel aetatem" (Gramm. p. 30, 7°), supplemented by a remark from the Radices: "'*a*' in compositione sequitur suum simplex: *chiçannen iaudatsa*, c'est une grande chaudière" (R. H. 1751, p. 1.) or more definitely still in the Radices of 1743 (p. 2): "'*a*' in compositione si jungatur singulari numero sequitur suum simplex in singulari, v.g. *chiçannen iaudatsa*, c'est une grande chaudière."

The meaning of *Carhagouha* depends much upon how the word *arha* (bois, forêt,) is taken. If literally, the compound word could be rendered by "The Great Forest-encircled Town." If metaphorically, much as we say of shipping in a harbour "a forest of masts," in allusion to the great number of posts or trunks of trees forming its lofty palisade, it could be expressed by the terms "The Great Forest-Walled Town," meaning "The Great Palisaded Fortress."

This interpretation would seem to be borne out by what Chrestien Le Clercq writes concerning this stockade. "Le plus fameux de leur village (sic) s'appelle *Carragouha*, qui est revétu et entourré d'une triple palissade haute de trente six pieds pour se deffendre de leurs ennemis" (Etablis. de la Foy, Tom. I. p. 76). That is, "the most famous of their villages is called *Carragouha*, which is protected and surrounded by a triple palisade thirty-six feet high as a defence against their enemies." But prior to Le Clercq, Champlain had written: "De là, ie me fis conduire à *Carhagouha*, fermé de triple palissade de bois, de la hauteur de trente cinq pieds pour leur deffence et conseruation" (Œuvres, Tom. IV. p. 28, low. pag. 516).

J. —TEANDEOUIATA.

or Toanché II.

It is mentioned twice in Relation 1635, once as it appears above in the title, on page 28, 1 col.; in the second mention, on page 29, 1 col., it is spelt *Teandeouïhata* with an "h" added.

There can be no doubt as to the roots which enter into its composition:

Te-andeSes-i-ata.

"*AndeSes*" is the noun root, which as we know must precede the verb: "*andeSes*, blan (sic) de sable" (R. H. 1751, p. 289,

1 col.). I presume that Father Potier intended to write "blanc de sable," for I have noticed that in other instances, but not invariably, he has omitted the "e" in *blanc*. The meaning in this supposition would be "colour of white sand," "sand white." Had he meant "banc," we should have to translate by "sand bank." *Andechia* is the ordinary Huron equivalent for sand. (R. H. 1751, p. 289, 1 col.).

"*I*" is the verb, and in one of its three acceptations is thus explained by Potier: "'*I*' in comp. être plein, être entier, *annonchi*, la maison est pleine [the house is full] etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 233). Hence:—

AndeNes-i, *AndeN* meaning "all sand white," "all the colour of white sand."

The use of the termination *ata* requires lengthy explanations which are found in the Radices. What strictly concerns our case may be summed up in comparatively few words.

"*Ata*, in comp. et extr., le bout, l'extrémité de quelque chose [the end, the extremity of something] . . . . Quando *ata* significat in facto esse être fini [to end, to be finished] . . . . in compositione aliquando est personale aliquando impersonale juxta naturam rei significatae per nomen quod componitur . . . . . Componitur autem cum utraque voce, sed raro cum activa, saepius cum passiva" (R. H. 1751, p. 198).

Among the examples given are the following:

"*Ti annanchiata*, etc., au bout de la cabane [at the end of the cabin or lodge]."

"*Eiotendatata*, au bout du village [at the end of the village.]

"*Etiotetata*, au bout du champ, des terres cultivées [at the end of the meadow, of the cultivated lands].

"*Etiotrahata* (pro *etioterhata*) au bout du bois, de la foret [at the end of the woods or forest].

"*Etiotond(g)iata*, au bout d'une pointe [at the end of the point].

"*EtiokSendata*, au bout de l'ile [at the end of the island].

"*OtrihSata*, l'affaire est finie, achevée, c'est tout, il n'y a plus rien [it is done, finished, that is all, there is nothing more]" (Id. ib.).

This termination *ata* added to *AndeSi* gives us *andeSiata* and our word is worked out to completion by prefixing the *Te*., which may be either the simple particle of affirmation (R. H. 1751, p. 241, sub. voc. *oannon*, and p. 102 in Gramm.) or the *Te*, a prefix meaning in front of, opposite, abreast of, etc." "Vis-à-vis, *te*

Sandaen, te sandaen vis-à-vis de la porte de la maison, *te skSandaen* vis-à-vis de votre porte" (Gramm. p. 75), opposite, or in front of the door of the house, in front of your door.

Whichsoever we take the sense is appropriate.

At the entrance of Penetanguishene Bay, in fact what gives the very name of "Rolling Sands," in Algonquin, to the town itself, is a headland or bluff of light coloured sand. If the name *Teandeouïata* was intended to convey the idea that all this district, lying in the north-eastern part of the peninsula, and including this point as a special feature, was under the control of the village, then, the name must be rendered "The Sand-white Point." If *Te*, in the other sense is preferred the name would be "Abreast of, or Opposite The Sand-white Point."

Teandeouïata was in fact, at the date when it was mentioned in the Relations, the only village in that part of Huronia.

K.—CAHIAGUÉ.

St. Jean-Baptiste of the Relations.

This town is mentioned in Champlain (Œuvres, Tom. IV., up. pg. 29, low. 517; up. 32, l. 520; up. 251, l. 907; up. 253, l. 909). And its orthography does not vary. Nor does its derivation seem doubtful. Its component parts are:

Xa-aiaχon-ae.

1. *Xa*, pronounced *kha*, "*Xa* vel *dexi* vel *decha*, hic, haec hoc, hi, hae, haec. Pronomina non inflectuntur, sed omni numero et generi inserviunt absque ulla variatione" (Gramm. p. 67, De Pronominibus).

2. *Aiaχon* . . . . aller tirer des oiseaux, darder du poisson" (R. H. 1751, p. 104), to go shooting birds, to spear fish.

3. *Ae*. See what has been said of this suffix under the heading *Teanaostaiaë*.

Combined according to rule, the three roots give *Xaiaχe*. The "h" is supplied because in the primitive *aiai* (vel *aai*), to shoot, to spear, the "i" is accented, and more than ordinary stress is laid upon it, to which Potier draws attention lest it should be overlooked: "'i' notatum accentu acuto valde producitur. *ihScuta hatías*, ils dardent du poisson (R. H. 1751, p. 104), they spear fish. Hence, *Xahiaχe*. Champlain used the hard "c" for the initial Greek "X," and the final "*que*" to render the sound of "χe." The meaning is: "Where Fish-Spearing is carried on" or "Fish Spearing Place."

Note.—See colored sketch at page 160b.

The final "*e,*" however may be accounted for otherwise. "*Ad, apud,* in, exprimuntur per aliquam ex particulis '*e*' '*ke,*' '*ske,*' '*nde.*' Vocabulis desinentibus in '*t*' *vel* '*k*' postponitur '*ke*' loco dictarum litterarum, ut *Stenr8ke,* chez *Stenr8t* [at Outenrout's], *Handotonke,* chez *Handotonk* [at Handotonk's], *Aą̨tonnkake* vel *Aą̨tonnhatake,* à la fin de ma vie [at the close of my life, *ahachenke,* pendant le conseil [during the council, or in council] . . . . Vocabulis terminatis in '*s*' vel '*ch*' loco illarum ponitur '*ske,*' v.g. *Andachiaske,* chez *Andachiach* [at *Andachiach's.* Vocabulis aliter terminatis nunc '*ę̨*,' nunc '*de*' vel '*nde*' postponitur, v.g. *Hechonde,* chez *Echon* [at Echon's house or home], *ond8ende* vel *ondoinde,* chez sa mère [at his Mother's]. . . . .*Kierre de* vel *Kierre ande,* chez Pierre [at Peter's]" (Gramm. p. 75).

In this latter supposition the word would still retain the same form with almost the same identical meaning "At the Fish Spearing Place."

L.—TAENHATENTARON.

OR ST. IGNACE I.

Taenhatentaron was the name of the Huron village, which by the missionaries was called St. Ignace. There is no evidence to show that its Huron appellation was retained after the village was removed to its new site of St. Ignace II.

The main root is "*Ą̨̨enha,* perches qui servent à commencer la cabane [poles used at the beginning of the construction of a cabin or lodge]" (R. H. 1751, p. 287, I col.).

The second root, or verb, is "*Ą̨̨θen,* 1° in fieri, se secher [to be drying, to become dry] . . . . 2° in facto, être sec [to be dry]" (R. H. 1751, p. 202, No. 90). One of the examples given is "*8nũ(t)hatatcn* bois sec [dry wood]."

From the combination of these two roots we have a compound substantive *aenha-aθen, aenhaten,* meaning a dry pole, or possibly dry poles, which now enters into composition with another verb:

"*Aron* (vel *karon*), 1. act., mettre de travers [to lay across, athwart, to place in the way] . . . . Saepe ponitur impersonaliter et cum *Te* dualitatis . . . . *te aentaron,* une buche traversant, a log lying across, (R. H. p. 188, No. 46) [from, *ą̨enta* (*atienta*) baton, perche, pieu, etc.—a staff, a pole, a post, etc.—R. H. 1751, p. 286, 2 col.], *t'etiond(g)iaron,* dic *etiond(g)iata,* il y a une pointe qui traverse et avance sur la rivière, etc. . . . . *t'etionnontaron* où

il y a une montagne de travers [there is a point that lies athwart, across, and stretches out in the river, etc.; there is a mountain in the way, barring, as it were, the passage].

Our word by this second combination becomes *aenhaten-te-aron, aenhatentaron.*

The initial *t* may be the numeral "*tendi* vel *te*, deux [two]" (Gramm. p. 105) or the *te* localitatis, and with it, the *e* being elided, we have the perfect word *Taenhatentaron*, meaning "Where The Dry Pole, or Post, Lies in The Way" or "Where The Two Dry Poles Lie Athwart etc.," referring probably to some landmark in the forest trail.

M.—KAŌTIA OR KAONTIA.

Ste. Anne.

On Ducreux's inset map at about the same distance from Ste. Marie I., and in about the same direction as Ste. Anne was, according to the Relations, we find inscribed *Kaōtia*, a Huron name. It does not occur elsewhere. The bar over the *o* is the sign used to denote the omission of an *n*, which is to be supplied when pronouncing the word. A similar instance on the same map is "*Ins. Gahoēdoë*" for *Gahoendoë*.

The etymology of the word is not difficult to trace. In the Radices of 1751, page 287, 2 col., we find the word "*Kahonchia*, tout l'attirail de medecine [all the paraphernalia of jugglery]." As no marks of the aspirate are reproduced on the map the absence of the *h* before the *o* is easily accounted for, while the sounds of *chia* and *tia* are alike.

As the only alternative of this rendering we have *Xa-aonchia*, contracted *Xaonchia* or *Kaontia*.

Xa, vel *cχa*, vel *deχe*, hic, huc, hac, hinc (Gramm. p. 68, 1 col.).

"*Ąǫnchia* (*akonchia* passiv., *atakonchia* recipr.) village [a village]" (R. H. 1751, p. 287, 1 col.).

With the latter derivation *Kaontia* would mean "The village" or "This village;" or if we would follow the translation by Potier of "*Xa onδaenχδi*, voilà notre champ, vel, c'est là que nous avions notre champ [Lo, our field! or behold our field, or there is where our field was]" (R. H. 1751, p. 63, sub. No. 41), *Kaontia* might be rendered "Lo, or behold the Village!"

Why this place, remarkable, in the records which have come down to us, for nothing in particular save as the pest-centre,

whence the terrible epidemic of smallpox in 1639 spread throughout Huronia (Rel. 1640, p. 54, 2 col.; p. 70, 1 col.), should have been styled emphatically "The Village" must remain a matter of conjecture.

This cause of unenviable celebrity, however, might lend colour to the claim that the name *Kaontia* should be translated "Tout l'attirail de medecine" (R. H. p. 287, 2 col.). "All the paraphernalia of the medicine-man, or of jugglery."

N.—L. ISIARAGUI.

Mud Lake.

On page 50 of "La vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot," Shea-Cramoisy Series, nouvelle York, Isle de Manate, 1858, the Father is made to say "Le canot sur lequel je m'embarquai . . . . aborda le 10 de Septembre au haut d'un petit lac nommé *Isiaragui* . . . . Depuis peu nos Pères avoient fait bâtir tout proche une cabane [Ste. Marie I.] pour s'y loger." Father Felix Martin on pages 46 and 47 of his "Autobiographie du Père Chaumonot, Paris, H. Oudin, 1885, gives the same passage with a slight variant "au bout d'un petit lac nommé *Tsirargi*, and in a foot note adds "On trouve aussi '*Tsiaragui*.' Ce lac, nommé par les Français 'Lac Bourbeux,' à cause de ses marécages, se décharge dans le grand lac Huron par la rivière Wye."

Of these three readings I choose the last as the most likely.

The noun-root is *arakδa*, the verb *ohδi*, and the prefix *ts*, note of reduplication.

"*Ąrakδa* (*atrakδa*, soleil, rayon d'astre [the sun, the ray of some heavenly body, sunbeam, etc.]" (R. H. 1751, p. 292, 2 col.).

"*Ohδi* . . . . in comp. et aliquando extra, mettre quelque chose dans l'eau ou autre liqueur semblable [to put something in the water or some other liquid]. *Aǫhos* (dic *aorit*) on met quelque assaisonnement au pot [one puts some seasoning in the pot, or some seasoning is put in the pot]; *ahoñohδi*, to put the canoe in the water; . . . . *and(g)iohδi*, mettre le doigt a l'eau, l'y tremper [to put the finger in the water, to soak it]; *ąarohδi*, mettre un rets à l'eau, l'y tendre [to put the net in the water, to set it] etc." (R. H. 1751, p. 242).

Ts. "In relatione 2*ae* ad 1*am* [person] pro reduplicatione mutatur *k* in X . . . . Reliquis personis inchoatis a vocali praefigitur *ts*, etc." (Gramm. p. 21.).

Before blending these component parts, it will be well to recall what Potier says of the "i" or iota subscript: "Haec virgula

seu semi-littera 'i' vel 'j' maximi est usus: 1° ad pronunciandum, v.g. *ątatiac* dic *iatatiac*, *ęhiatonk* dic *iehiatonk*, &c." (Gramm. p. 1.).

Ąrak8a consequently is pronounced *iarak8a*, so that our compound word is *Ts-iarak8a-oh8i*, contracted (Gramm. p. 66, 2°, 7° and 8°) *Tsiarak8i*.

The last three letters, *k8i*, not bearing the diaeresis, form one syllable. There is no single *u* in Huron, so the termination *gui* in the name accredited to Chaumonot cannot be correct, but must be either *gi* (as *gee* in geese) or *goui* (in English *gwooy*, slurred into one syllable). This sound, with the g, is so extremely rare in Huron, that I am unable after no little research to find a single instance of it, and I think it should be assigned to the Iroquois rather than to the Huron dialect.

At all events, the meaning of the word is plain, literally, "The Sunbeams cast many times on The Waters," and less prosaically, "The Sunbeams Dancing on The Waves." For, evidently, the idea which the compound word is intended to convey is that of rays glinting from the waves, or sunshine shimmering on the rippled surface.

O.—EKAENTOUTON.

Manitoulin Island.

Ekaentoton is mentioned in the Relation 1649 (p. 6, 2 col., and p. 26, 2 col.), and in Relation 1651 (p. 6, 2 col.; p. 7, 1 col.). In Relations 1671, (p. 31, 2 col.; p. 33, 2 col., title; p. 32, 2 col.) and 1672 (p. 31, 2 col.; p. 32, 2 col.) an *ou* is substituted for the first *o*, *Ekaentouton*, which takes the form of *8* in the mention made in the "Journal des Jésuites," (p. 173), *Ekaent8ton*.

The missionaries called it the "Isle de Saincte Marie," St. Mary's Island (Rel. 1649, p. 6, 2 col.; p. 26, 2 col.). Its distance from Huronia was estimated at about sixty leagues (Id. p. 6, 1 col.; p. 27, 1 col.). Needless to say that this is an overestimate; in a straight line one hundred and eighty miles would reach beyond the western extremity of the Island. Its periphery, given in the same Relation (p. 6, 2 col.) as sixty leagues also, is very little over the correct figure. It was thought to be forty leagues long by twenty in breadth (Rel. 1671, p. 33, 2 col.), while its real proportions are about seventy miles by twenty-five. Of course if the circumnavigating canoes followed the indentations of the coast line, the estimates and the reality would be nearly equalized.

That *Ekaentouton* was Manitoulin Island there can be no doubt. It lay in Lake Huron to the west of the country of the Hurons: "dedans nostre grand Lac ou Mer douce, tirant vers l'Occident" (Rel. 1649, p. 6, 2 col.). "Il est facile de la découvrir dans le Lac Huron, puis qu'elle y tient le milieu, et se fait remarquer par dessus toutes les autres pour sa grandeur" (Rel. 1671, p. 33, 2 col.).

Nothing, in fact, is easier than to identify it, it extends lengthwise in Lake Huron, well out on its southern shore line towards the middle, and by its great size it surpasses all the other islands of the "Fresh Water Sea." The island thus specified can be no other than Manitoulin.

The last mention, I think, made in the Relations of this island, under the slightly modified form of the Huron name, *Kaentaton*, is to be found where the events of 1673 are recorded (Rel. 1673-79, Martin-Cramoisy edit., Quebec, 1860, p. 16; Original MS. p. 7; Cleveland edit. vol. 57, pp. 211, 229). Its first mention under its modern Algonquin name, *Manitoüalain*, occurs where the events of the year 1678 are related (Rel. 1673-79, p. 62; Original MS. p. 26; Clev. edit., vol. 61, p. 127). But the form *Manitulain* also is to be found in another passage in the Original M.S. (p. 27), while in the parallel passage of the Martin-Cramoisy edition of Relation 1673-79 (p. 64), the form *Manitoualain* is repeated. The Cleveland edition (vol. 61, p. 131) follows the manuscript.

Ekaentoton cannot strictly speaking be called a compound word, but rather a juxtaposition of words rounded off by elision. I say strictly speaking, for appeal might be made to the exceptional case of compounding an adverb with a verb, sanctioned by Potier: "Observationes in Adverbia . . . . 2° Nonnulla adverbia transeunt in nomina, atque adeo conjugantur per personas, v. g. *sanderat*, tu es excessif, importun en ce que tu veux, etc." And hence he adds: "3° Adverbia aliquando subeunt compositionem" (Gramm. p. 73).

At all events the word is made up of three roots.

1. "*Xa*, vel *exa*, vel *dexe* (adverbia loci) hic, huc, hac, hinc," *(Gramm. p. 68, 1 col.)* meaning here, thus far, hither, hence, from (on) this side, out of this, from there on.

Or, as a substitute for the adverb *exa* the prefix *ek* (De localitate—pro tempore et loco. Gramm. p. 24, 4°): "Vocabulo incipienti ab iota (*i*) praefigitur *ek* dempto iota. Hae regulae nulli exceptione sunt obnoxiae." And as *aent* (pronounced *yaent*), the second root, begins with the iota subscript: *Ek-aent* becomes *Ekaent*.

2. "*Aent*, . . . in comp., être jeté à bord, *ohonaent*, canot jeté à bord par l'eau" (R. H. p. 65, No. 43), in English, to be cast on shore by the waves v.g. a canoe stranded by the waves. This verb and the multiplicative *aenton* are both derivatives of *aen*.

"*Aen*, neut impers. extra comp.; et in comp. aliquando personale, aliquando impersonale: être à bas, à terre, être couché, etendu, gisant, être en arret, en repos, en paix, être dans l'oisiveté etc., etc." (Id. p. 61), to be prone, prostrate, lying on the ground, stretched, felled (as a tree), to remain at the point (as a setter or pointer), in repose, in peace, in idleness, etc., etc.

"*Aentonnion*, multip. plusieurs choses être à bas, à terre, etc.: *arontSton* [from *aronta* (atronta pass., *atatronta* recip.) arbre, a tree—R. H. p. 293, 1 col.] *ichien dSa arhaon, Sa de arontaenton*, or *arontaentonnion*, il y a dans les bois des arbes, les uns debout, les autres renversés par terre" (Id. p. 62), in the woods there are many trees, some standing and others felled. Hence:

Eχa-aenton, which blended according to rule makes *Ekaenton*, meaning, thus far, or from this place many objects cast up by the waves lie scattered along the beach; to which already compounded word is added a second multiplicative:

3. "*Ston* (et *Stonnion*) mult. significant multitudinem rerum quae suo situ eminent: *arontSton* vel *arontStonnion*, vel *arhitonñion*, la multitude des arbres, *onnontSton* vel *onnontStonnion*, quantité de montagnes" (R. H. p. 277). Meaning trees without number, endless mountains.

So with our word *Ekaenton-Ston*, *EkaentSton*: "Near there, are very many, or no end of things washed up and littering the shore," driftwood, etc. As *EkaentSton* was the name of an island, the modern Manitoulin, it might fittingly be translated "Island of castaways." And if we have taken *ek* as prefix (localitatis) the meaning is restricted locally: "There where, or simply "Where very many etc."

P.—PAGUS ETHAOUATIUS.

In Mara township, Ontario County, south of where Atherley now stands, the north-eastern coast of Lake Simcoe is deeply indented by two bays, one of which is, or was called Tenby. These bays are formed by three points of land jutting out into the lake. This sinuous shore-line extends from The Narrows very nearly as far as Brechin, and on the inset map of Ducreux bears the name of *P. Ethaoüatius*. The masculine Latin termination

tius, shows that the *P.* does not stand for *promontorium* but for *pagus*. The latter word may mean either a village or a district or canton. As there is no little circle to mark the site of a village I conclude that it stands for district, canton or region.

The Huron word is descriptive as is usually the case and is made up of two roots.

1. "*E'ta* (*ateta*) champ, prairie [a field, a meadow]" (R. H. 1751, p. 294, 2 col.). If taken in the plural sense it does not necessarily follow that an *s* should be added: "Nomina non inflectuntur per casus, adeoque non patiuntur ab alio nomine aut verbo ullam alterationem, nisi in compositionem cum illo intrent, v.g. *onnehna* blé [wheat] sive praeponatur sive postponatur verbo *ąiehSas* j'ai besoin [I need] idem semper et eodem modo manet, dicesque: *onnenha aiehSas* vel *aiehSas ǫnnenha*, j'ai besoin de blé [I need wheat]. Ad pluralem numerum exprimendum saepe additur *s*, v.g. *chieąnnen ionnenhas* vel *onnenhSannens* ce sont de gros grains de blé [they are large grains of wheat], nam in singulare dicitur *chieąnnen onnenha* gros grain [a large grain], sic *haSennen*, c'est un ancien [he is an elder], *hatiSannens* ce sont des anciens [they are elders]" (Gramm. p. 65, 1°).

"*Saepe* additur *s*," therefore not always.

2. "*ĄSati* . . . . in comp., courber [to bend]" (R. H. 1751, p. 102), from the same stem as "*ahïSat*, extr. comp., être tortu [to be tortuous] . . . . hinc *ąhiochia* vel *ąiochia*, coude [the elbow]" (R. H. 1751, p. 101, No. 21) and "*ąSat*, in comp. (pro *ąhïSat* extr.) être plié, courbé, tortu [to be folded, bent, twisted, tortuous]; *t'etiaontaraSat*, une baye, un cul de sac, là où le lac est courbé (Id. ib.) [from "*ontara* (*atontara*), lac, mer—a lake, a sea—" (R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.)]; a bay, a land-locked cove, there where the lake curves, takes a bend.

Divesting the name of its Latin termination the two Huron roots *Eta* and *ASati* remain, and in the combining the *t*, on account of the aspirate before that letter, becomes *th* or *θ*. A parallel case is given in "Notae in Relationes" (Gramm. p. 21, Localitas.): "Quando *et* praecedit litteram *h*, *t* coalescens cum *h* evadit in *θ*, ut: *éθaakakSacha* il me viendra voir de là [from there he will come to see me], *cθiak* il te viendra voir de là [he will come to see thee from there]." Now, in the verb *ẹ̀ti* there is no *h* apparent, but the sign of the hard breathing precedes the *t* (See "*ennon*, *éti*, aller, venir; venir, revenir"—to go, to come; to come, to come back—p. 36 et ss., where the entire conjugation of this irregular verb is given).

Hence *E'ta-aSati*, *ethaSati*, with the meaning "The Deeply Indented Meadow Lands," referring to the sinuosities which are met with along the margin of Lake Simcoe at this point.

This name is not duplicated on the inset map, but we find it again on Ducreux's general map, inscribed as *P. EθaSatius*, in the region that would correspond to what is now Peterborough County, comprising apparently the present townships of Douro, Otonabee and Asphodel. There is no little circle to indicate that "P." (pagus) stood for "village." Further north however there is one with an accompanying name, *P. Echioïus*, which would seem to lie in the northern part of Dummer township in the vicinity of the present village of Stony Lake. This *P. EθaSatius* has evidently the same meaning as the one in Huronia and for a similar reason, that is, the intricate windings of the water course through Stony Lake, the Otonabee River and Rice Lake.

Q.—LACUS OUENTARONIUS.

Lake Simcoe.

Lacus Ouentaronius, such is the name Lake Simcoe bears on Ducreux's inset map.

It is a compound word of two Huron roots and a Latin termination.

1. "*Ąh8enta (ak8enta)* petit poisson [a small fish]" (R. H. 1751, p. 288, 1 col.), and though "*ęntson* extr., *ęntsonta* in comp. poisson" is given (Id. p. 295, 1 col.) as the generic name for *fish*, "*ąh8enta* seems to have been more in use. *Ąh8enda*, without the circumflex accent on the *e*, means "paquet de poisson," a parcel or string of fish (p. 288, 1 col.); *ąng8achia* (Id. p. 290, 1 col.) a word with the same meaning as the preceding; *ąng8ira*, queue de poisson, coche de flêche (Id. ib.) the tail of a fish or the notch in an arrow, from *ąngara* the tail (Id. ib.), etc., not one of which can possibly derive from *entsonta*. Inferentially, therefore, *ąh8enta* when compounded with other words is not restricted in meaning to *small* fish but is used for *fish* in general.

2. "*Aroni* vel *ąharoni* et *ąraį* (vide *aharen* [p. 99, No. 10. être percé, etc.—to be pierced, etc.—]); 1° neutr. significat vel in fieri se percer, s'ouvrir, se faire plusieurs trous . . . . vel in facto être percé, ouvert, percé en plusieurs endroits [in fieri, to pierce or stab oneself, to open oneself, to make several wounds in one's body; in facto, to be pierced, opened, stabbed in several places . . . . 2° act., to pierce, to stab, to make holes in some objeet . . . . aennionraharoni (dic *ennionronn(g)iak*, je vais faire des trous au bois des raquettes [I am going to make the holes in the frame of the snowshoes] . . . .; *andechiaroni* rompre la glace, y faire des trous [to break the ice, to make holes in it]" (R. H. 1751, p. 189, No. 48). Hence:—

Ah8enta-aroni, ah8entaroni.

The initial *a* is elided (see observa. 7. on compounding words, Gramm. p. 66; "aliquando duplex aut triplex vocalis eliditur in substantivo)," while the aspirate passes to the *S* and we have the compound Huron name *'Sentaroni*, with the Latin termination *Ouentaronius, Lacus*, that is, "Fish-piercing" or Fish-Spearing Lake."

R.—LACUS ANAOUITES.

The Modern Cranberry Lake.

No mention is to be found of this lake in the Relations, but on Ducreux's inset map it occupies the same position as Cranberry Lake and is drained by what is now Wye River.

Were it certain that there were no other substantives in the Huron language than the 566 noun-roots catalogued by Potier in his Radices of 1751, the name *Anaouïtes* when subjected to analysis might well be termed refractory, for there is no noun on the list which can be made to do service as the first root in the compound word.

The name however has been compounded by the Hurons themselves, so we are led to conclude that a noun existed corresponding to the verb *annhi*, probably the only one which combined with the second root would yield *anaouïtes*. Here is what is said of it in the Radices:

"*Ąnnhi* (ex quo videtur formatum *ąnnhandi*) 1° extr. significat y avoir du monde en affluence dans quelque lieu, un grand concours [a great crowd to be collected, a great concourse of people] . . . . 2° in comp. significat telle on telle chose signifiée par le nom qui est composé être ramassée dans quelque lieu jusqu'à le remplir, y être répendu de tout côté [that the thing signified by the noun which enters into composition is gathered in some place so as to fill it, or to be scattered all about, on every side]." (R. H. 1751, p. 143).

From this the meaning of the missing noun would be a crowd, a mob, a swarm, a throng, etc.

Ąąšiti is the second root. "*Ąąšiti* . . . .aller en canot vers quelque lieu [to go in a canoe to some place]" (R. H. 1751, p. 48). This form comes under the heading of "*ąąši* . . . . aller ou venir en canot, voguer [to go or come in a canoe, to row, paddle, sail, to sail along]" (Id. ib. No. 7). It would appear from an example given in the grammar (*p. 61, 1°*) to illustrate the force of the suffix *ti*, that the mere act of rowing—"to row" is expressed by another cognate verb not to be found in the Radices of 1751: "*ąąše*, ramer [to row], *ąąšeti* ramer avec telle chose [to row with such or such an object].

Taking now our two roots as given above we have:

Annhi-aaSiti, combined and contracted *anaSiti*.

The meaning would be "Swarming with canoeing parties," "The swarm of canoes being paddled about."

One would think this sufficient to express the idea of the numbers present, or the popularity of the place as a resort, the coiner of the word, however, intensifies its meaning, but first he must localize it.

"*Ad, apud, in* exprimuntur per aliquam ex particulis '*e*,' '*ke*,' '*ske*,' '*nde*' . . . . vocabulis aliter terminatis [i.e. otherwise than in *t, k, s, ch*] nunc *e*, nunc *de* vel *nde* postponitur, etc." (Gramm. p. 75). Thus *e* is substituted for the final *i*, and instead of *anaSiti* we have *anaSite*, "at the place" or "there where swarms of canoes are paddled about."

The intensifying process to which we have just alluded accounts for the final *s*. After descanting on the formation of verbs of motion and continuation (Gramm. pp. 59, 60), Potier says in Nota 4: "Praecedentibus verbis additur *s* ad exprimendos frequentes actus, v.g.: *hatiSe ihaties* ils vont tous ensemble, etc. Quod etiam est in usu in ceteris verbis motus ut *atrendaendes* j'ai coutume d'aller prier Dieu [I am wont to go to pray God] at *atrendaende* je viens prier Dieu [I come to pray God], de unico actu intelligitur." And in Nota 5: "Haec additio litterae *s* non solum significat frequentationem actuum, sed aliquando etiam pluralitatem v.g.: *haSannen* ancien [an elder] *hatiSaunens* les anciens [the elders], *handachiaθen* sitit, *hatindachiatens* sitiunt . . . . sic *θo iandatsa* la chaudière est comme cela [the kettle is like that], *θo andatsas aSeti* ces chaudières sont toutes de cette grandeur [these kettles are all of that size]."

Thus modified according to rule, *Anaouites* would mean "There The Swarms of Canoes Being continually Paddled about" that is: the Lake which is "The Much Frequented Resort of Canoeing Parties."

8.—ANATARI.

Thorah Island (?).

Opposite the north-western extremity of what may be intended for Thorah Island, in Lake Simcoe, Ducreux has inscribed the name *Anatari*. The appellation cannot be meant for the north-eastern part of Innisfil, for what is marked on the map is much too far to the east for that point. But whatever it may be there can be no reasonable doubt as to the signification of the name.

1. "*Annhata*. die *Stac'ta*, buche, bois de chauffrage" (R. H. 1751, p. 290, 2 col.), a log, fire-wood.

2. "*Ari* 1° in fieri, quelque chose se cuire, se mûrir . . . . . 2° in facto, quelque chose être cuite, être mûre [something to be cooking, to be ripening, and, by inference, to be seasoning] . . . *iori* (die *iSri*) cela est cuit [that is cooked]; *oskeñari*, la farine est cuite [the flour is cooked]; *ohiari* les fruits sont mûrs [the fruits are ripe]; *oñdoiari* le blé est mûr [the wheat is ripe]" (R. H. 1751, p. 185, No. 42). Hence:

Annhata-ari, combined *annhatari* or *anatari*, "Where The Firewood is Seasoning" or else "The Dry Fire-wood," "Dry Fire-wood Island."

T.—SCHIONDEKIARIA INSULA.

Reausoleil or Prince Wm. Henry; and Chionkiara, Mouth of The Severn on the South Shore.

Along the south shore of the River Severn, near its mouth, Duereux has inscribed the name *Chionkiara*. The appellation as it appears on his inset map would extend from about lot 16, XII. concession, Tay, to a point in the neighbourhood of lot 20, II. concession, Matchedash.

A name somewhat similar, *Schiondekiaria*, marks what is now Beausoleil or Prince William Henry Island. Nowhere else are the two names to be met with.

The initial *s*, in the latter word, as far as the pronunciation goes may be eliminated, for says Potier (Gramm. p. 1): "*c* semper est junctum cum *h* et hae duae litterae simul junctae pronunciantur more gallorum v.g. *chieaan(g)nionk* tu fais chaudière, et aliquando ut *c* Italicum ut *chieons*, aegrotas." As the *chi* is here followed by an *i* the first two syllables of both names are pronounced alike as if written in English "sheeon." In the name of the island the syllable *de* occurs after *chion*, but is wanting in the name on the mainland, whose termination differs also from that of the former word in as much as it has no penult *i*. The presence of this *i* is not difficult to explain if we bear in mind that the word has been latinized and that *Insula* requires the feminine adjective termination *kiaria* formed from the noun ending in *kiara*. Stript of their accessories the two names would now read *Chiondekiara* and *Chionkiara*.

This resemblance in structure, coupled with the fact that on the inset map the island lies opposite the mouth of the Severn, with none of the intervening islands marked, might well prove

a lure for one bent on making out the signification of the two names, which he might very naturally suppose, when worked out etymologically, would disclose some correlation in meaning as well as in outward feature.

Possible Derivation of *Schiondekiaria*. *Chi-onda-eχa-i-ara*, contracted *chiondeχiara*. The principal root seems to be *onda* (*atonda*), espace de temps, de lieu, etc. [an interval of time, a space, a stretch of land] R. H. 1751, p. 295, 2 col.), it certainly is the only noun to be found in Potier's list which can be made to fit more or less compactly into the compound word.

The verb-root might be *aṙa* or *ara* the meaning of which is determined by the way the *r* is pronounced.

In this connection here is what Potier says: "De 'i' [the iota subscript] seu 'j' (iota)—Haec virgula seu semi-littera 'i' vel 'j' maximi est usus: . . . . 3° affixa litterae *r* variat pronunciationem et facit leniorem, v.g. *aṙati*, numerare, leniori, non tremulo linguae motu hanc litteram efferas (Gramm. p. 1). With this sign over the *r*, *aṙa* means paraître flotter sur l'eau, to seem to float on the water, or to appear floating on the water (R. H. 1751, p. 10, No. 66); without it, *ara* or *are* means un oiseau avoir son nid quelque part, a bird to have its nest somewhere; *iora* il y a un nid, there is a nest, *ondara* vel *ondare*, ils ont leur nid, they have their nest (Id. ib.). On Ducreux's map no hard or soft-breathings are marked.

"*Eχa, ce, cette,*" this, (Gr. p. 85.)

When combined these roots, *onda* and *ara*, according to rule assume the form *ondeχara*.

Chi as a prefix is generally an adverb, "*Chi*, loin [afar, far away, in the distance] (Gramm. p. 91). It means also, on the other side, beforehand, hitherto, hereafter, etc. (Id. ib.). However, as a preposition also, it often precedes the word with the meaning of the latin prepositions ultra, prae, ante, etc. (Id. p. 75).

With this prefix, and by inserting before the verb-root the *i* adjectitium "ita appellatum quia nihil sensui vocum addit vel minuit, sed euphoniae causa praefigitur quibusdam vocibus et verbis (Gramm. p. 2) we have *Chiondekiara*. As I have already pointed out the initial *s* does not modify the pronunciation of *Chion*, which remains as if written *sheeon* in letters with the English sound; but what it may add to the sense I have not been able yet to discover from anything to be found in Potier's Grammar and Radices, save that "in omni reduplicatione reperitur littera *s*, potest ergo haberi pro nota reduplicationis" (Gramm. p. 22, 1°). What follows complicates matters not a little for the

beginner, "gaudet [s] aliquando littera aliqua praecedente, aliquando littera sequente," and this with other certain rules respecting persons, moods, and tenses.

In the Iroquois language, which was but a dialect of the Huron, it had its use: "*S* initial augmente la force des qualicatifs" (Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise, abbé Cuoq, P.S.S. 1882, p. 161), in other words, it was an intensative prefix, though it was also used very much the same as in Huron as the note of reduplication (Iroquois Gramm. Marcoux, p. 73).

Schiondekiara, as a compound name, in the supposition that what precedes is correct, should mean "This Land to appear Floating Afar," "A Stretch of Land Looming up in the Distance over the Lake," just as on a calm sultry day an island on the horizon seems to hang in mid-air over the surface of the water. *Insula Schiondekiaria* would be rendered "The Schiondekiarian Island."

A Tentative Derivation of *Chionkiara*. How perplexing soever the difficulties that have been met with in explaining the derivation of other names they were but slight when compared with those to be encountered in accounting for the syllabic structure of *Chionkiara*. Wherefore I shall merely indicate, as closely as possible, the meaning of its several parts, when disconnected, without affirming that when strung together they may be taken as effectually rendering the sense of the compound word.

Chi-ion-ke-i-ara, or *-kSi-ara.*

Chi-on-ke-iar-a, or *-kSi-iar-a.*

-ke-iara, or *-kSi-iara.*

These or any other combinations will sufficiently serve the purpose.

Chi is an adverb or preposition, one of the few in Huron which may precede the noun. It means, far, afar, at a distance, beyond, on the far side etc. (Gramm. p. 91). It means also, before, beforehand (Id. ib); beyond, willingly, spontaneously, of one's own accord (Id. p. 75); ever, forever, from all time (Id. p. 92).

In compounding words "Substantivum semper praeit" (Gramm. p. 66). But "nonnulla adverbia transeunt in nomina" and "adverbia aliquando subeunt compositionem (Id. p. 73).

Ion, is a verb used only in composition for *ɑon* which latter does not enter into composition (R. H. 1751, p. 154) unless it means, to take, to hold. *Ɑon*, for which *ion* stands in compound words means, to reach, or arrive at some spot, to enter some place (Id. ib.).

On is a verb meaning, to be several or many together (R. H. 1751, p. 248, No. 21: R. H. 1743, p. 194, No. 96).

Ke, e, ske, nde are suffixes which have the same meaning as the Latin prepositions ad, apud, in. But according to rule words ending in *n* require *de* instead of *ke*, thus *Hechonde* at *Heehon's*, etc. (chez *Heehon*) (Gramm. p. 75); so that unless there be exceptions authorizing its use in the present case *ke* must be eschewed.

KSi. Ti, sti, kSi, etc. mean 1° by the same means, by or on the way, to take advantage of an occasion to do something else, as: *ascnn(t)hatenhaSit* on your way bring some wood (Gramm. p. 81). 2° despatch, as: *sastiaronkSat* go quick 3° immediately, on the spot, thereupon, from that time, as: *ekSaeñienhSiti* from that moment I knew it. (Id. ib.) . . . . *Ti* and *kSi* are also particles of place and time (Id. p. 82, 8° and 9°).

Ar vel *ara*, a heavenly body (sun, moon or star), to rise (R. H. 1751, p. 164, No. 6): *onnen iar*, lo, the sun has risen (Id. p. 164, 4th line).

Ar vel *ara* neut., something to be within, among, with, and in the active, to put something within, etc. (Id. p. 165).

Ar vel *ara*, act. to paint, depict, represent, etc.; pass., to be painted, depicted, carved, etc. (Id. p. 167).

Iara, preposition, placed after the noun, super, on, above, on top, (Gramm. p. 76, 2 line).

Ara, verb, to place on, above, to be on, above, on top of, etc. (R. H. p. 172, No. 9).

A, final, means great (R. H. 1751, p. 1; Gramm. p. 30).

Now, when two verbs are component parts of a compound word the first must be compounded with the noun, before the second verb can enter into composition with it, or rather with the compound noun formed by its combination with the noun-root. So that if we have reason to think that the latter part of *Chionkiara*, that is *ara* or *iar*, is a verb the first part of the name should be formed into a complete compound noun before combining it with *ara*. Thus.

Chi-ion-kSi or *ChionkSi*.

This might have for meaning the "Far away Arrival Place." With this *ar* is now combined, *ChionkSiar*, contracted, according to the seventh rule for compounding words (Gramm. p. 66), *Chionkiar*, "There afar where the orb rises," adding *a*, the termination denoting greatness, *Chionkiara* "There in the distance where the great orb, or where the Sun rises." This appellation would be appropriate only for the Indians residing in that part of Huronia which lies to the west of the Severn River. The "materia prima" stands ready for those who wish to try their hand at other combinations.

I cannot say that the two last derivations are quite satisfactory, I mean, of *Schiondekiaria* and *Chionkiara*. The last mentioned is even less so than the former. I am fully persuaded that a substantive existed, not to be found among Potier's noun-roots either primitive or derivative for that very reason that it was itself a compound word. The spelling should be much alike *Achion* or *Ochion* with or without a vowel termination, and in meaning, denote an object polished, highly finished, cunningly wrought, but in a more or less perfect degree in keeping with the signification of the verb with which it was combined.

My reason for this conjecture is that the verb *achionSendiį*, absolutely the only one at all resembling our two names, is given in Potier's Radices, 1751, p. 56, No. 27, with the meaning "polir quelque chose," to polish, furbish, scour, brighten by rubbing, burnish. The causative verb follows: "*achionSendi'ti*, caus., polir avec quelque chose," to polish with something, and then the derivative noun is added: "*ochionSendiθa*, prêle, herbe à polir," horsetail, a weed used in polishing. The word, in the Radices of 1744, (p. 22, No. 23), is explained in terms almost identical, save, that after giving the meaning of the causative, Potier adds: "hinc *ochionhSendita*, sorte d'herbe appellée presle, parcequ'ils s'en servent pour polir." The *hinc* implies that the noun derives from the causative verb. Note also the difference in the spelling, *h* is inserted before the *S*, while the last syllable is written with a *θ* instead of a *t*. This shows that while the change of a letter may be very perplexing for a beginner, the advanced student treats it sometimes as of little consequence.

The verb-root is *Sendii* since according to rule the noun must precede it. Hunting up *Sendii* we find as the nearest approach to it "*aSendi* (R. H. 1751, p. 215) in compositione pro *endi* extr. "*Endi*, extr. quelque bon ou mauvais évenement arriver à quelqu'un, quelque bien ou mal, quelque bon ou mauvais succès, etc." (Id. p. 214), which would be rendered more simply in English by to happen, to befall, to fall out, to result, etc. This effect or result should be indicated in the missing noun *achion* or *ochion*. It would not therefore be rash to presume that this noun conveyed the idea of a polished, burnished or smooth object. This conclusion seems to be borne out on further search. *Achondi* or *Achrondi* (R. H. 1751, p. 56, No. 33) is rendered "faire quelque chose, l'accommoder, la mettre en ordre, l'ajuster, le régler, l'embellir, l'enjoliver, la préparer, la disposer," to make something, to adapt it, to fit it, to put it in order, to regulate it, to embellish it, to adorn it, to set it off, to prepare, to dispose it, etc.

Conformably, the verb *achionSendii* supposes some previous process resulting in a polished, smooth or even surface, or in a finished or embellished object. Hence the variety of objects, of divers uses, expressed by a compound word having *achion* or *ochion* as its first component part.

I subjoin some examples, and from the references by Potier it will be seen that the initial vowel is retained or suppressed at will and that sometimes there is an interchange of *o* and *a*.

AchionSocta, bracelet de fil d'alton (sic, laiton?), bracelet of brass wire (M.* p. 6, 1 col., p. 9, 2 col.).

AchionSendīta, sarbacane, a smooth tube used like a pea-shooter (R. H. p. 286, 2 col.).

ChionSoindita, sarbacane, (M. p. 10, 2 col.).

OchionSacta, vide *chionSacta* (M. p. 7, 1 col.).

ChionSendita vel *ochionSendita*, sarbacane, baton creux (M. p. 6, 1 col.).

ChionSendito, osSa iSat, étui à duvet (M. p. 6, 1 col.) a down case.

OsaSo, duvet, down, *OsaSa saotakSa*, vel *osaSa chionSendita*, étui à duvet (M. p. 7, 2 col.).

OchionSendiθa, prêle, herbe à polir (R. H. 1751, p. 56, No. 27) horse-tail.

OchionhSendita, sorte d'herbe appellée presle, parcequ'ils s'en servent à polir (R. H. 1744, p. 22, No. 23).

OchionSacta, vide *chionSacta* (M. p. 6, 1 col.).

ChionSacta, alène, tc. (M. p. 6, 1 col.) an awl.

ChionSacta d'echaron(g)niaθa, alène à faire collier, vel *d'echaron(g)niaθa* (M. p. 6, 1 col.).

ChionSacta, alène (M. p. 9, 2 col.).

Echiaronniaθa vel *chionSacta d'echaronniaθa* grosse alène (M. p. 9, 2 col.), a large awl.

OchionSa(c)ta (*atechionSa(c)ta*, pass.), épingle, aiguille, alène, etc., quidquid acutum est; collier, pendant d'oreille, fil d'archal, etc. (R. H. 1751, p. 286, 1 col.) a pin, a needle, an awl, anything that is sharp-pointed; a necklace, ear-ring, wire either of brass or iron. In connection with this word I would refer to another in the Radices "*aᵉta*, dic *iSéta* (*atcta* pass.) ongle, griffe (*p. 286, 2 col.*), finger nail, claw.

ChionSacta, fourchette, a fork, vel *KaSatsaestak*, grande fourchette (M. p. 9, 1 col.), a large fork.

ChionSacta. Etionsara, vel *chionSacta*, vel *andatsandiñionta* chaine à pendre la chaudière (Gramm. p. 158, 1 col.). Same,

*M stands for *Registre des Morts, l'Assomption du Détroit, 1746-1760.*

save that the last Huron word ends in *tak*. (M. p. 9, 1 col.), chain to hang the kettle over the fire.

As for words ending in *kiara* or *kiaria* I have not found any in any list. The nearest approach are those ending in *ara*, *iara* and *kara*.

Ara.

Ą̃ndatara, pain (R. H. p. 289, 1 col.), bread.

ĄkSara, couvercle de chaudière (R. H. 288, 1 col.), lid of a kettle.

Ąnnenstara, pierre, gravois (R. H. p. 290, 2 col.), gravel, pebble. Probably from *ąnnent*, beach, strand (Id. ib.).

Ęntara poil rouge, *ęnta* in comp. (R. H. p. 295, 1 col.), a red filiament from the skin of an animal, or red hair; from *oęnta* couleur rouge (R. H. p. 287, 1 col.) or *Senta* (dic *Sointa* vermillon) Id. p. 286, 2 col.); red, vermillion.

OskSara, poil (R. H. p. 293, 2 col.), a filament, a hair.

ĄngSara, le petit rapide (Gramm. p. 156, 1 col.). The Little Rapids.

EnkSara, couverte (Gramm. p. 158, 1 col.) a blanket.

Etionsara, chaine de chaudière (Id. ib.), a kettle chain.

Sndaara, corne à poudre, etc. (Id. ib. 2 col.) a powder horn, etc.

Ąrara, Verb. Tendre des rets aux oisseaux (R. H. p. 176, No. 18), to set nets for birds.

Ąr vel *ara*, verb. un astre se lever (R. H. p. 164, No. 6), a star, etc., to rise; *onnen iąr*, voilà le soleil levé (Id. ib), lo, the sun is up. This verb means also "être telle heure," to be such time of day.

Ąr vel *ąra*, verb. Something to be inside, within, among (Id. p. 165).

Ąr vel *ara*, verb. To paint, depict, represent; pass. to be depicted, represented, painted etc. (Id. p. 167).

Ąra, verb. To place upon, above, over: *Oo iara*, it is set on top (Id. p. 172, No. 9). Akin to this is the preposition *iąra*, on, upon, above, over, it is placed after the noun (Gramm. pp. 75, 76).

Ara, verb. To wear as a covering, to be covered (R. H. p. 173).

Ara, verb. To strike, to wound (Id. ib).

Ara, verb without the iota subscript. To appear to be floating, or to appear floating (Id. p. 10, No. 66).

Ara vel *arc*, verb. A bird to have its nest somewhere (Id. ib.)

And a number of others, among which might be classed the noun:

Ạrha, woods, forest (Id. p. 292, 2 col), for the *h* is often omitted or replaced by an aspirate sign.

Iara.

Oïara, bark of the Linden (R. H. p. 288, 1 col.).

On(d)nrachiara, a polished or smooth red stone (M. p. 7, 2 col. and p. 9, 2 col.).

Ondrachiara, red stone (R. H. p. 290, 1 col. and Gramm. p. 158, 1 col.).

Atsiara, blacking (noir à noircir) (R. H. p. 294, 1 col.).

Ịara, preposition following the noun, on, upon, above etc. (Gramm. pp. 75, 76).

ẠandSiara, a porringer or bowl of porcelain, vel *ạndoạra* (R. H. p. 290, 1 col.), which word seems to have nothing in common with *onnonkSarSta*, the Huron for porcelain (R. H. p. 291, 2 col.). "*OnnonkSoïïta*, dic *ñnonkSoïïSta* branche de porcelaine," a string (?) of porcelain (beads?), is given in the same column. On page 292, 2 col., *ạ̃rensa* is given with the same meaning, and further on, page 294, 2 col. "*ensta* (*atenstara*, pass.) canon de porcelaine ou de verre," a china or a glass bugle or elongated bead.

TïSskonchiai SndẠ(g)iara, vel *etioSndaSoïïendi Sngiara*, le Saut de Niagara (Gramm. p. 156, 1 col), The Falls of Niagara.

Kara.

TaSiskara, pierre à fusil (M. p. 7, 2 col., p. 10, 1 col.) gun-flint.

AtaSiskara pierre à fusil (R. H. p. 285, 2 col.) gun flint.

An(g)nionkara, falaise, écors (Id. p. 291, 1 col.), a bluff, a cliff.

Onionkara vel *ataarenre* (Fragm. Potier*) a bluff, a cliff. The two preceding words derive probably from the verb *ạn(d)niont*, to suspend, to hang, to be suspended, etc. (R. H. 1751, p. 147, No. 53).

Ạskara, tout ce qui sert à se coucher ou s'asseoir comme nattes, trapis, matelas, paille, foin, etc., any material or article of which a litter or seat may be made such as mats, carpet, mattress, straw, hay, etc. (R. H. 1751, p. 190).

*Mr. Phileas Gagnon, Québec, has in his collection a fragment of some one of Potier's M.S. books; pagination 175 to 213. The word quoted above is on p. 193, 1 col., I have not met it elsewhere.

Ateskara, passive form of the preceding (Id. ib.).

Aheskara, le jeu de paille (Id. p. 287, 2 col.), game played with straws.

Andaskara, jarret (Id. p. 288, 2 col.), the ham or inner bend of the knee.

Andeskara, glaçon (Id. 289, 1 col.), an icicle. No doubt from *ândieh(r)a*, ice (Id. p. 289, 2 col.) or *andechia*, ice; the former has a second meaning, moon, month, the latter, sand (Id. p. 289, 1 col.).

Akara pass. of *aara*, the eye (Id. p. 286, 2 col.).

Atsinnionkara, the thumb, (R. H. p. 294, 1 col.).

Aïonkara, vel *atsinionkara*, die *anionkara*, the thumb, (R. H. p. 288, 1 col.).

An(g)nionkara (*aten(g)nionkara*, pass.), thumb, vide *otsinnonkara* (Id. p. 291, 1 col.).

AïSskara, point of a knife, arrow point (Id. p. 288, 1 col.).

Ondaonskara, the nettle (Id. p. 288, 2 col.).

And(g)iSskara, green fruit (Id. p. 289, 2 col.).

Endiskara (*atendiskara*, pass.) (Id. ib.) a wheel.

Andiskara, wild cherry tree (Id. ib.).

Annondakara, quartier de citrouille, a section cut from a pumpkin (Id. p. 291, 1 col.).

OnñonhSaskara, hemp (Id. p. 291, 2. col.).

OnñonhSaskara, die *nñonSaskara*, the cotton tree (Id. ib.).

Atsindekara, root of a tree (Id. p. 294, 1 col.).

Enkara, brayer (sic), (M. p. 7, 1 col.; Gramm. p. 158, 1 col.), tights or breech-clout.

And not a few more.

During the summer of 1907, after having written what precedes, I visited Port Severn It needed no close observation to become convinced that the name *Chionkiara*, whatever its precise derivation or etymological structure, was intended to designate the geological formation there prevalent. It is a good denotation of the *roches moutonnées* of that region, formed by abrasion during the glacial period. These are generally styled "dressed rocks" or "sheep-back rocks," and are knobs ground down and smoothed by glacial action. The first part of *Chionkiara* would correspond to the first of *achionSendii* (to polish), and the second part to that of *Ondrachiara* (a polished or smooth red stone), both enumerated above.

THE PETUN OR TOBACCO NATION.

Closely akin to the inhabitants of Huronia Proper, and speaking the same language (*R. 1654, p. 9, 2 col.*) were the Indians of the Nation of the Petun, so called by the French from the abundance of the Tobacco plant raised in their country (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*). Their Huron name had many variants as the following list will attest.

Khionontaterronons.....R. 1635, p. 33, 2 col.
Khionontaterons.....R. 1639, p. 88, 1 col.
Khionontatehronon..... R. 1640, p. 35, 2 col.
Khionontateronons ... R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.
Khionontatehronons.... R. 1641, p. 69, 1 col. title.
Kionontatehronon.....R. 1642, p. 88, 2. col.
Etionnontatehronnons. R. 1671, p. 37, 1 col.
Etionnontates..... R. 1670, p. 6, 2 col.
Tionnontatehronnons... R. 1654, p. 9, 2 col.; 1667, p. 15, 2 col.
Tionnontateronons.....R. I. Douniol, 1672-3, Tom. I., pp. 95, 172.
Tionnontanté (sic)*.... R. 1672, p. 35, 2 col.
Tionnontaté.....R. I. Douniol, 1676-7, Tom. II., p. 124.
Dionondaddies..... Corrupt English form of the Huron.
Dinondadies.....Corrupt English form of the Huron.

Etymology of Khionnontateronnon and Congeneric Appellations.

To explain with as much perspicuity as possible the origin and derivation of *Khionontatehronon* and congeneric appellations of the inhabitants of the Petun or Tobacco Nation, it will be best to begin with the most complex form.

Etionnontatehronnons is one of the names given to this tribe and is to be found in Rel. 1671, p. 37, 1 col.

The etymon of this, and in fact of all the other forms, is:

"*Onnonta* (passive *atennonta*) montagne" (*R. H. 1751, p. 291, 2 col.*), hill, mountain, in both singular and plural.

Ate is added as suffix to the preceding "*Ate* . . . . extra et intra compositionem, sed extra impersonaliter, in compositione autem impersonaliter et personaliter (être présent ut sic. P.) . . . (*R. H. 1751, p. 200, No. 89*).

*The Quebec edition of the Relations has, in this spelling, followed the original. See "Relation, etc., 1671 et 1672—à Paris—chez Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy, etc., M.DC.LXXIII., p. 127," St. Mary's College Archives. It is no doubt a misprint for *Tionnontate*. This latter emended reading was adopted in the Cleveland edition, see vol. 56, p. 114.

"*Ate* componitur cum multis aliis nominibus. 1° cum *aata*, etc. 2° cum *andionra*, etc. 3° cum *entio'k8a*, etc. 4° cum multis nominibus temporis, etc.

"5° cum nominibus locorum ad designandum eorum existentiam, sic.:

Aronhiate il y a un ciel [there is a heaven], *deχa aronhiate*, ce ciel que voilà, [that heaven yonder]; *ondechate*, il y a une terre [there is a land, an earth.], *deχ'ondechate* cette terre [this earth]; . . . . *hatindaSate*,* les habitans de la rivière [the people of the river] dic [i.e. more correctly] *hatinnionenhac, hatindaSateti.*" [*Id p. 201*].

To the word *onnonta-ate*, contracted *onnontate*, is now added after the manner of a prefix *eti* or rather *etionSe* or *etiao* as the sequel will show.

"*Eti* . . . . aller ou venir en tel lieu (*vid. gram.*)" (*R. H. 1751, p. 218*).

Turning to Potier's Grammar I find on p. 36 "*Ennon, eti*, aller, venir, revenir." Eight and a quarter pages of Father Potier's finest handwriting are devoted to this verb, and at the outset the timid investigator finds himself confronted with this ominous premonition: "Portentosum verbum, memoriae onus gravissimum, hoc stat distinguere in duo verba, quae, licet difficilia, facilius disjuncta vincentur. Primum ergo unam significationem prosequor quae utroque verbo exprimitur, etsi in significando aliquid diversitatis intersit, etc."

All that concerns us is contained in his remarks on the perfect tense of the verb—p. 38:

"Perfectum. 1° *EkSaéti*, je suis venu de là, nominando locum unde venitur. Significat etiam patriam, nec alio modo† Hurones hanc exprimunt: *annen etiseti?* d'où viens-tù? [Where do you come from?] *Ennionenhake ekSaeti*, je suis venu de France [I came from France] ou je suis de France [or I am from France]. Dicunt etiam pro patria *tsinneronnon, aannenronnon?* d'où est-il venu? [Whence did he come?], *ndaSaeronnon*, du Sault St. Louis [from Sault St. Louis]."

Potier then proceeds to conjugate the Perfect tense of the verb, thus:

Sing. . . . . *ekSaę* . . . . *etise* . . . . . *eθaSe* . . . *etiaSe* adde *'ti*
Dual . . . . . *etionde* . . . *etiste* . . . . . *eθonde* . . . . *etionde*
Plur. . . . . *etionSe* . . . *etiskSe* . . . *eθonde* . . . . *etionde* . . *etiaqSe*

* From *andaSa*, river, flood, stream, (*R. H. 1751, p. 288, 2 col.*).

†And yet Potier records another way, as will be seen later.

The pluperfect is conjugated like the perfect.

What we need is the first person plural, *etionδe*, which is rendered: I and they (both masculine and feminine), we and they, he and we, she and we have come.

Etionδe-onnontate, contracted *Etionnontate*, is the result; for *δe* is elided according to the second rule to be followed in compounding words, and *on* is suppressed in keeping with the eighth.

But I must hasten to add that, though these syllables are elided before *onnonta*, *Etionnontate* could not really be considered on that account a compound word, if derived as above, but a mere juxtaposition of words, the first rule being precise and imperative: "1° Substantivum Semper praeit" (*Gr. p. 66*). And this would hold good if *eti*, in its present function, be classed as a verb. That it derived originally from *etionδe* there can scarcely be a doubt, but eventually it assumed separately the character of a mere prefix, denoting locality or distance. Under the heading "Notae in Relationes" (*p. 21*), Potier, after descanting on the several moods and tenses susceptible of being modified by the "particula localitatis" concludes: "Reliquis personis inchoatis a vocali praeponitur *eti*, v.g. *etiesakakδas*, on te regarde de là; *etionxiak*, on nous regarde de là." Again, under "De Localitate, pro Tempore et Loco," (*p. 24*): "5° Verbo incipienti a consanante praefigitur *eti*," and in the second note in 6°: "ante *o* et *aδe* loco *o* ponitur *eti*." There is much else, but this is quite sufficient to warrant its use as a prefix.

So that, all told, *Etionnontate* may be said to be a legitimate form of a compound word designating people "hailing from a hilly or mountainous region," or "who had had for country a mountainous region."

Lastly *ronnon* is added: "Nationalia formantur a nomine proprio addendo *ronnon*" (*Gr. p. 65*), and the word now reads *Etionnontateronnon* with the full meaning: "The Nation (or belonging to the Nation) hailing from a mountainous region."

What has already been said elsewhere about the plural of nouns finds its application here, that is to say an *s* is *oftentimes* added but not invariably: "Ad pluralem numerum exprimendum *saepe* additur *s*" (*Gr. p 65, 1°*). As for the *h* after *ate*, it is sometimes inserted by the authors of the Relations and at others discarded; its presence or absence seems to be a matter of indifference; while the *h* following a double *r* in *ronnon* is, to say the least, abnormal.

Etionntates is sufficiently accounted for in what has gone before. The *ronnon* is dropped leaving the word with the meaning given above.

Tionnontatehronnons. This form might be summarily passed over with the remark that it must be a corruption of *Etionnontate-*

ronnons. I should like to do so for brevity's sake, but if conscientiously studied it will be found to be more closely related to the following.

KHIONNONTATEHRONNONS. Relying mainly on Horatio Hale's remark (*Journal of Amer. Folk-Lore, Vol. 1, p. 178*) that the Huron name of the Petuns "means apparently 'people beyond the hills,'" I gave in the Ontario Annual Archæological Report, 1902, on page 109 the subjoined derivation:

Etymology—Chi-onnonta-ronnon.

"*Chi*,loin (Potier, Gramm. p. 91) expressing distance, site, point of time etc. *Chi* au delà [beyond] vel *echi, chi aSatenrati*, trans murum [beyond the wall, the palisade], *chiaandaSati*, de l'autre côté de la rivière [beyond or on the other side of the river] etc."

"*Onnonta* (*atennonta*) montagne [mountain]" (*Potier Rad. Hur. p. 291, 2 col.*)

"*Ronnon*" (nomina Nationalia, Potier, Gr. p. 65, No. 7). "Nationalia formantur a nomine proprio addendo *ronnon* v.g.: *annontae, onnontaeronnon*, les habitants des montagnes" (the mountain dwellers).

Consequently *Khionontateronons* would mean *those that dwell beyond the mountains.*

This derivation is faulty and must be modified. *Chi* no doubt among other meanings has that of *beyond*, but as in Huron it has invariably the sound of *sh* in *she*, or of *ch* in *chill (Potier's Gramm. p. 1)*, it may not be forced to do duty for *Xi* (the Greek *x*) or *Khi*, which without exception has the hard sound of *key*, and occurs nowhere, so far as I have been able to ascertain, as a separate particle.

What seemed to lend colour to the possibility of an occasional legitimate interchange of *x* or *k* for *ch* was the fact that both are used indiscriminately in the demonstrative pronoun. Thus in Potier's Huron Grammar, p. 67, we read: "Pronomina non inflectuntur, sed omni numero et generi inserviunt absque ulla variatione, v.g. [among others] *Xa* vel *dexa* vel *decha* [the *ch* as in chatter], hic, haec, hoc, hi, hae, haec." This would hardly warrant the writers of the Relations, who were familiar with the Huron language, writing for French readers *Khionnontateronnon* if the first syllable of the name stood for *chi*, beyond; much less would it authorize one unversed in the niceties of the Huron idiom to render *Khi*, with the hard sound, by "beyond" as if it stood for *chi*, thereby doing violence to the very first rule to be met with in the Huron Grammar: "'*C*' semper est junctum cum '*h*', et hae duae litterae simul junctae pronuntiantur more Gallorum, v. g. *chican(g)nionk*, tu fais chaudière, et aliquando ut '*c*' Italicum ut *chicons*, aegrotas" (*Potier Gram. p. 1*).

The moral of all this is that though it is seemly to bow before the superior knowledge of others, in cases like the present, it is much safer to take time to investigate for oneself. If *Khionnontateronnon* meant the "people dwelling beyond the mountains" the idea conveyed would be irreconcilable with historical facts, as it is established beyond doubt that the Petuns dwelt for several years almost exclusively among the mountains, "on the summit" or on the plateau of the Blue Hills.

The true derivation of the two forms, given above, and which may be bracketted together is:

Xa-i-on-onnonta-ate-ronnon.

Ti-i-on-onnonta-ate-ronnon.

The first three components require explanation, the others having already been discussed.

"*On*, être plusieurs ensemble. Sine singulari et duali; *on, onk; onnen* pro omnibus praeteritis" (*R. H. 1743, p. 194*). On the same page and immediately following this verb there is another by means of which the question "What countryman?" may be answered:

"*Onde* (ab onda) [but which in turn probably derives from the primitive *on*. *Onda*, passive *atonda*, is translated, on page 295 of R. H. 1751, a space, an interval of time, of place, etc.] avoir son païs, sa patrie en quelque lieu. Est defectivum carens proprüs inflexionibus temporum quae supplentur per verbum auxil., *ien* [or *en*, to be] . . . . v.g. *aonde ehen*, c'étoit là mon païs."

The R. H. 1751, in treating of *on*, follows very closely R. H. 1743, save that some eight theu newly found derivatives intervene between *on* and *onde*.

Naturally in the grammar also *on* finds its place: "*On*, être plusieurs ensemble. Caret singulari et duali. Saepe huic verbo additur *i* initiale" (*p. 45*).

"*I* adjectitium, ita appellatum quia nihil sensui vocum addit, sed euphoniae causa praefigitur quibusdam vocibus et verbis. 1° Verbis monosyllabis, v.g. *ie*, je vais [I go] etc.," quite as Potier has just said that oftentimes an initial *i* is added to *on*.

Kha, the equivalent in French or English to the sound of *x*" has a number of meanings, among others that of the Latin *ibi*, "there where" or simply "where" (*Gramm. pp. 68, 85*). Thus, *Kha-i-on-onnonta-ate-ronnon*, contracted according to rule (*Gramm. p. 66*). *Khionnontateronnon*, the Nation dwelling where there are many hills, tersely, "The Highlanders."

Let *Ti* now be substituted for *Kha*.

Ti is not here the dual sign as it is, for instance, in *ti-oen R. H. 1751, p. 245*, "there is an interval between two objects," or as in

ti-ohic,' "two things are mingled" (*Id. p. 245, No. 14*) or in other compound words without end, but it stands here as an adverb. In this acceptation its meanings are almost numberless (*Gramm. p. 103*). It means how, after the manner, the way in which, according as, during, at the time when, formerly, of old, since, so much so, very, how much, etc., etc. "Sexcenta significat, vide exempla" as Potier puts it.

Tionnontateronnon then could very well mean "The nation that formerly dwelt among the hills or mountains." Nor is this a fanciful interpretation, for from a glance at the dates, in the list given above it will be remarked that the appellations beginning with *Khi* were all used while the Petuns still dwelt in their own country, and that all the others were in vogue after their expulsion by the Iroquois.

Tionnontate, the curtailed form bears by itself the meaning of "The former hill-dwellers" without bringing into prominence the idea of *nation* emphatically expressed by the termination *ronnon*.

Meaning of Their Huron Name Indicative as to the Location of the Petuns.

The trouble entailed by this revision of the derivation of *Khionnontateronnon* is neither time nor labour lost. It has its bearing on the question of what region the Petuns occupied. They may have inhabited at one time, but before the sojourn of the missionaries in Huronia, territory as far east as the lowlands in Nottawasaga township, Simcoe county, and this would seem to be highly probable; witness the number of Indian village remains there brought to light by Mr. David Boyle (*Reports of Can. Inst. 1886-87, p. 12, and 1888-89, p. 9*). But the cruel wars waged between them and the Hurons Proper (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*) can safely be assigned as reason for abandoning that region as being too much exposed to attack.

Their country, previous to their last war with the Mascoutens, extended as far west as the mouth of the Saugeen, and as far north as the townships of St. Edmund and Lindsay in the Bruce peninsula. On Ducreux's general map the village of Saints Peter and Paul is set down near the former, and that of Saints Simon and Jude within the limits of the latter, both of which villages are listed in the Relations with the other Petun centres (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.; R. 1641, p. 69, 2 col.*).

The Blue Hills after 1639 were The Home of the Petun.

However, after the year 1639, the bulk of the nation was concentrated in that portion of their territory known to-day as the Blue Hills. I say advisedly *that part of their territory* since previous to that date they already bore the name of *Khionnontateronnon (R. 1635, p. 33, 2 col.)*. But the Blue Hills, after that date, if we take the expressions of the missionaries in their strict sense, were, so to speak, their exclusive *habitat*. Instance the phrase in Relation 1650 (*p. 2, 2 col.*): ". . . . parmy les peuples de la Nation Neutre, et dans le sommet des Montagnes que nous nommons la Nation du Petun." Here the relative *que* (which) refers to "the summit of the mountains" or "the mountain heights," which "mountain heights" we term "the Nation of the Petun." And this other: "dans les Montagnes que nous nommons la Nation du Petun" (R. H. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.) *Which* again refers to mountains, "which we call the Nation of the Petun." Consequently from 1639 until their final dispersion by the Iroquois the Petun or Tobacco Nation did not extend much east, west, or south, beyond the confines of the Blue Hills, while to the north it was bounded by the shores of Lake Huron: "au couchant, sur les rivages de ce lac . . . . " (*Bressani, p. 62*). Hence, it may be inferred also that the incorrect rendering of *Khionnontateronnon* by "the nation dwelling beyond the hills" is misleading.

It is not necessary to recapitulate here the opinions of modern authors with regard to the position of the Petun country; all are substantially in agreement, and all are substantially correct. The divergence, where it exists, arises from some writers circumscribing within too narrow limits the region occupied by that nation. Some few, indeed, seem to restrict them to the low plains of Nottawasaga township, while to be accurate it must be said that within historic times, and until 1639, as has been shown, the Khionontateronons extended westward all the way from the Blue Hills, in the western part of Nottawasaga township (Simcoe County), to the shores of Lake Huron proper, and northward to Cape Hurd, taking in approximately what now constitutes Grey and Bruce Counties. The Algonquins, however, mingled freely with them, and reared their temporary cabins anywhere along the coast line from Nottawasaga Bay to the mouth of the Saugeen. They took up their abode even in the permanent villages of the Petuns.

This rather scant information may be gathered without much effort from the Relations and from Ducreux's general map.

Eastern Boundary Line of the Petun Country.

In estimating the distance from one country to another, where there are no great natural barriers, even well informed missionaries may, quite unwittingly, disagree in their computations. This is all the more likely to happen when there is question of uncivilized countries whose respective territories are not determined by hard and fast lines: in which hypothesis there generally lies a neutral zone between, not defined with geometrical precision, nor so stipulated by any formal convention, but in the lapse of years sanctioned as such by a kind of tacit understanding. A most striking instance of what we speak of is presented in the case of Huronia, the Neutral Country and that of the Petuns.

This divergence of opinion may arise also (always in the same hypothesis) when the *terminus a quo* varies, and more particularly the *terminus ad quem*. The former may be the place, not always expressly specified, whence the author indites his account of the region, his letter, or his Relation; or else may be a point of the country where he resides lying nearest to the other country mentioned. The *terminus ad quem*, very naturally, should be the nearest boundary of the extraneous nation. But it is not an unfrequent occurrence to take the heart of the country, otherwise the more densely peopled portion of it, as the *terminus ad quem*, when at comparatively short intervals of the national existence this centre of density has widely varied in position. Such transposition had taken place in the Petun Country in the past, and was again actually taking place under the eyes of the writers of the Relations.

At all events, we find that the missionaries among the Hurons, whatever may have been the cause, were not at one in estimating the distance from Huronia to the country of their western neighbours as the following summary will show.

Brébeuf, (Rel. 1636, p. 105, 1 col.), gives the distance as "eight leagues from us." His relation is dated from *Ihonatiria*, July 16, 1636. Now twenty-four miles, taken in a straight line, would not reach from the site of old *Ihonatiria* across Nottawasaga Bay to the present town of Collingwood. Twenty-nine or thirty miles would about suffice. If by "from us" he means from *Ossossané*, which was really the starting point of the Hurons going to the Petuns: then the twenty-four miles would reach around the Bay to a point beyond Duntroon, or if taken in a more northerly direction, almost to lot 30, concession XI, Nottawasaga township.

Le Mercier, (Rel. 1637, p. 163, 2 col.), writing from *Ihonatiria* (*Id. p. 179, 2 col.*), June 21, 1637, says, ". . . . the Petun Nation, which is two days' journey from us." According to a

passage in Rel. 1641, (*p. 71, 2 col.*), four or five days' journey is about forty leagues. That would be ten leagues a day, if the journey was made in four days, and, if in five, it would be eight leagues a day; so that Le Mercier's estimate would be from sixteen to twenty leagues, or from forty-eight to sixty miles.

Chaumonot (*Autobiographie, Edit. Paris, 1885, p. 94*), in speaking of the Petuns says that they were "A nation which was situated eleven long leagues from our dwelling." He resided at that time at *Ossossané*. (*Ib. p. 93; cf. also Rel. 1649, p. 28, 2 col., p. 29, 2 col.*). This would mean, I suppose, thirty-four or thirty-five miles.

Bressani (*Martin's French Translation, p. 62*) places them further: "Towards the setting sun" he says, "on the shores of this lake [Huron] there exists a nation which we call the Petun [Tobacco] Nation because it raises an abundance of that plant. It lay but thirty-five or forty miles from us." And again (*Ib. p. 254*), referring to the fugitives from the Huron villages destroyed in 1649, he writes: "Women and children and many aged men who had reached their hundredth year, journeyed the whole night long on the ice, intent on reaching the country of the Petuns, more than forty miles away."

Jérôme Lalemant (*Rel. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*) has this to say: "The *Khionontateronons* called the Petun [Tobacco] Nation, on account of the abundance of that plant produced in their country, lie towards the west, and are distant about twelve to fifteen leagues from the country of the Hurons, whose language they speak. Formerly they waged cruel wars against each other, but they are now on very good terms, and but a short time ago they renewed their alliance. Moreover, they formed a confederation against some other nations, their common enemies." The letter is written from the Huron country without indicating any particular place.

It will be well, for convenience sake, to tabulate these estimates. The date refers to the time the document was written:

Date.	*Authority.*	*Leagues.*	*Miles.*	*Starting Point.*
1637	Le Mercier	from 16 to 20 or about	from 48 to 60	Ihonatiria
1636	Brébeuf	" 8 " 8 "	24 " 24	?
1653	Bressani	" 11½ " 13 "	35 " 40	?
1640	Jér. Lalement	" 12 " 15 "	36 " 45	Huronia
1688	Chaumonot	11 (long leagues) "	34 " 35	Ossossané

In striking an average LeMercier's estimate may be set aside since it evidently had *Ihonatiria* for its *terminus a quo;* and even in this supposition it is a high estimate if there were merely a question of the distance to the confines of the Petun country. Sixty miles from *Ihonatiria* (Todd's Point) taken around the head of Nottawasaga Bay would land us near the point of junction of

the four townships of Holland, Euphrasia, Artemesia and Glenelg, in Grey County. Forty-eight miles would reach a little beyond the middle of Osprey township. The average of the four remaining estimates would be from thirty-two and a quarter to thirty-six miles; half the sum of which is thirty-four and one-eighth.

With *Ossossané* (near Point Varwood) as a starting point, twenty miles of the thirty-four and one-eighth, in a sweeping curve around the bay, would bring us to concession IV., Nottawasaga, on the Duntroon road just beyond Stayner. Taking this point as a centre, and the remaining fourteen and one-eighth miles as a radius, the arc traced would, according to the average of the above estimates, represent approximately the eastern limits of Petun territory. I have no doubt now that this line is from five to seven miles too far west, for though the curve, roughly speaking, may be said to be parallel to the trend of the eastern slopes and ridges of the Blue Hills, it is that many miles west of it.

The appositeness of the last remark lies in the fact, that whenever these "Mountains" are mentioned in the old records they are spoken of either as the Mountains of St. Jean or as the Mountains of the Petuns. "A prisoner," says Bressani (*p. 263*), "who had escaped from the enemy's country, came in and warned us of the project they had formed of invading either our island [Christian Island] or else the Mountains of St. Jean." So also the Relations: "As the inhabitants of the Huron towns dispersed they followed different routes in their flight: some threw themselves into the mountains which we call the Petun Nation, where three of our Fathers laboured last winter in three different missions; others betook themselves to an island, etc." (*Rel, 1649, p. 26, 2 col.*). The impression left after reading these passages is that the Blue Hills were, on the side facing the Hurons, conterminate with Petun territory.

Partial List of Petun Villages.

Before relating the experiences of Fathers Jogues and Garnier during their evangelical excursion through the Petun Country in 1639, Father Jérôme Lalemant acquaints us with the names given by them to the villages they visited on their way: "Voicy les noms qu'ils ont donnés à neuf bourgs qu'ils y ont rencontrés: (1) sainct Pierre et sainct Paul, (2) sainct André, (3) sainct Iacques, (4) sainct Thomas, (5) sainct Iean, (6) sainct Iacques et sainct Philippe, (7) sainct Barthelemy, (8) sainct Matthieu, (9) sainct Simon et sainct Iude" (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*), all names

of Apostles as the mission had been named "The Mission of the Apostles" (*Id. ib.*).

Of these nine villages two only are set down on Ducreux's general map that of Saints Peter and Paul and that of Saints Simon and Jude. The remaining seven are apparently ignored.

The mention of St. Mathias occurs for the first time in the Relation 1648 (*p. 61, 1 col.*). It will not be out of place to quote the whole paragraph since we are therein informed that the entire Petun Nation, at that date, was made up of two clans, that of the Wolves and that of the Deer: "Ceux que nous appellons la Nation du Petun, nous ayans pressez qu'on les allât instruire, nous y auons enuoyé deux de nos Peres, qui y font deux Missions dans deux Nations differentes, qui composent tout ce pays là: l'vne appellée la Nation des Loups, que nous auons nommée la Mission de Saint Iean; nous nommons l'autre la Mission de Saint Mathias, qui est auec ceux qui s'appellent la Nation des Cerfs." As both these missions were in the Blue Hills (*R. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.; p. 19, 1 col.*), we have a corroboration here of a previous statement, that at this later period the Petun Nation was concentrated within the circuit of the high lands.

In 1639, the town of Saints Peter and Paul was the furthermost and the principal one of the missionary district allotted to the two Fathers, which district took in the whole of the Petun Country: "En fin nous voila arriuez au dernier et principal bourg de notre district, auquel nous auons donné le nom de sainct Pierre et sainct Paul" (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.; p. 99, 1 col.*). A decade later, that is in 1649, St. Jean is mentioned as the principal centre (*Bressani, p. 263*).

Why, during the interval, St. Pierre et St. Paul had been abandoned may be inferred from a passage in Relation 1641 (*p. 69, 2 col.*): "Certain it is that the town of *EhSae*, named Saints Peter and Paul, the principal town of this mission, whence Father Garnier had been driven last year, had undergone every conceivable misfortune before the close of the twelvemonth. Most of the lodges had been burnt by the enemy three months later. Many inhabitants had died of hunger, cold and smallpox; others had perished in the waves, and numbers had been taken prisoners by their enemies." The Petuns had been at war for years with the Mascoutens, and at that very time there were Mascouten captives among them, adopted into the nation, and who had grown old in their service (*R. 1640, p. 98, 2 col.*). They were not at war then with the Iroquois, and the incursions from which they suffered came from the west, from the Fire Nation, termed by the Hurons *Atsistachronons* (*Id. ib.*), more generally known as the Mascoutens.

PETUN VILLAGE SITES.

The names of ten villages in all have come down to us, but how to identify them, or where to locate them, is a matter of no small difficulty for the few, and, from lack of data, an utter impossibility for the greater number.

With the exception of what refers to the villages of St. Matthias and St. Jean in Father Garnier's letters, and of the knowledge derived from a study of Ducreux's general map relative to the sites occupied by St. Pierre et St. Paul and St. Simon et St. Jude, there is scarcely a shred of historical evidence which could possibly be turned to account in locating any of the other villages whose names have been listed above. I say, scarcely a shred, for there are some hopelessly vague indications bearing on the positions occupied by St. Thomas and by St. Matthieu. Let us turn our attention first to these two last mentioned.

Whereabouts of St. Matthieu.

Apart from its being included in the general list of Petun villages (*R. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*), no other particulars are vouchsafed us, save that before the two (*R. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*) mission centres of St. Jean (*Id. ib.*) and St. Mathias (*Id. p. 19, 1 col.*) were merged into one, which was made to include all the other villages in the Blue Hills, St. Matthieu had been dependent on St. Mathias (*R. 1650, p. 19, 2 col.; p. 20, 1 col.*). Close on to this it is added that there was another village under the same jurisdiction in which a little chapel with bell-tower had been built, and this latter mission was one of the nearest to St. Mathias (*R. 1650, p. 20, 2 col.*). Were it not for the opening words of the paragraph, which may have been added later by the Superior in compiling the Relation and wrongly ascribed to a village distinct from St. Matthieu, one would be led to believe from the incidents mentioned that there was still question of St. Matthieu. The wording, however, could not be plainer: "En un autre bourg dependant de cette mesme Mission [*i. e.*, of St. Mathias]."

There is little room for speculation here. All that may be said is that if St. Matthieu lay in the direction of St. Jean, it very naturally must have been nearer to St. Mathias from which it was attended, consequently less than six miles away, as the two mission centres were twelve miles apart. Were it situated to the north or north-west of St. Mathias its distance was limited by the contour of the Blue Hills, as, from what has been seen, it certainly lay within their circuit.

Site of St. Thomas vaguely Indicated.

St. Thomas was the first village Fathers Jogues and Charles Garnier passed through after leaving *Ossossané* (La Conception) on their way to St. Pierre et St. Paul. At *Ossossané* they could induce no one to serve them as guide on their journey (*R. 1640, p. 95, 2 col.*). The two missionaries had started from headquarters, Ste. Marie I., November 1, 1639, (*R. 1640, p. 61, 2 col.*), but it may have been only on the 2d that they set out from *Ossossané*, journeying all that day and bivouacking the first night in a spruce grove on marshy ground (*Id. p. 95, 2 col.*) "dans une sapinière." *Sapin* is a fir-tree or any kind of spruce, and here taken very likely for any kind of evergreen, and as the place was moist "en vn lieu humide" just as well as not it might mean a cedar swamp. They must have wandered a little from the direct trail for: "Sur le milieu du chemin n'ayant pû trouuer vn certain destour qui nous eust conduits à quelques cabanes qui sont vn peu à l'escart, nous fusmes surpris de la nuict, etc." (*Id. ib.*). They failed to find "a certain turn," was it in the road, or was it the great bend in the Nottawasaga River? The latter seems more probable. And does the "milieu du chemin" mean half way to St. Pierre et St. Paul, the end of their long journey, or simply to the first village? Certainly not the former. If the latter, as the great bend is about 16 miles from the site of *Ossossané*, St. Thomas would be about thirty-two from the same point, somewhere on or near the meridian of Loree, Collingwood township, Grey County, say four or five miles south of that village.

By another process we come to very much the same conclusion. The Fathers reached St. Thomas after a two days' journey. A day's journey, when the tramp is kept up for four or five days, was supposed, according to Relation 1641 (*p. 71, 2 col.*), to be one of from eight to ten leagues. Supposing always that they had set out on the morning of November 2, and had not after reaching *Ossossané* on November 1, pushed on that same afternoon, with good roads, favourable weather and no stopping on the way, they should have covered from twenty-four to thirty miles. But this was not the case.

First, they had, as the narrative goes, certainly missed the way by which they intended to travel. Then, the roads were in a terrible condition. This was the excuse given by the Indian guides at *Ossossané* for refusing to accompany them, which meant much, coming from an Indian. So, without any previous experience of the country they were to traverse, they had departed alone (*R. 1640, p. 95. 2 col.*). Furthermore it was snowing, and snowing

hard enough to have made it impossible for them to light their fire at nightfall, had not the weather cleared through a kind dispensation of Providence. (*Id. ib.*). Under such untoward circumstances they could not have proceeded more than sixteen or eighteen miles. This would have brought them abreast of the great bend of the Nottawasaga, or very little beyond.

The second day they must have made better progress. In the morning they came upon a few scattered hovels, at which they secured no provisions, but they afterwards held company with some of the inmates who were going to the Petun country. As an offset, however, to this advantage, the roads were even worse than on the previous day, and the newly fallen snow had obliterated every trace of the beaten trail. Wishing to reach the shelter of some village they continued their march long after darkness had fallen, for the last league was accomplished "par la seule clarté de la neige," or as we might put it "thanks to the brightness of the snow."* About 8 o'clock that evening they arrived at a little village to which they gave the name of St. Thomas (*Id. ib.*). Allowing twenty-five miles for this second day's tramp, St. Thomas must have stood near the meridian of Meaford, in the neighborhood perhaps of Fairmount or of Rocklyn, Euphrasia township.

All this is a matter of appreciation, and the reader with the data before him may evolve other possibilities to his liking.

The Two Petun Villages on Ducreux's Map. St. Pierre et St. Paul and St. Simon et St. Jude.

St. Pierre et St. Paul. The meaning of *EhSac (R. 1641, p 69, 2 col.)* the Huron name of this village, can be of little or no help in determining its site.

Its composition is very simple, the main root being *"OçhSa, noyer, noix" (R. H. p. 287, 1 col.)*, walnut, or walnut-tree, the common name of trees of the genus *Juglans (Dict. Clifton-Grimaux)*. There are three species of this tree natives of North America: *Juglans nigra*, or black walnut; *Juglans cinerea*, or butternut, and *Juglans Fraxinifolia* or ash-leaved walnut. But in America there are also several species of *Carya* or hickory called by this name (*Dict. Webster*).

*An English poet had in view the same familiar phenomenon when he wrote:

". . . . And there, although
By the hour 'tis night,
There's light,
The day still lingering in the lap of snow."

The *oęhSa*, however, should belong to one of the three first mentioned species.

To the etymon is added the oft recurring suffix *ę̨*, ibi, there, in answer to the question expressed or understood *annen?*, ubi, where (*Gramm. p. 87; R. H. 1751, p. 82; R. H. 1744, pp. 66-68*).

The initial *o* is dropped, in keeping with the seventh rule concerning compound words: "Aliquando duplex aut triplex vocalis eliditur in substantivo" (*Gramm. p. 66, 7°*), thus: *oęhSa-ae*, contracted *ęhSae*, "At the walnut tree" or "At the walnut grove," since *oęhSa* may stand either for the singular or the plural (*Gramm. p. 65, 1°*).

Bruce Peninsula—Ducreux's Outline and the Modern Tracing.

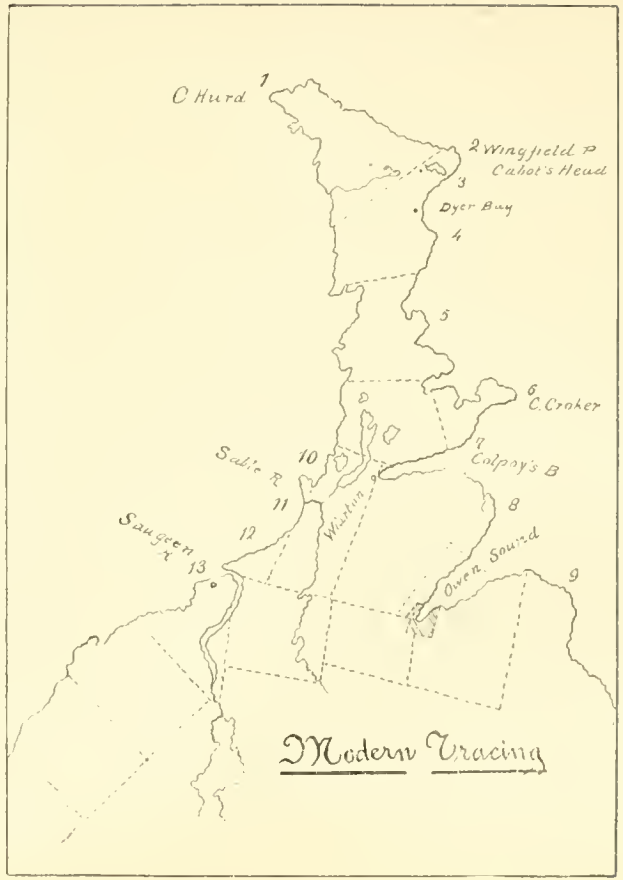
Before discussing the positions which the villages of St. Pierre et St. Paul and St. Simon et St. Jude should occupy on a modern map, a few words in explanation of the diagram will be in order.

It must not be forgotten that the missionaries made but a hurried tour through this western part of the Petun Country. For that matter, their sojourn at any time in any part of it was comparatively short. Ducreux's map can have had no other basis than the cursory observations made on their way by Fathers Garnier and Jogues, who, it must be added, brought with them no instrument to determine the latitude and longitude of the places through which they passed. What was said of the Neutral Nation is equally applicable to the Petun: "To dream at this stage of making more accurate researches or observations is to dream of what cannot be done. The sight of the instrument alone would be enough to drive to extremities people who could not abide the sight of the quill and the ink horn, as the sequel will show" (*R 1641, p. 71, 2 col.*). The crude outlines of a map, traced under such conditions, should not be a cause of wonder: the wonder is that so much accuracy should have resulted from a flying passage through such an extent of hitherto unknown country.

The accompanying diagram contrasts this rough outline of Ducreux's map with the modern tracing of the Bruce Peninsula. The figures correspond to those on the modern tracing, and are intended to mark what, according to my personal impressions, are similar features in both drawings. As will be seen at a glance, the main axis of the peninsula in Ducreux's outline is too much inclined to the west, and here the want of a compass becomes apparent. Were it swung round the point in the isthmus marked *C* for 27° 30', the most glaring defect would in a measure be corrected, and Colpoy's Bay be reduced to something like its real proportions.

The Bruce Peninsula

Ducreux's Outline



Modern Tracing

Site of St. Pierre et St. Paul. Never having visited that section of Ontario I am unable to say whether or not there are any small streams between Sable River and the Saugeen: none is marked on the best maps; but the stream which empties into Lake Huron near figure 11 seems to be intended for the former, that at 13 for the latter. If I am correct in this surmise I should be led to say that Ducreux's site of St. Pierre et St. Paul would correspond to a point in Arran township a little to the north-east of Mount Hope.

Site of St. Simon et St. Jude. We have not been favoured with the Huron name of this village, and as for its site, our only chance of determining it is by means of Ducreux's general map. On the outline given in the diagram it is marked 3, at the innermost extremity of a deep indentation of the coast line between figures 3 and 4. The rounded foreland of Cabot's Head, between 2 and 3 of the modern tracing, is, though enlarged, well reproduced on Ducreux's outline between the same figures. On the modern tracing the only feature that could be taken for the deep and sharp indentation of Ducreux's outline is the little lake to the south of the Head, whose eastern end, though reaching almost to the coast line, does not seem to have any outlet to the Georgian Bay. Bearing in mind, however, that the Fathers approached the village on foot from the land side, it may have escaped their notice that this sheet of water was not a bay of the great lake but a landlocked pool.

It is seemingly in this vicinity (concessions X., XI., lots marked 46, Lindsay township) that the designer of Ducreux's outline intended to mark the site of St. Simon et St. Jude. Still if the nature of the ground at the western extremity of the little lake precludes all possibility of its ever having been used as a village site, then the sole alternative remaining would be that the village lay a little further south, on Dyer Bay, between Cabot's Head and Cape Chin (*i.e.*, on some one of the lots 24 to 29, in concessions V. to VIII.).

Ekarenniondi or St. Mathias.

Great as are the difficulties which beset the chartographer of oldtime Huronia in his attempts at reconstruction, they take on the proportions almost of an impossibility when he turns his attention to the region once occupied by the Petun or Tobacco Nation. There is in the former task an all-important, helpful element entirely wanting in the latter, that is to say, a starting point, or landmark, whose position on the map is determined beyond all dispute, namely, Old Fort Ste. Marie I.

Here and there, scattered throughout the Relations, distances are given, quite incidentally, from Ste. Marie, for instance, to a few neighboring villages, and from these in turn to other points. Such most useful indications are few and come in no particular order. To find them is the almost hopeless task of hunting for the lost needle in the proverbial hay rick which is verified to the letter. And when found further elucidation is often necessary for at first sight not a few are provokingly ambiguous. The labour is not even then at an end. They must be marshalled in logical order irrespective of chronology, so that by their help the entire region may be gone over and studded with towns and villages properly located.

In mapping out the home land of the Petun there is unfortunately no such starting point available. *Ekarenniondi*, the village of St. Mathias, is the nearest approach, but falls far short of it in its general helpfulness as a landmark. The reason is obvious, for the data are not merely far more scanty that when there is question of locating Huron villages, but, strange as it may seem, there is absolutely but one distance given, and that to St. Jean or Etharita, a most important one withal.

The position of *Ekarenniondi* once determined beyond cavil a way is open to us of finding the exact site of *Etharita*, that mission centre of St. Jean, which contains the yet undiscovered grave of its devoted missionary Father Charles Garnier (*R. 1650, p. 10, 1 col.*).

Two Mutually Supplementing Passages: For information we naturally turn to the old records. In the Relations *Ekarenniondi* is not mentioned in connection with the village of St. Mathias; but Charles Garnier, in a letter to his brother, dated April 25, 1648, gives us the following particulars:—

"My Superiors have sent me with one of Ours, named Father Garreau, to a new mission [in the Petun Nation], which we have called the Mission of the Apostles. . . . Fr. Garreau is to instruct the Algonquins and I, the Hurons. . . . Wherefore we both took our station in a town made up of Hurons and Algonquins. . . . The devil brought about a rupture between the Hurons and Algonquins by means of a murder. . . . . It was an Algonquin who was slain. . . . The Algonquins blamed the Hurons, and then withdrew from the village called *Ekarenniondi*, where they had been living together, and joined another Algonquin nation two days' journey from *Ekarenniondi*. . . . Since last summer Fr. Garreau and myself have concluded to concentrate our efforts principally on two Huron towns, which are four leagues apart, the one named *Ekarenniondi*, dedi-

cated to St. Mathias, the other *Etharita*, dedicated to St. Jean l'Evangéliste," (*Contemporaneous MS. copy, p. 99: Recent copy, p. 84, St. Mary's College Archives.*)

On the other hand, in the Relations, though the Indian name is not associated with any town, it is with a certain rock standing on the confines of the Petun Nation. I translate the passage from Brébeuf's Relation, dated, Ihonatiria, July 16, 1636:—

"One day I asked one of our savages where he thought the village of the [departed] souls was. He answered that it lay in the direction of the Petun Nation, that is to say, towards the west, eight leagues from us, and that some had seen them as they journeyed on; that the road they followed was wide, and pretty well beaten, and that they passed near a rock which they [the Hurons] called *Ecaregniondi*, which is often found embellished with paint with which they are wont to daub their faces" (*Rel. 1636, p. 105, 1 col., Quebec edition; Vol. 10, p. 145, Cleveland edition.*)

Two Forms of the same Word: In Garnier's *Ekarenniondi* and Brébeuf's *Ecaregniondi* we have two names resembling each other in sound sufficiently to awaken conjecture as to their identity, yet sufficiently unlike orthographically to preclude this, their identity, being taken for granted. A word or so of explanation will not, therefore, be amiss.

Brébeuf, in writing for those unfamiliar with the Huron language, always wrote the word so that it would be pronounced correctly by a Frenchman, or as nearly so as possible. Garnier, in the present case, wrote the word as it should really be written. If we consult Potier's rules on the pronunciation of the Huron letters (*Grammar p. 1*), we find this direction under the letter "i": "Si coalescit in unam syllabam cum præcedentibus vel *d*, vel *t*, vel *k*, vel *n*, et *i* sit purum [i.e. followed by another vowel], fit quasi liquefactio in pronuntiando, v. g.: *ɛndia* [initial *a* with iota subscript] dic *ianguia; hatatiak* loquitur, dic *hatakiak*. . . *ɛaunionk* [both initial vowels with iota subscript] je fais chaudiere, dic *ïeïagnionk*, *gn* ut Galli "agneau"; *onnianni* bene, dic *ogniandi* vel potius *ongiandi.*"

In *Ekarenniondi* the first "i" is preceded by an "n" and followed by another vowel, hence the proper pronunciation will be "*Ekaregniondi*, the "gn" being liquid as in the French word *agneau*, lamb.

As for the difference in the spelling of the second syllable it is more apparent than real, the *c* in *car* being hard, while we are informed by Potier (Gram. p. 1) that "k et χ" [Greek chi] sonant ut kh, v. g. χa hic, hæc, hoc, dicitur Kha."

Meaning of the Word: As most Indian names are descriptive, we are prompted by sheer curiosity—which, however, may take a practical turn—to look up its signification. Here again we find two forms, for both *Ekarenniondi* (with a diminutive *d* over the second *n*) and *Ekarendiniondi** are given. The former is to be found in the shorter list of Huron roots in Potier's Grammar (*p. 143, 1 col. No. 80*) as the first derivative from *iondi;* the latter, in the more exhaustive catalogue, compiled in 1751 by the same author (*p. 237, No. 28*), where it also is given as the first derivative from *iondi*, which latter occurs only in compound words. The meaning is "être étendu, s'étendre, s'avancer en pointe, en long" to be extended, to stretch out, to project or stand out in a point, in length: though *iondiati*, with a diminutive "g" over the "d", is set down separately as meaing "étendre en long" to extend in length.

The compound word is translated "là où il y a une pointe de rochers qui s'avance" there where there is a point of rocks which projects or stands out.

Through the kindness of the Abbé Lindsay, of Quebec, I had the good fortune some time ago to have at my disposal for a few hours the French-Huron dictionary, belonging, I believe, to Rev. M. Prosper Vincent, of Charlesbourg. Under the word "Pointe" I found "*iondi* in compositione, *Ekarenniondi*, à cette pointe de roche" at that point of rock. And I take it that peak, pinnacle, or spur of rock, would be quite in keeping with the sense.

Derivation of the Word: Now should we wish to try our hand at decomposing *Ekarenniondi*, which is a word compounded of *Ἐχα, ârenda* (initial *a* with a circumflex accent and an iota subscript) and—*iondi*, the meaning is rendered, if possible, clearer still.

Ἐχα, an adverb of place, which is translated by Potier Gram. p. 68, 1 col.) "hic, huc, hac, hinc" here, hither, in this place, hence.

"*Ârenda*, rocher roc" (*Radices Huronicæ, Potier, 1751, Pg. 292.*)

—*iondi* (*Gram. p. 143, 1 col., No. 80, and Rad. Hur. 1751, p. 237*) with the meanings already given above.

Consequently *Ἐχα-âreda-iondi* would mean "Here the rock stands (or juts) out." In accordance with the rules given by Potier (Gram. p. 66), it is reduced to its proper form:—"R 1., Substantivum semper præit. R. 2, Ultima vocalis substantivi perit,

*For the adventitious *di*, consult note 5, Gramm. p. 58: "quaedam fiunt passiva addendo praeter mutationem conjugationis, syllabam *di* in medio, etc."

et consonans adjectivi vel verbi [verb], quæ initialis est, eliditur; sive (quod idem est) perit vel ultima primi verbi [word] littera, vel prima littera secundi verbi [word]".

Ihx(a)arend(a)iondi, Ekarendiondi, which, as we have already seen is the equivalent of *Ecarenniondi* or "The Standing Rock."

Having thus satisfied ourselves that Brébeuf and Garnier were using the same word; and recalling the fact that, as a general rule, names of Indian villages are suggested by some topographical feature, or by some historical event, which has rendered the place famous; we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the site of St. Mathias or at least its immediate vicinity, is marked by some monumental rock; a rock of exceptional formation, something out of the common, remarkable enough to strike the fancy of the Savage; a rock jutting out of a bank, projecting from a ledge, rising from the bed of a stream, or standing erect in the open campaign; a landmark, in fine, unique in the neighborhood.

The next thing in order would be to enquire if there were not to be found somewhere on the confines of the Petun Country a rock of that description.

This prominent landmark has been identified, and I shall speak further on of its discovery. It stands a few feet east of the line dividing the counties of Simcoe and Grey, in the XII. concession of Nottawasaga township, Simcoe county, and, as well as could be ascertained at the time, on lot 30.

Meanwhile, the reader must be put in possession of whatever may be turned to account in defining the relative positions of St. Mathias and St. Jean.

Position of Ekarenniondi or St. Mathias Relatively to St. Jean or Etiharita:* It is on or beyond the eastern line of the

*Etymology: e-tho-ariti-a, *Etharita.*

"Tho, ϑo. *là*, ibi, in eo loco sine et cum motu, v.g.: *t'ahonrhon*, là où ils sont reposés, *tho eret*, il ira là" (*Potier, Hur. Grammar pp. 103, 104.*)

"A" denotes number, quantity, size, value, etc.; "*a* in compositione sequitur suum simplex, v. g.: *chieannen iandatsa* c'est une grande chaudière (*Rad. Hur. 1751, Potier, p. 1.*)

"*Ariti* faire cuire ou mûrir quelque chose" (to have something cook, ripen, etc.). (*Rad. Hur. 1751, p. 185.*)

Consequently we have *tharita,* conformably with the rules to be observed in compounding words, already quoted above. The idea of stability or perpetuity is now added by means of an initial "e". See "Variae significationes particularum *ti, sti, k8i,* etc." *Potier Gram. p. 81.*) These particles are suffixes, but under note 4 we find "Significant perpetuitatem cum "e" initiali; v. g.; *eochrati* perpetua est hyems, etc." The suffix *ti* does not modify the final *ta,* which conveys a sense of its own; but the initial "e" imparts to *tharita* its ultimate form *Etharita,* with the meaning "The ever principal drying or maturing place," referring, no doubt, to the curing of tobacco, the staple product of the country.

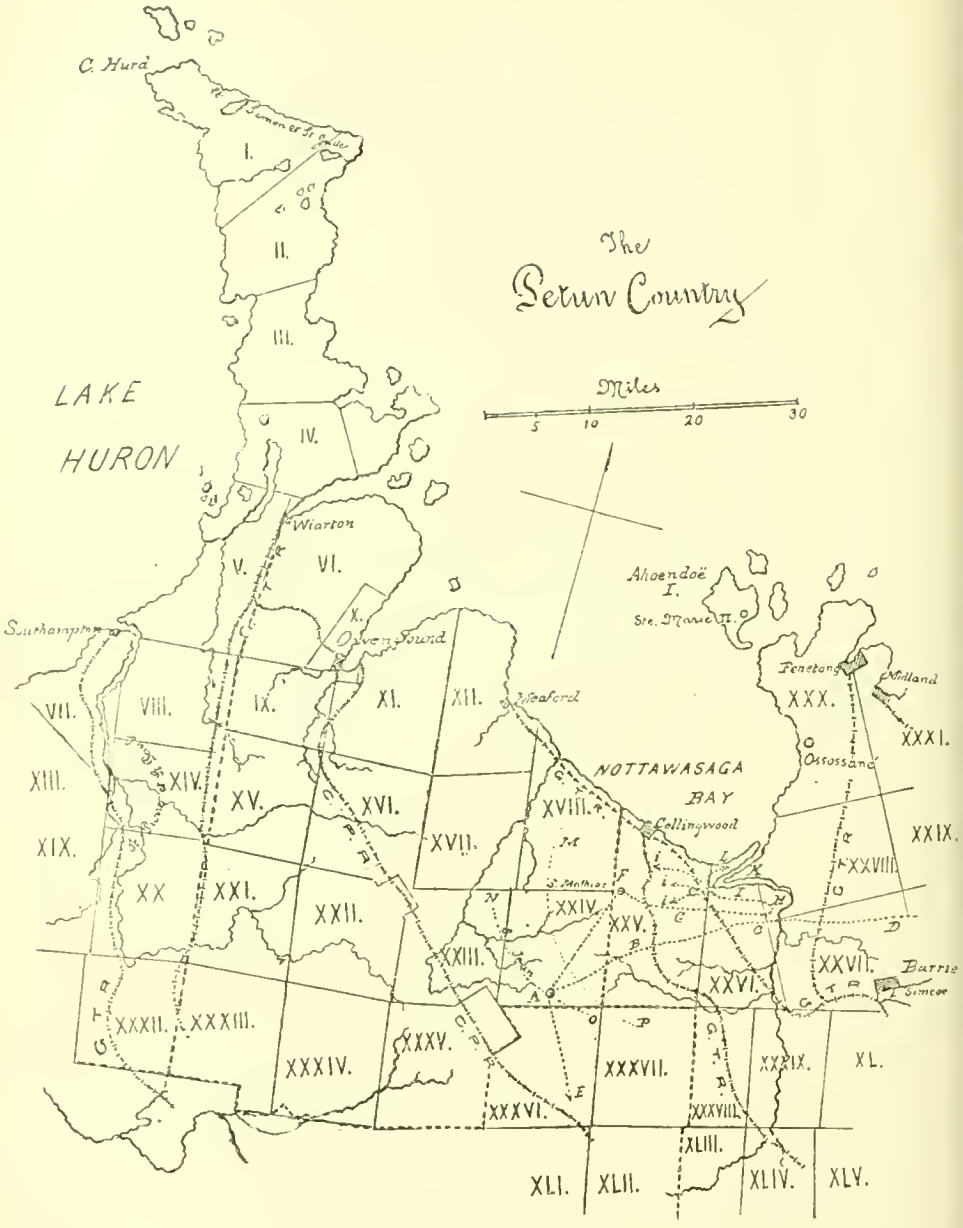
Blue Hills, if what precedes is to be taken into account, that one must look for the village sites of the Tobacco Nation, at least as it existed at the time the Fathers were evangelizing the Huron tribes. The two villages that hold out most hope to one bent on discovery are those of St. Mathias and St. Jean, whose Huron names, as we have already seen, were respectively *Ekarenniondi* and *Etharita*. In the same passage of Garnier's letter from which this information is derived, we are told that they were four leagues apart.

These same villages were the chief towns of two distinct clans. "Having received," writes Father Paul Ragueneau, in his Relation of 1648 (*p. 61, 1 col.*), "a pressing invitation from those known to us as the Petun Nation to undertake their instruction, we sent them two of our Fathers who are now engaged in the two missions established among the Indians of two distinct tribes. We have given the name of Mission of St. Jean to the Wolf tribe, and the name of St. Mathias to the other which styles itself the Deer tribe."

As to their relative positions, we learn with certainty from the Relation of 1650 (*p. 8, 1 col*) that St. Jean lay in a southerly direction from St. Mathias. If we bear in mind that the nearest of the Iroquois Nations lay to the south-east, the wording of the Relation is not ambiguous. "In the mountains which we call the Petun country, we had for several years two missions, in each of which two Fathers were stationed. The one nearest the frontier exposed to the enemy* was that of St. Jean, the principal town of which bore the same name, and comprised about five or six hundred families." It lay also, in all probability, a little to the west; for had it been situated due south, and with more reason to the south-east, it is not likely that Father Noël Chabanel would have passed through St. Mathias, as he did (*Rel. 1650, p. 16, 1 col.*) when he was endeavouring to obey an order to return from St. Jean to headquarters, then established at St. Marie II. on *Ahoendoé*, now Christian Island.† It would in such a hypothesis, have considerably, and to no purpose, lengthened a journey through a rugged and hilly country.

*The "enemy" of the Petuns, at this date, was the Iroquois. See a little lower down on this same column 1, p. 8 of R. 1650.

†The construction of Fort St. Marie II., on the Island of St. Joseph, was completed in November, 1649. *Letter of the Ven. Marie de l'Incarnation, March 17, 1650. Tom. I., p. 416.*



The Petun Country.

To sum up in a few words, St. Jean lay about twelve miles from St. Mathias in a southerly or, more likely, in a south-westerly direction.

Townships.

Bruce Co.
I. St. Edmund.
II. Lindsay.
III. Eastnor.
IV. Albemarle.
V. Amable.
VII. Saugeen.
VIII. Arran.
XIII. Bruce.
XIV. Elderslie.
XIX. Greenock.
XX. Brant.
XXXII. Carrick.

Grey Co.
VI. Keppel.
IX. Derby.
X. Sarawak.
XI. Sydenham.
XII. St. Vincent.
XV. Sullivan.
XVI. Holland.
XVII. Euphrasia.
XVIII. Collingwood.
XXI. Bentinck.
XXII. Glenelg.
XXIII. Artemesia.
XXIV. Osprey.
XXXIII. Normanby.
XXXIV. Egremont.
XXXV. Proton.

Simcoe Co.
XXV. Nottawasaga.
XXVI. Sunnidale.
XXVII. Vespra.
XXVIII. Flos.
XXIX. Medonte.
XXX. Tiny.
XXXI. Tay.
XXXVIII. Tosorontio.
XXXIX. Essa.
XL. Innisfil.
XLIII. Adjala.
XLIV. Tecumseh.
XLV. W. Gwillimbury.

Dufferin Co.
XXXVI. Melancthon.
XXXVII. Mulmur.
XLI. Amaranth.
XLII. Mono.

As for the nature or the configuration of the ground, all we can surmise is, that it must have had, though in the hills, a good southern exposure, since the Huron appellation denotes a place where things ripen or are dried, in allusion, perhaps, to the curing of the indigenous tobacco plant.

Diagram on the Map Explained: It is fortunate that there is a possibility of checking, to some extent, the accuracy of the foregoing inferences by collating the results with what another passage in the Relations seems to suggest. This passage was just mentioned above in connection with Father Chabanel; and not only for the sake of a more ready reference, but also that no incident may be overlooked, it is advisable to give it in full, and translate it as literally as possible. The letters within brackets, which I have inserted in the text, refer to the map, on which F is assumed to mark the site of *Ecarenniondi* or St. Mathias, and A, that of *Etharita* or St. Jean. The latter is placed on the arc N O; but there is no reason why it should occupy the point A preferably to any other on the curve, save what was said in support of the theory that its bearings were south-west rather than due south. Were I to hazard an opinion as to its more likely position, I should say that the site should eventually be found within the boundaries of Osprey Township (XXIV.) or a little farther west in that of Artemesia (XXIII.).

The other curve P M is the one referred to, as being from five to seven miles too far west, while dealing with the eastern limits of the Petun territory. Its centre will be found in the northeast part of Nottawasaga Township (XXV.) marked by a dot within

a small circle, lying just outside the Village of Stayner, on the Duntroon Road.

One last preliminary remark before citing the passage:—the various routes followed, as indicated by the letters and the dotted lines, are wholly hypothetical, and are to be accepted so far only as they explain more or less plausibly the text itself, and fit in with all the facts recorded.

Ragueneau's Account of Chabanel's Journey: "Father Noel Chabanel was Father Charles Garnier's companion on the mission [A]; and when the Town of St. Jean was taken by the Iroquois two days had elapsed since they parted company in compliance with an order they had received; for our Fathers and myself had deemed it expedient not to keep two missionaries exposed to danger, to say nothing of the famine which was so direful that sufficient food could not be found for two. But having borne together the burden of the same mission, God willed that they should not be separated by death.

"The good Father [Chabanel], while returning to where obedience recalled him, had passed by the mission of St. Mathias [F], where two of our Fathers were in charge, and had taken leave of them on the morning of December 7. With an escort of seven or eight Christian Hurons, he had made his way for six good leagues over most trying roads when he was overtaken by night in the depths of the forest, [H]. His companions lay sleeping, while he alone kept a prayerful watch. Towards midnight he heard the noise and shouting of the enemy's victorious warriors [C] and of the prisoners, taken that very day at the Town of St. Jean, who were singing their war-song as is their wont. Startled by the sound, the Father roused his companions, who without a moment's delay fled through the woods. They eventually effected their escape by scattering on all sides, then by a circuitous route they headed towards the very place [A] whence the enemy were coming.

"These Christians, after this hair-breadth escape, regained the Petun country,* and reported that the Father had come a certain distance [H I] in his attempt to keep up with them, but that worn out with fatigue had sunk on his knees and exclaimed, 'What matters it if I die? This life is of little account, but what the Iroquois cannot snatch from me is the happiness of heaven.'

*From the bend of the Nottawasaga, a little south of Vigo (township of Flos) to *Ekarenniondi* (the Standing Rock) there is about seventeen miles. To make up the six leagues covered by Father Chabanel after leaving St. Mathias, that is, from the mission to the spot where he bivouacked, the site of the village itself should lie a little to the west of Standing Rock. Otherwise, the distance given would be too long by a mile.

"At day break the Father bent his course in a different direction; and pushing on all intent on joining us at the island [*Ahoendoë*] where we were living, came upon a river which lay athwart his path, thus barring further progress [L]. A Huron brought in this report, adding that he had ferried him across in his canoe. Furthermore, that his flight might be all the more unimpeded, the Father had disburdened himself of his hat, of a satchel wherein he carried his manuscripts, and of his blanket, which with our missioners does duty as wrapper and cloak and bolster and mattress and bed, or any other accoutrement necessary; it even serves as a roof, when they are on the move, and, for the nonce, have no other shelter," etc. (*Rel. 1650, p. 16.*)

How it Happened That the Trails Converged: The only particular in this narrative that requires elucidation is the implied fortuitous converging of the two trails: the one followed by the Iroquois retiring after having dealt their blow, and the other, by Chabanel's party on their way to *Ahoendoë*. That the Father and his guides should have preferred a more inland route to the shore line in their retreat, is intelligible. Journeying by the latter they would be more in view, and would have less chance of escape if pursued. To find an adequate reason for the direction taken by the invading bands after destroying St. Jean, we must turn back to page 8, of the same Relation. The passage, wherein the explanation is more than suggested, runs as follows:—

"Towards the end of November, news reached us by two Christian Hurons, who had escaped from a war party of some three hundred Iroquois, that the enemy were yet undecided as to their future action; whether, in other words, they should march against the Petun Nation, or attack us in the island we occupied. Thereupon, we held ourselves on the defensive, and detained the Huron bands, who were planning to take the field to meet the approaching enemy. At the same time, we sent word promptly to the Petun Nation, who received the news with rejoicing, counting as a certainty beforehand on the defeat of the invaders, and considering the invasion as a proffered occasion of triumph. They resolutely awaited the attack for some days, then, growing restive at victory's slow coming, they sallied forth to meet it—at least the braves of the village of St. Jean did so, being men of action and undaunted. They even hurried their departure lest the Iroquois should escape them, for they were eager to surprise them while yet on their way. They set out on December 5, and directed their march towards the quarter whence they expected the enemy [E]. But the invading bands were not met with; they had chosen

a roundabout route [D C A]; and to heighten our misfortune, as they drew near the village [St. Jean], they seized a man and woman who were just leaving it. From these two captives they learnt how things stood in the village, and of the absence of the best part of its defenders. Thereupon they hurriedly pushed on to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to deluge in blood, and reduce the place to ashes.

"It was on the seventh day of December last, in the year 1649, about three in the afternoon, that this war-party of Iroquois reached the entrance of the town," etc. (*Rel. 1650, p. 8.*)

Inferences Drawn from the Quotations: That the Iroquois afterwards withdrew by a route, varying little in its general direction from B C D, there cannot be a shadow of doubt; otherwise it would have been impossible to have approached, near enough to be heard, any trail followed by Father Chabanel while attempting to make his way to Ste. Marie II. This alone goes to show that their base of operations—for it was part of their strategy to provide one in case of a reverse (*Cf. R. 1649, p. 11, 2 col.*)—was established somewhere towards the eastern extremity of Lake Simcoe, near Orillia.

This fact once admitted leads necessarily to another inference, namely, that it was from that base, and along the same line, their bands made their approach towards St. Jean. In so doing, they left no flank open to attack. To the north, it is true, lay the whole Huron peninsula, but it was cleared of its inhabitants, and its palisaded strongholds dismantled. To the south their march was covered by the long reach of Simcoe Lake, and Kempenfeldt Bay. This move accounts for, and this move alone can explain, the discomfiture of the *Etharita* braves, who, confident of meeting the hostile bands of the Iroquois, had very naturally taken quite a different course towards the south [E].

It should be added here that all the Iroquois raids into Huronia came from the direction of what is now Orillia and the Narrows. A retrospect of events recorded in the missionary annals of the Huron Nation sets this beyond the pale of contention. The first Huron stronghold, "the principal bulwark of the country," that fell beneath the blows of the Iroquois, and was utterly destroyed, in 1642, was *Contarea* (*R. 1642, p. 74, 1 col.; R. 1656, p. 10, 1 col.; R. 1644, p. 69, 1 col., conjunctim sumpt.*), which, as many discoveries of village remains show, once occupied the very site of the modern town above mentioned; but which stood, at the time of its destruction a little further west and to the south of Bass Lake. St. Jean-Baptiste, which was situated near the

present village of Hawkestone, was next threatened. Its braves met with many disastrous defeats in the years subsequent to 1642, and deeming themselves too much exposed to attack, dwelling where they did, forestalled total destruction by abandoning their rude fortress and removing further from their redoubtable foes (*R. 1648, p. 19, 1 col.*). These two bulwarks, on the east and south, having ceased to exist, the next nearest palisaded village, St. Joseph II., further to the west and north, lay open to attack. It was carried by storm in 1648 (*R. 1649, pp. 3 et ss.; P.M. pp. 238 et ss.*). *Tacnhatentaron*, or St. Ignace I., lay further north than St. Joseph II., near the present township line of Medonte and Tay, and east of Sturgeon River. Even before the fall of *Teanaostaiaë*, that is at the close of the winter 1647-48, its inhabitants had suffered grievously in two bloody encounters with the Iroquois invaders; thereupon, abandoning their old village home, they built upon a new site, that of St. Ignace II., two and a half miles further to the north-west. This move postponed for a time but did not avert their impending ruin. Both St. Ignace II. and St. Louis together fell a prey to the rapacious foe in 1649, (*R. 1649, pp. 10, 11*), thus leaving unprotected the French fort of Ste. Marie I. (*R. 1649, p. 25, 1 col.*). During all this time not one of the more northern or extreme western villages had been molested.

Thus was the barbarous but astute Iroquois wont to bide his time and patiently await a favourable opportunity to fall unawares on his equally brave but less watchful rival. Persistently, year after year, he worked out his preconceived plans with consummate strategy, never surpassed by the great commanders of civilized nations. But what I wished here to draw attention to especially was the direction, adhered to all along, of his line of invasion.

Another important point must be duly emphasized. The scene of the night's halt of Chabanel's party, and the eighteen miles covered after leaving *Ecarenniondi*, necessarily lay to the west of the Nottawasaga River, seeing that it was the only unfordable stream—and that towards its mouth—which intersected the comparatively low-lying lands between Huronia and the Blue Hills. Had that stream been already crossed before the enforced bivouac at H, Chabanel could not have stood in need of the apostate Huron's canoe.

All the inferences drawn from the passages quoted above would be very much the same even were the points F and A slightly displaced.

The Nottawasaga River, in its course from Essa to Flos, taken at any point, is about eighteen miles distant from the western boundary of Nottawasaga Township, which is at the same time the county line. In Flos Township, the bend in the stream near Vigo is about seventeen and a quarter miles from the same boundary. So it will readily be understood why, in 1902, our exploring party, in hopes of discovering the rock *Ecarenniondi*, or St. Mathias, directed its researches for a goodly stretch along the road dividing the two counties of Simcoe and Grey.

Township of Nottawasaga, Looking West to Township of Collingwood.
About Seven Miles from Town of Collingwood (South-West). Lot 33, Con. 12 on Left; 34, 12 on Right. Indian Village Site on Bank of Pretty River Located on this farm.

THE FINDING OF EKARENNIONDI,

or "The Standing Rock."

It was on August 15, 1902, that the site of St. Ignace II. was identified. For what took place between that date and August 19, when Father Quirk and myself with much regret, parted company at Elmvale with our genial companions, I must refer the inquirer to the Ontario Archæological Report for 1902, as it has no bearing on the matter in hand.

An early afternoon train from Elmvale soon landed us at Penetanguishene. Here we found all in commotion, and everybody at the presbytery bustling about, as there was a bazaar for the Memorial Church in full swing. The house was full of guests, and, rather than add to the difficulties of the situation, we resolved to push on to Lafontaine.

While awaiting the conveyance which was to bear us to our destination, we had time to make friends with several of the reverend clergy. The delay was indeed providential, for among our newly made acquaintances was the Reverend Father Jeffcott, of Stayner. Of course the purpose of our wanderings and zig-zag journeyings across the country was discussed; and, to prepare the Reverend Father in good season for the infliction, I announced the more than probable expedition which, a kind Providence favouring, we fully intended to push through his part of the country the following summer. It certainly had not been our intention to take in, on that trip, Nottawasaga Township, much less the adjoining townships in Grey County, for our charts were not quite ready, and we had no fixed itinerary mapped out; but the Father's invitation was most cordial, and he suggested that we should drop in on him that very season.

In the same number of the Ontario Archæological Report, as mentioned above, will be found recorded our experiences in this northernmost part of the Huron Country. On our return eastward we spent two or three days at Midland which we turned to account in the interests of historical research.

While we were yet the guests of Father Barcelo, we had occasion in his company to pay a visit to Mr. Michael O'Hare, senior proprietor of the Midland Woollen Mills. We found him surrounded by his numerous family. A grandfather already, though comparatively young in years and full of vigour, he presided over his assembled household with kindly and patriarchal dignity. He had been a resident of Creemore, in Nottawasaga, for many years.

where his boys had been brought up, and as boys they had ranged over the township far and near as boys only know how. They confirmed all we had heard from Father Jeffcott about the rock, the Devil's Glen and other places of interest. But whether it was owing to our profound ignorance both of the localities described and of the actual bearings one from the other of the points mentioned, or to a too great insistence on features which appealed more to the fancy, but were less essential to our purpose, we came away with but a hazy notion of the exact position of the important landmark. In fact the impression left was that the Devil's Glen and the monumental Rock lay in different parts of the township.

Still we had learned enough to determine us to put off for a day or so our departure for Montreal, rather than postpone for another year all attempts to find *Ekarenniondi*. In pursuance of this resolve a despatch was sent forthwith to Stayner lest we should take Father Jeffcott wholly unawares.

Monday, August 25, Father Barcelo himself drove us over to Penetanguishene, where we took leave of him. It is to be hoped that the future holds in store more than one opportunity when our debt to his Reverence and to his *confrères* may be requited.

Not so much to escape a long delay on a bare platform at Colwell Junction, as to foster friendly relations with an old acquaintance, we ran through by train to Barrie, and spent a most agreeable hour or two with Dean Egan. By 8 o'clock we were on our way to Stayner.

Stayner is a little town on the Collingwood branch of the Grand Trunk Railway, in Nottawasaga, the most western township of Simcoe County, and lies in the flat lands between the old Huron and the Petun countries, but nearer the latter. Reverend Father Jeffcott, whom we had the pleasure of meeting at Penetanguishene, on August 19, had lately been placed in charge of the parish. Two young ecclesiastics, Edward Kerby and John Purcell, both of whom had graduated in theology at Montreal that summer, the former securing a D.D., the latter an L. Theol., were guests enjoying the openhanded hospitality we had come to share.

It did not take long to agree upon a plan of campaign for the morrow. The deadliest foe we were likely to meet with on this expedition, it appeared, was the unobtrusive ground-hog. In consequence one lethal weapon was deemed sufficient protection in view of all possible encounters. This was handed over to the D.D., who, not being in Holy Orders, ran no risk of incurring any irregularity. It was a master-move of strategy as events proved.

Looking South-West across Lot 33, Con. 12, Township of Nottawasaga, to the Township of Collingwood. Pretty River in Foreground Blue Mountains in the Distance.

Tuesday morning, August 26, dawned bright and full of promise. The vehicle was stored with what provisions were necessary for a day's outing; and our party of five drove out on the Duntroon road at a brisk trot, heading west towards the Blue Hills. As we drew near Duntroon the landscape improved wonderfully. In the distance directly in front of us rose a ridge of limestone formation, which stretches, we were told, across the whole country. It traverses somewhat diagonally Nottawasaga township, from south-east to north-west, and reaches Lake Huron to the west of Collingwood.

In many places its eastern edge is not precipitous, but straight ahead of us it stood out like a headland, its rocky face plainly visible. It was certainly a prominent feature in the landscape, and we asked ourselves if it might not well be the rock we were in search of. On reflection, however, it occurred to us that many such bold prominences were likely to be found along this eastern fringe of the Blue Hills.

Old Indian Earthworks: At Duntroon Village we turned south down the road between concessions VIII. and IX., to the farm of Mr. William Anderson, to examine an earthwork which Mr. David Boyle has described in the Annual Report of the Canadian Institute (*Session 1888-9, p. 11*). Mr. Anderson brought his work to a stand-still, and cheerfully accompanied us over the ground. He is one of those thrifty and hospitable Scotchmen who seem to think that they can never do too much to welcome their visitors. Very little trace of the embankment is now observable; on the hillside it may be said to be entirely obliterated by frequent ploughing.

Leaving Mr. Anderson's farm (north half lot 23, concession IX., Nottawasaga), we proceeded still further to the south by the same concession line. Our intention was to move into the uplands lower down in the township, and having once gained the heights to be guided by the information we might glean from the resident farmers. It was the safest course to pursue since the region was unfamiliar to every one of the party, even to Father Jeffcott, who had not resided at Stayner over a year.

As we advanced the country became charmingly picturesque, especially towards Glenhuron, and still further to the south, when the eye sought Dunedin and Creemore in the remote perspective. The horizon in that direction was bounded by great rolling hills intersected by deep valleys, the whole under fair cultivation. The slopes presented every variety of tint from the rich yellow of the ripening grain to the sombre green of the mountain gorge. This became more noteworthy when, leaving the concession line, we

turned to the west and toiled upwards along the side road between lots 18 and 19, until at last, safe on the tableland, we skirted for well on to a mile an exceptionally deep and narrow ravine. Its slanting sides, thickly studded with trees, shut out the sunlight and screened from view the waters of the Mad River in its gloomy depths. The name we learned later on, and learned moreover that it was appropriate. On the whole the yawning chasm had a forbidding look, and the conviction grew upon us that we were in presence of the Devil's Glen; but in this we were mistaken. The Glen was miles away.

The country we were traversing, after we lost sight of the ravine, grew monotonous; and but a little further on, the road was shut in on either side by the tall timber. In ignorance of our surroundings we proceeded in that happy-go-lucky way which at times leads explorers to discovery and oftener to discomfiture. The fact is we had met nobody for some time whom we could consult. Coming upon a newly built shanty, in a recent clearing, with every evidence of its being occupied, since its modest farmyard was tenanted by a few stray fowls, one of the party made bold to enter the premises, but found not a soul within call. Someone thereupon suggested that we should picnic there in the woods, which suggestion was speedily acted upon. Between sandwich and sweetmeat the question, What next? was debated, and it was unanimously decided that we should keep on towards the west.

Ten minutes drive, or less, brought us out of the woods, and in view of a number of field labourers at work. From them we learned that we were not far from Singhampton, but nothing more. So to Singhampton, situated on the county line, we drove. Upon enquiry, the proprietor of the village hotel informed us that he had often heard it said that some miles up the country there were "rocks and caves." No one else seemed to have a clearer notion on the subject, so without loss of time we resumed our drive, but this time towards the north, along the dividing road, with Grey county to the left and Simcoe to the right.

It will be understood, from what has been said, that we were travelling a few points west of north along the plateau or tableland, high up above the level of eastern Nottawasaga. Our surroundings were now tame enough, the country around as far as we could see being gently undulating. The only agreeable break in the monotony of the prospect was Pleasant Lake, which we left behind us on our right. It lies close to the road a placid little sheet of water covering, as well as we could make out, a considerable area of lots 21 and 22, concessions XII., Nottawasaga. From here on we met but one single human being on foot, apparently

Looking North-West into Collingwood Township. From Lot 34, Con. 12, Township of Nottawasaga. Limestone Cliffs in Distance

Looking South-West into the Township of Collingwood, County of Grey.
From Lot, 34, Con 12, Township of Nottawasaga, owned by Alex. Currie. Site of Indian Village in the Foreground, from which Many Relics have been Taken.

Looking North and East from Line of Townships of Nottawasaga (on Right) and Collingwood (on Left) and Dividing Line between Counties of Simcoe (on Right) and Grey (on Left) in the Foreground. About Eight or Nine Miles from Collingwood.

a tradesman, whom we accosted forthwith. He gave us, to our great relief, very precise directions to follow in our quest. We had to keep on the county line until the road came to an end, and then proceed on foot some seventy rods (so I understood), and we would come upon "the rocks and caves." After an exchange of civilities with our informant, we pushed on with more buoyant hopes, and with something definite in purpose.

For the use of any who may be tempted to explore in this direction, it should be noted here that the cross-road marked on the maps between lots 27 and 28 does not really exist, while there is one open, which is not marked, between lots 26 and 27. It must have been a little beyond lot 27, if our calculations were correct, that the road forming the line between the two counties, after a slight rise, came suddenly to an end. It was fenced across, but a gate opened on the left into a field, and a meandering road led down to a barn in a hollow. As for dwelling, there was none in sight.

The Devil's Glen and the Standing Rock of Ekarenniondi: Three of the party kept on straight on foot across the field, Father Quirk, the D.D. and myself. Father Jeffcott and Mr. John Purcell remained near the carriage. There was quite a perceptible rise in the ground, an uneven field liberally bestrewn with boulders of various shapes and sizes. Ahead, the woods, which began with out-lying, straggling clumps of trees, but which, as we advanced, grew denser and denser and more impenetrable on account of the thick underbrush, shut out from view all that might prove of interest beyond. A narrow but well beaten path to the left first lured us on, but after a few rods it led so rapidly downwards, no one knew whither, that it was abandoned for the higher ground to the right.

We scattered imperceptibly to right and left as we moved forward, and whether it was that the trail of the ground-hog lay broad on the wold, or that some nobler game had been descried, certain it is that about this time the Doctor, who, thanks to his youth, was by far the most active member of the trio, disappeared; nor was his absence noticed for the nonce. To be plain, my reverend companion and myself had quite enough to do to push through the matted undergrowth, and make our way laboriously over fallen trunks which crumbled under pressure as we sought a foothold, without troubling ourselves about more extraneous matters. A glimpse now and then through the branches of the taller trees showed a scrap of blue sky, or a patch of that misty, indescribable neutral hue which betokens a void, a falling away of the ground and the presence of wooded hillsides beyond. It was but a fleeting, deceptive vision.

After battling against innumerable petty difficulties for what I thought was a reasonable time, I am ashamed to say, I was the first to cry enough, and to assure Father Quirk that all that was ahead of us then would be there as certainly on the morrow, when, thoroughly rested, we could return directly to the spot, now that we knew where it was. As we emerged from the thicket we presented a truly woe-begone appearance. Flushed with our vain struggles and bespangled with burs, we bore, moreover, the marks of many an encounter with branch and bramble. Crestfallen at our failure, we returned demurely enough to the carriage. Then it was that we missed the Doctor. We waited patiently, I do not know how long, that he might not be unduly hurried in his explorations: when, finally getting anxious, the party, Father Jeffcott, of course, leading the chorus—sent up a succession of war-whoops which must have uncomfortably impressed the Petun warriors in their graves. But no Doctor. Not even did the echoes deign to answer our call. Another wait, and the shout was renewed with like results. To make the best of the delay, for time was wearing away and we were anxious to turn homewards, we assumed restful postures on boulder, sward, or fence, and entertained each other with the recital of our individual adventures.

On a sudden, a shout, faint in the distance, went up, "Rocks and caves!" Every eye turned to the spot whence the sound came, and we caught sight of the Doctor, standing just where we had emerged some time before, in unconventional ecclesiastical attire, waving his arms wildly and shouting again and again, "Rocks and Caves!"

We, at first, exchanged incredulous glances, and had some misgiving lest, in return for some innocent banter that afternoon on the habits of the American marmot, we should be as innocently inveigled into a purposeless walk back over already twice trodden and difficult ground. We wronged his candour. In common decency, we could not slight the earnest appeals of the young divine. So, pulling ourselves together for a renewed effort, we started to join him.

When within conversational distance we felt more reassured, and following blindly, in Indian file, over easier ground near a fence to the extreme right, we bravely penetrated the thicket, and in a few minutes came out into the open on the opposite side.

What a wonderful sight! We were speechless for an instant. We stood on an elevated ledge, with deep *crevasses* penetrating at acute angles the wall of rock. Underfoot they seemed to be bridged over by roots and accumulated mould, but yawned wide below. The Doctor had explored some from the lower level—how

Ekarenniondi or Standing Rock, from the ledge looking north.

far he had made his way into their recesses I do not now recall. These were the "Caves."

But the wild, weird scene beyond! At our feet, below the ledge, countless huge rocks lay scattered, but with a certain order. I cannot describe the effect better than to suppose that some Titan had pushed over many walls, one falling on and overlapping the other, with the different courses of masonry sundered, but still juxtaposed, and in gigantic layers. The whole was bare of vegetation; no moss, nor fern, nor creeping vine to shroud their nakedness, but masses of stone lying whitened by time as bones in the desert. Across these rocks lay prone, in every direction, whole trunks of trees bleached by alternate rain and sunshine. These were the "Rocks," and they formed a waste of utter desolation, so tersely and fitly described by the uncanny name "The Devil's Glen."

To take in all these details, one by one, required time. We scanned the nearest features first; but as we looked further towards the outer verge of this valley of confusion, hundreds of feet away, another object, hitherto unheeded, met our gaze.

Stark from the field of shapeless ruins and on the steep slope of the hill, detached from all around, rose a rectangular mass of rock of monumental proportions, with a base a score or so feet in breadth, and an elevation of thirty or forty. Firm on its foundations, it alone stood erect, where all else had yielded to the shock, and crumbled when very earth had rocked and quaked.

From our outlook, on a higher level, it was seen at a disadvantage. But as the slope, where it was securely stepped, sank away rapidly, from the depth of the gorge far down on our left it must have towered up in, seemingly, far nobler proportions.

In general appearance, it resembled nothing so much as a ruined keep. Its outlines softened by decay, the rifts in its masonry widened by winter frosts, rents here and there along its face from base to summit, all spoke plainly of the wear of centuries. To heighten the illusion, from the only face visible to us, portions of the rock had fallen away, leaving in outline the embrasure of a great mediæval fire-place, if not of a dismantled portal. The rock was deftly pointed off in courses by Nature, and slightly battered inwards from foundation to crest, giving it all the appearance of the last remaining tower of a ruined castle.

Such was it to our eyes; but to the eye of the superstitious Huron, it was the Rock near which the shades of their deceased braves passed on their way from earth to the land of souls. It was on the face of that Rock that great deeds were recorded in the sign-language and war-paint of the tribe, their heroes extolled,

or perchance a message from the living to the dead inscribed. It was, in fine, *Ekarenniondi*, or the Standing Rock of the Petuns, "lying"—as the Hurons pointed out to Brébeuf the Blue Hills—"lying towards the setting sun."

The exact position of Standing Rock is on the very western limits of what we judged to be lot 29. Taking up a position on the ledge in true alignment with the county road quite traceable to the eye for a long distance across the rising hills to the north, a mile or so away, we clearly perceived that the line dividing the two counties would pass at the very foot of the Rock to the west, leaving it wholly within Nottawasaga township, Simcoe county; while the Devil's Glen extends well into Grey, being situated, consequently, partly in both counties.

Due credit must be given to Reverend Edward Kerby, D.D., now ordained, for being the first of our party to set foot within the Glen. Had it not been for his tenacity of purpose it is certain that we should not have come upon the Standing Rock of the Petuns that day; while plans based on the promise of the morrow have been known eventually to fail, as meanwhile some unforeseen occurrence called for an indefinite postponement.

The Standing Rock, from below and from the west. Lot 30, Con. XII., Nottawa Township.

THE SITE OF ETHARITA, OR ST. JEAN AS YET UNDISCOVERED.

(Search made in 1903.)

What has been said concerning the Petun villages and the finding of *Ekarenniondi* would not be complete unless a short account were added of an ineffectual attempt made in August, 1903, to discover the site of *Etharita* or the St. Jean of the Petuns.

It is one thing, in searching for village sites, providentially to come across so striking a feature as an isolated rock, standing over forty feet above the soil, whose position tallies with authentic data, and quite another to bring to light the remains of an isolated Indian village of which no indications can by any possibility, at this date, exist above ground. Such a search to be eventually crowned with success must be prosecuted with method. If feasible, the residents on the lands, throughout the region to be explored, should be notified at least a year in advance, that they may be induced to talk the matter over among themselves, and compare notes. This can be accomplished by means of the local papers. But it is especially when the expedition is once on foot that much patient enquiry becomes necessary, and a judicious sifting of the scraps of information elicited, to be followed by a careful scrutiny in going over the ground. Keep in mind also that the real object of the search is not ossuaries, nor tomahawks, nor an odd find here and there of some Indian trinket, though these may well serve as pointers, but ash-beds, refuse heaps or kitchen-middens; these, except in very exceptional cases, are the only certain indications of village sites.

It is all very well to say that St. Jean of the Petuns lay four leagues, or about twelve miles, from St. Mathias, and to add that it lay towards the south, and that in all probability not due south but in a southwesterly direction. There is a good deal in this, and we must be thankful for even such data. Still it leaves a large enough zone to be gone over, where, with the exception of *Etharita* itself, no other villages, or but an insignificant few, stood. The Relations are explicit, it was the mission "la plus frontière à l'ennemy" with a population of some five or six hundred families (*R. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*). It stood in this exposed position as the bulwark of the Petun Country, consequently whatever villages depended on it for protection very naturally lay scattered farther to the north.

Taking it that the town of *Ekarenniondi*, or St. Mathias, was but a very short distance north or west of "Standing Rock," from

NOTE. See colored sketch at page 266a.

which it took its name, its meridian would pass slightly to the east of Badgeros (Osprey county) and of Shrigley (Melancthon county), the former distant less than twelve miles from "The Rock," the latter not much over; and if prolonged the line would strike the village of Melancthon, itself about twenty-two miles distant and due south.

With *Ekarenniondi* for centre and a radius of twelve miles, the arc described towards the west would pass between Badgeros and Shrigley, but nearer the latter, thence a little north-west of Wareham, and, continuing the sweep, east of Eugenia Falls (in Artemesia). If the inferences, drawn from what data we have, be strictly followed, the zone, say a mile or so wide, beginning about a mile south of the meeting of the four counties of Nottawasaga, Osprey, Melancthon and Mulmur should not be extended further north than Eugenia.

Whether my deductions are sound or not, the reader in possession of the same data, must judge for himself. But sound or not, it was by these deductions I went, in 1903, in my attempt to find *Etharita*, the village of St. Jean of the Petuns.

I shall not inflict on the reader an account of a preliminary ramble, that same season, over old ground in Huronia; save to put on record the fact that while examining the ash-beds on west half lot 7, concession IV., of Medonte, otherwise the "Flanagan Farm," Mr. Flanagan, the present owner (then aet. 75), whose father had received Father Felix Martin and shown him over the premises in 1855, and Mr. John P. Hussey (then aet. 97), who had accompanied the Reverend Father during part of his tour, both assured us that it was the farm where the half-fused rectangular stand of a brass crucifix or candlestick had been ploughed up. This authentication, if so it might be termed, had become necessary owing to some doubts expressed, and took place on Friday, August 14, 1903.

On Wednesday, August 19, Father Bacelo of Midland, learning that we were to proceed to Collingwood, with his wonted affability and gracious desire to extend to its utmost limits his hospitable courtesy to his guests, proposed to Father Quirk and myself, as an agreeable change a drive across the country and round Nottawasaga Bay as far as Collingwood, our immediate destination. This generous offer was gratefully welcomed. Leaving Midland about ten in the morning we dined at Elmvale, where a change of horses was in readiness, and we reached Vanvlack early in the afternoon, crossing the bridge at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River.

Near this spot, but precisely where it is impossible to say, Father Noël Chabanel, on December 8, 1649, met with his death

at the hands of an apostate Huron, who, having sated his hatred for Christianity on his defenceless victim, threw the lifeless body into the stream.

The drive from this point for miles and miles was delightful, I mean along the shore, until we headed inland in the neighborhood of Batteau. Bright and balmy, without being disagreeably hot, no fairer summer's day could have been chosen than the one providentially accorded us. Over nature's road, the hard even sand, the horses, fetlock deep in the splashing waves, speeded on at a brisk trot. Seemingly grateful for the absence of dust-cloud or gadfly, they sniffed in the breeze which came cool to their nostrils from over the expanse of waters, and snorted their content at so novel a change from parched highway to shelving beach. And why should not the human animal enjoy the outing as well when sky, and lake, and long curved strand, sweeping westward into the dim distance, presented nothing to sense or fancy but what was soothing, refreshing or exhilarating?

But not so, on that drear wintry morning, December 8, two hundred and fifty-four years ago, did the lone wanderer, hurrying from the war and famine-stricken land of the Petun, plod on over the same ground towards the term whither obedience called. Bleak was then the stretch of coast, unsteady his steps through the broken ice floes washed high on the shore, while his tattered garb was stiff with frozen spray. He hurried on, buoyed up with a child-like trust in Him who holds in the hollow of His hand the destinies of empires, just as He does the frail life of a solitary sparrow; for had not the devoted missioner declared, but a short time before, that he had given himself wholly to God, and that thenceforth he belonged to Him without reserve? *(R. 1650, pp. 17, 18, 19)*. He hurried on, and what mattered, for a few hours longer, the keen blast and the ice-bruised limbs? On, on to Ste. Marie on the Isle, where anxious brothers, in the service of the same Master, would soon give him a hearty welcome and the embrace of peace.

And who would dare say that his trust was vain because the lurking savage, springing from his ambush, was to fell him mercilessly as he reached the outlet of the unfordable stream we had just passed? The blow fell unawares, dealt with Indian ferocity and the vindictiveness of the apostate. There was no time for torture, for even now Christian braves might be on their way to meet him. A scalp, perhaps, torn hastly from the unconscious form, and the poor missionary outfit were all the spoils. The body was cast into the stream and then the assassin fled.

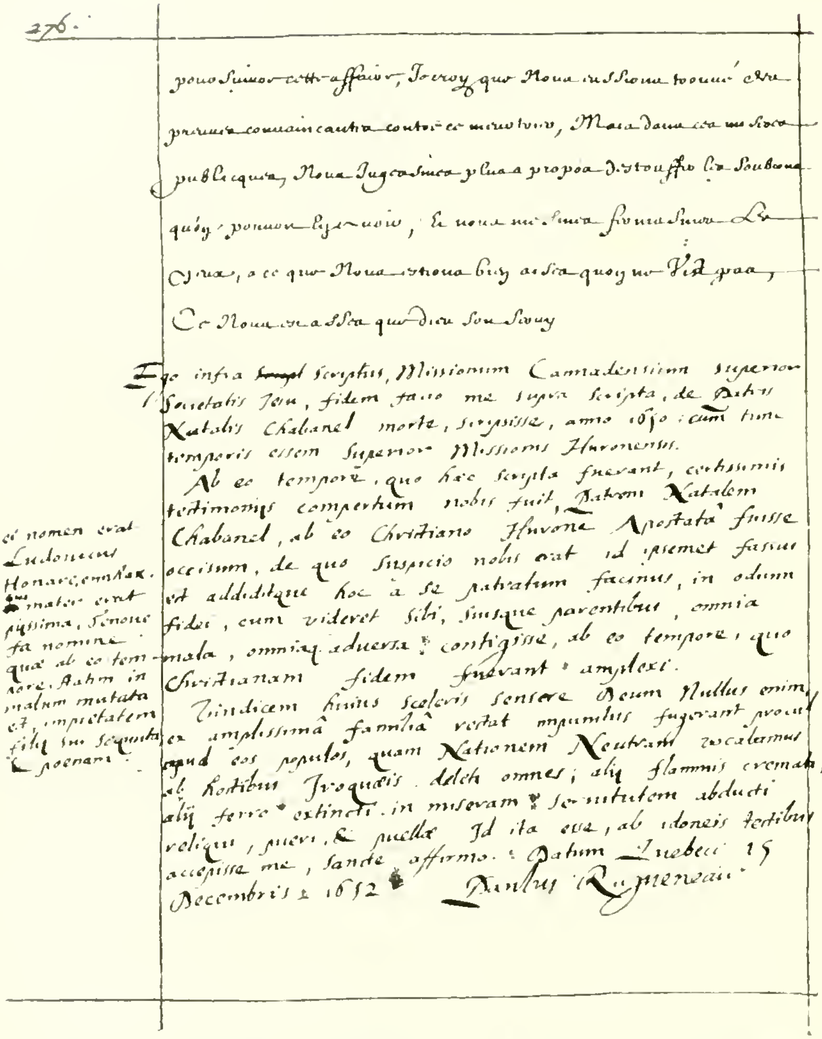
And for the timid, but willing victim, what of him? (*R. 1650, pp. 18, 19*).

Providence in its own all-wise, but unsearchable ways had indeed led him at last to his longed for home. Stunned by the first stroke, but doubtless with the name of the Redeemer suppliantly on his lips before consciousness had fled, he felt not the shower of blows that followed. His spirit lingered but an instant in its earthly tenement, and then the glorious vision broke upon him in a flood of eternal light. There before him, with outstretched hands, his martyred brethren, who had led the way, welcomed him home to the ranks of the white-robed throng to receive his palm from Him for whose faith he had generously sacrificed his all.

Needless to say that this is not precisely history. It is but a fanciful scene evoked by the surroundings; and as the thoughts welled up they could not but take on a realistic form, conformable, however, to the main historical facts. No one familiar with the events preceding and following the death of Chabanel could withstand the impulse of filling in the details which were lacking. And all the more so, as cushioned in ease and surrounded by every comfort, in the full enjoyment of life and health, with the glorious sunshine overhead, and the same landscape and wide expanse of water on one and the other side, we dashed along over the same ground the missionary had so painfully trod. Verisimilitude was not outraged, and the contrast was too striking not to bring home to one the vast changes effected during the lapse of two centuries and over.

It was not until after the Relation, 1650, had been sent to France for publication that Father Ragueneau, the Superior of the Huron mission, ascertained beyond doubt the name of the assassin, and, from the apostate Huron's boastful declaration, the motive of the crime; for previous to that, though strong suspicions were entertained, there was nothing known positively concerning Father Chabanel's death.

When sending over the manuscript of the Relation, Father Ragueneau had also sent a manuscript volume entitled: "Mémoires touchant la Mort et les Vertus des Pères Isaac Jogues, Anne de Nouë, Anthoine Daniel, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, Noël Chabanel et vn séculier René Goupil," for the purpose of having it transcribed at Paris by a *scribe de cour*. This copy was admirably executed, and the volume on its return reached Canada in the summer of 1652. Whereupon affidavits were added, at the close of the different sections, by both Father Joseph Poncet and Father Ragueneau, together with many mar-



276.

pour finir cette affaire, Je croy que nous nous deuons estre
preuenus ... contre ce meurtrier, Mais dans ces [illegible]
publicques, nous Jugeasmes plus a propos d'estouffer les soubcons
qu'il pouvoit faire naistre, et nous ne fismes semblant de
rien, à ce que nous sçavons bien aussi que ne [illegible],
Ce nous est assez que dieu scait

Ego infra scriptus, Missionum Canadensium superior Societatis Jesu, fidem facio me supra scripta, de Patris Natalis Chabanel morte, scripsisse, anno 1650: cum tunc temporis essem Superior Missionis Huronensis.

Ab eo tempore, quo hæc scripta fuerant, certissimis testimonijs compertum nobis fuit, Patrem Natalem Chabanel, ab eo Christiano Hurone Apostatâ fuisse occisum, de quo suspicio nobis erat: id ipsemet fassus est addiditque hoc à se patratum facinus, in odium fidei, cum videret sibi, suisque parentibus, omnia mala, omniaque adversa contigisse, ab eo tempore, quo Christianam fidem fuerant amplexi.

Vindicem hujus sceleris sensere Deum. Nullus enim ex amplissimâ familiâ restat, innumeris fuerant prout apud eos populos, quam Nationem Neutram vocabamus, ab hostibus Iroquæis deleti omnes; alij flammis cremati, alij ferro extincti, in miseram servitutem abducti reliqui, pueri, & puellæ. Id ita esse, ab idoneis testibus accepisse me, sancte affirmo. Datum Quebeci 15 Decembris 1652.

Paulus Ragueneau.

ei nomen erat Ludovicus Honareennhax. mater erat pijssima, Genovefa nomine quæ ab eo tempore, statim in malum mutata est, impietatem filij sui secuta & poenam.

Facsimile of Father Rageneau's affidavit relative to Father Chabanel's Death.

ginal signatures by the same. These were made under oath, the formula used was, "*ego infrascriptus juratus affirmo*," or "*fidem facio*," or "*sancte affirmo*," stating at the same time that the signatory was himself an eye-witness, or that he had received the particulars from trustworthy and competent eye-witnesses.

This precious document consists of 302 pages, eight and a quarter by six and a quarter inches, and is solidly bound in leather. Before the extinction of the Jesuit Order in Canada, in 1800, it was intrusted for safe-keeping to the Religious of the Hotel-Dieu in Quebec, and was by them restored to the Jesuit Fathers on their return to Canada, in 1842.

Page 276* of this volume has been photo-engraved for insertion in the present work. The six lines, at the head of the page are the continuation of the narrative, as then known and as given in R. 1650, p. 16, and may be found near the foot of the second column. By adding, at the beginning of the reproduced page: "Si nous eussions voulu . . . ." the phrase is complete. Then follows Ragueneau's affidavit, not contained, of course, in the printed relation. On the following page of the manuscript, 277, we have textually the last line of the printed page 16, but a title is inserted in the manuscript: "Abregé de la Vie du Pere Noel Chabanel.—Le Pere Noel Chabanel nous estoit venu de la province de Tholoze, l'annee, 1630, etc."

At the pace we were going this spot of historic interest was soon left behind in the distance, and nothing further worthy of remark occurred before we reached Collingwood. Here we made arrangements with a photographer, who, the next day, Thursday, August 20, accompanied us to Ekarenniondi or the Standing Rock. The state of the atmosphere was not favourable for our artist, and the views taken came out uniformly gray, by no means sharp, with a lack of contrast of light and shade, and an indistinctness on the line of horizon, where Collingwood was quite perceptible to the eye. These defects when we received the prints later on were the cause of much disappointment.

We received other views some months later through the kindness of Mr. D. Williams of the Collingwood "Bulletin," whom we take occasion here to thank for this as well as for his general whole-hearted co-operation in our work.

It was with much regret that we bade *au revoir* to Father Barcelo, and at 3.45 the afternoon of the same day we were on our way to Cardwell Junction, there to entrain on the Owen Sound

*Page 276 of M.S., Vol. 1652.

branch of the Canadian Pacific for Dundalk, our chosen headquarters in our prospective quest for Etharita or the St. Jean of the Petun Nation.

If there is one kindly virtue for which more than another our Ontario clergy are remarkable it is their unbounded hospitality, and Father George Murphy, who stood on the platform at Dundalk, with countenance wreathed in good-natured smiles, to greet two hitherto unknown archæological tramps, is no exception to so general a rule, confirmed, in our case, by its uniform observance and not, as the saying goes, by any disagreeable exception.

This genial "P. P." had provided overnight for our next day's outing; and in the morning we sat behind a spanking team with his Reverence and Mr. Morgan for company, a thoroughly competent guide, quite familiar with every twist and turn of the roads in the very complicated lay-out of the concessions in these parts.

I here would remind my readers that my purpose in giving in detail our itinerary is not to startle them with the account of any remarkable discovery made, for unfortunately little occurred worthy of record from an archæological point of view, but to indicate more clearly what I looked upon as the region in which, most likely, the site of Etharita is to be found, and so that future explorers may take in on their tour of research other sections also lying in the neighborhood, which I had not gone over.

On Friday, August 21, 1903, we set out from Dundalk taking a north-easterly direction along the road between lots 230 and 231, old survey, and passed from Proton into Melancthon township, Dufferin county, reaching the Toronto and Sydenham (now Owen Sound) road, continuing thence, in the same direction, between lots 31 and 32, Melancthon, to the road running between concessions VIII. and IX. Thence south-east to Shrigley. Here at the cross-roads we noted what appeared to be the remains of an embankment or intrenchment, but of comparatively small dimensions. It did not seem to be a freak of Nature in the level fields, but had all the marks of an artificial formation.

Our inspection would have been more thorough had we not been disappointed in failing to meet Mr. Bailey, to whom Mr. Telford, of Dundalk, had kindly directed Mr. Morgan. Mr. Bailey had left the previous day for England, and we were thus shut out from much helpful information, for he was spoken of as possessing a thorough knowledge of the country around Shrigley.

At Shrigley we turned north-east between lots 26 and 27 to the town-line of Osprey, Grey county, and then north-west through Badgeros, across a small tributary of the Mad River, to the Durham Road, which, running nearly east and west, divides the concessions in Osprey into those of north and south. Turning east

here we reached the county line between Grey and Simcoe. Then heading north, with Osprey township on our left and Nottawasaga, Simcoe county, on our right, we arrived at Singhampton, where at Mr. E. B. Blackstock's Inn, we sat down to an excellent spread, with nature's best seasoning, for our morning's drive had not failed to whet the appetites of all the party.

Thus far, with the exception of the low embankment at Shrigley, we had observed no token, on either side of the way for a long distance, suggestive of anything like a site of a populous frontier village, chosen as the defensive outpost of the whole Nation of the Petuns. On the contrary, we had been traveling over a surface but slightly undulating, the table-land of the Blue Hills, which at a certain distance beyond Badgeros we had found intersected with bog lands. Small sluggish streams radiating to the east, north and west, if not south, drained very imperfectly the surface waters into the Mad River, the Beaver and the Saugeen. I do not remember to have seen a solitary habitation in this section or any sign of human occupancy for miles.

If Etharita or St. Jean lay at all in this direction it must have been south or east of Shrigley. But to adopt this hypothesis, it seems to me, would be stretching the four leagues from Ekarenniondi, given by Father Charles Garnier, beyond reasonable limits.

When we took to the road again, on leaving Singhampton, we headed almost west, on the "Gravel Road," between the VI. and VII. concessions north, in Osprey, through the hamlet of Maxwell, making inquiries on the way whenever it was possible. The surrounding country was fairly level, with no commanding site on either side of our line of observation. Among other places we stopped at the McKaveny Farm (lot 3, VII. concession north), occupied by an aged brother and sister. Our prolonged interview with these good people was anything but encouraging. We elicited the fact that "parties" had been there a few years ago boring for oil, in fact, the deserted and sun-bleached drill frames yet standing in the vicinity confirmed their story. But as for Indian relics of any description, they had heard no mention made of such, nor had they ever unearthed them themselves.

We continued west on the "Gravel Road" into the township of Artemesia, and to the line between lots 30 and 31, where we turned north, and then west by the road between the VIII. and IX. concessions; and then north again between lots 26 and 27 to Eugenia Falls.

We reached this charming spot at 5 p.m., after what would have been a very monotonous drive through an unbroken country, had not his Reverence and Mr. Morgan, by their interesting con-

versation, enlivened things generally and made the hours seem all but too short. Here we could find ideal positions for an Indian stronghold, but as the crow flies Eugenia Falls lay south-west-by-west fully fifteen miles from Standing Rock, much in excess of the four league limit and, as I should judge, not far enough south Moreover, no one could positively affirm that Indian remains had ever been discovered in the neighborhood.

From the high banks on the village side of the falls, the prospect extended for miles down the thickly wooded ravine, which with a long sweep south, then west, then north, hid the seething waters, and guided between its walls of rock the turbulent stream to the main branch of the Beaver River. This latter empties, far to the north, into Georgian Bay near Thornbury in Collingwood township.

Eugenia Falls must be some sixty feet in height, falling in one unbroken sheet into the pool beneath. In this utilitarian age beauty is a minor consideration. The barrage, already in existence up stream, furnishes a good water-power, but as the tail-race empties into the main body of water before its headlong leap, so far the falls have lost nothing of their natural charm. Rumour, however, had it then that an electric plant was to be established, and that the full power of the falling column of water was to be turned to account to light up Markdale, Flesherton, Proton and several other towns within convenient distance.

A hurried evening meal at 7, and we were on our homeward way. A brisk drive first between lots 26 and 27, then between 25 and 26, heading south, soon brought us once more to the "Gravel Road," which we followed first west and then south-west, as its course lay, till it brought us into Flesherton. From this point until we reached Dundalk, over the Sydenham Road and through the villages of Proton and Inistoge, the trip was uneventful; and at 10.15 p.m. we drew up before Father George Murphy's presbytery, a little fatigued but none the worse for our long day's drive of something over fifty miles.

Saturday, August 22. The failure to discover any traces of the Petun capital did not dampen our ardour, but as we did not purpose covering as much ground as on the previous day, it was only in the early afternoon that we started out once more on our quest, having, however, meanwhile consulted with some of the "oldest inhabitants."

We drove north-west on the Toronto and Sydenham Road, through Inistoge, to the Durham Road at Proton village; thence north-east to the boundary line of the "Old Survey"; thence north-west, entering the road between lots 70 and 71, to the little hamlet called by its inhabitants Fort Law. There we paid a short

Eugenie Falls, County of Grey, Ontario. (The Petuns.)

visit to Mr. Thompson, who keeps a general store at the Corners, and who, we had been informed, had found a stone pipe of Indian make while digging out a culvert on the road between concessions II. and III., north of the Durham highway. We had not the advantage of examining it as it had passed into other hands. The find was made about abreast of lot 9, but no other object of interest had been turned up.

Mr. Thompson, however, stated that years ago many Indian relics had been found on his father's farm, lot 69, north concession III. So turning west we drove thither. Mr. Thompson, senior, who had already passed his three score and ten by more than half a decade, and had worked on the land since 1858, assured us that when it was but recently cleared the children had picked up many curiosities of Indian make, but could not then recall exactly what they were. We gathered from his words that these were found nearly all in one spot, which probably was the refuse heap of the village. To the north of the road the land rises in a gentle ascent, but no bold prominence was in sight to the rear. Our search extended over the highest portion of the field, and also lower down over the spot where the remains had been discovered. We found nothing. But it must be confessed that our search was not as thorough as I should have wished; nor could it very well be, as our time was limited. My idea was, as on former occasions in Huronia Proper, to obtain a general knowledge of the whole region with the purpose of returning the following year. This was not to be, but, God willing, I have still hopes of being able to visit the country again.

On our return trip our route lay through Wareham to the town line between Osprey and Melancthon, then south-west between lots 210 and 211, old survey, and by the Toronto and Sydenham road homewards to Dundalk.

Sunday, August 23. Father Murphy having invited me to preach at his church, in the extreme southern part of Proton township, we set out at 8 a.m., leaving Father Quirk in charge at Dundalk. The tract we passed through seemed extremely fertile, and in a far better state of cultivation than Osprey and the part of Artemesia we had gone through the preceding days. Our course lay first south-west and then south to the road between concessions IX. and X., through Ventry, as far as the line between lots 22 and 23; thence two lots east to the church, which stands on the southern portion of lot 24, concession III., Proton township.

What with a word here and a greeting there for the good people who had assembled from many miles around to attend the morning office and listen to the "few words of edification" I had been called

upon to deliver, the morning wore on, and so also the afternoon, for it was 5 p.m. before we were comfortably housed once more at Dundalk.

In speaking, that same evening, in the chapel at Dundalk I took occasion to dwell on Father Garnier's devotedness in the service of the Good Master, and of his heroism in abiding with his flock, the wild Petuns of 1649, when warned of the danger of massacre by the Iroquois, and after having been offered the secure shelter of Christian Island, should he desire to withdraw; how, when his choice was made, he fell pierced with bullets while consoling the dying, and preparing them for their passage to eternity. I reminded them that it was not necessary to journey to far off lands to visit the scenes where the early martyrs had laid down their lives for the faith; that theirs was a land hallowed by the blood of Apostolic men. A lapse of more than two centuries and a half had obliterated, above the soil, all vestiges of village or habitations, as these latter were unsubstantial structures, built of the bark of forest trees; but the upturned soil, as they ploughed and harrowed, might bring to light remnants of such simple utensils as those made use of by a primitive people. And when this occurred it would be well for them to report the same to their pastor, or some other responsible person who would take note of it for future use, if indeed they had at heart the recognition, by the present generation, of the long years of painful labour the missionaries had endured, or if they cared one day to see commemorative monuments raised over the spot where the great Petun village had stood, and where the heroic Garnier, an exemplar for them to imitate, had fallen in the fulfilment of duty by which he set more store than his own personal safety.

Few, however, among the congregation were farmers, but they may have communicated their impressions to friends of theirs who were; and this may eventually lead to something more definite. It is not a case of apathy, for how many among them, living on these concessions, ever heard mention made of the name of Garnier, or were ever aware that, a couple of hundred years before the first white settlers came to hew out forest into farms, the warlike nation of the Petun had dwelt where their houses now stand?

Monday, August 24. This was the date we had fixed upon for our departure, and it brought us a little surprise. While seated on Father Murphy's verandah in the morning and busy planning for the future, sounds reached our ears, which, had they been accompanied with the blare of trumpets, the brazen clang of cymbals and the enlivening boom-boom of the drum, we might have taken for the approach of a circus parade. But the small boy was

there, and, when raised to the nth power, is quite capable of supplying all the other elements which go to make up a successful street demonstration.

A wagon with a captive bear was what stirred the emotional nature of young Dundalk. It had been entrapped in the woods somewhere between Hopeville and Ventry through which we had passed the day before. We had no idea that in so thickly settled a neighbourhood bears could be found, but were assured that this was not a rare occurrence. The poor brute bore his misfortune with all the stoicism of an Indian brave, and seemed quite indifferent to his surroundings, even to the not unkind curiosity of those who pressed around as the wagon stopped for a few minutes. His greatest misery, as well as an onlooker could judge, was the oppressive heat. His fur coat was certainly out of season, and he panted and gasped with tongue protruding, like a hound from the chase. Kind hands were not wanting to offer him some relief, and he lapped with avidity the cool water from a neighbouring pump. My thoughts, very naturally, went back to the Indian captive, who was pampered and caressed, sometimes decked out with gaudy trappings before being subjected to untold cruelties. Here before us was certainly a scion, of the purest blood, descended from the aboriginal bruin who fell before the flint-tipped arrow in days long gone by when Ekarenniondi and Etharita flourished.

The afternoon found us on the platform waiting for the train, but not before we had paid parting visits to Mr. Telford, Mr. Lucas and Mr. McIntyre. Mr. Morgan, to whose patience and kind attentions we owe much of the pleasure of our drives, was there to meet us. Father George Murphy introduced us to Rev. Mr. Hill, the Anglican incumbent of Dundalk, who was seeing off his reverend *confrère* of Shelburne. Mr. Hill showed much interest in our undertaking, and I have no doubt that answers to his inquiries among his congregation will prove of much use when we next direct our attention to the habitat of the Petun.

At 5.24, we bade goodby to all, and as the train moved out of the station for Toronto a silence fell upon Father Quirk and myself, our thoughts must have been running in the same channel, for the interruption was simultaneous and the sentiments which found sudden expression were identical. We felt grateful for and dwelt at length on the generous hospitality, the kindly ways and the cordial co-operation of our reverend host, Father George Murphy, whom we shall be delighted to meet again when Providence shall allow us to resume our peripatetic search for the evanescent *Etharita*.

Pointers for Searchers: It will not be out of place here, even at the risk of making disagreeable repetitions, to sum up for the convenience of those who are intent on solving the mystery of the whereabouts of *Etharita* or the St. Jean of the Petuns, the facts which are certain and the deductions which are merely probable.

It is certain that St. Jean lay either on the outward slopes of, or among the Blue Hills, since the country in Garnier's time was termed indifferently the "Nation of the petun" or the "Mountains of St. Jean."

It is certain that from St. Mathias, or *Ekarenniondi*, there was a stretch of at least six leagues, something like eighteen miles, before the unfordable stream (Nottawasaga) was met with when journeying from *Ekarenniondi* towards Huronia Proper.

It is certain that the rock *Ekarenniondi* lay to the west of Huronia Proper, and on the confines of the Petun Country.

It is certain that *Etharita*, or St. Jean, was four leagues distant from St. Mathias or *Ekarenniondi*.

It is certain that *Etharita* was the frontier town lying nearest to the enemy.

It is certain that at that date the enemy threatening the Petuns was the Iroquois Confederation, or the five Nations, of which the Senecas formed part, and lay nearest to them towards the south-east.

It is certain that when the Iroquois fell upon the defenceless town of St. Jean their approach was made from a quarter from which attack was not expected, consequently not from the south.

It is certain that at a point about eighteen miles from Ekarenniondi the line of march of the Iroquois, returning from the sacking and destruction of *Etharita*, coincided with that of Father Chabanel who was following one of the trails to Huronia Proper.

It is probable that *Etharita* lay rather to the south-west than due south of *Ekarenniondi*, otherwise Chabanel would have lengthened his journey, and that through a more difficult country to traverse: unless—and the contingency is quite admissable—he had very great reasons for seeing the missionaries at the latter village before returning to *Ahouendoë* Island.

It is highly probable that the site of *Etharita* is marked by ash-beds or refuse heaps containing the usual Indian relics, potsherds, etc., as it had been occupied for some years by the Petuns. In fact in the present case these must be looked for as the *only sure sign* of the village site.

It is highly probable that no indication of other village sites will be found within a radius of several miles of St. Jean, as it was the frontier town most exposed to the enemy.

Consequently, the village sites, evidently of Petun origin, which have been discovered in the region lying between Kirkville, Heathcote and Clarkesburg are, I think, much too far north for any one of them to have been that of *Etharita*. It would indeed seem a little strange that the village which gave its name to the Blue Hills as the "The Mountains of St. Jean" should lie north of those hills which were synonymously "The Nation of the Petuns," being their habitat; and at the same time that *Etharita* or St. Jean should be "la plus frontière à l'ennemy," which enemy certainly dwelt to the south of it. This indeed necessarily implies that no Petun village lay farther or as far in that direction. So that admitting that Etharita lay in the region indicated above, the Blue Hills themselves could not at all have been peopled by that nation, since *Etharita* in the hypothesis would have stood between the northern edge of the hills and the shores of Georgian Bay.

Village remains as far south as a concession or so below Shrigley, Melanethon Township, or even as far east as the south-western part of Nottawasaga Township, Simcoe County, if of undoubted Indian origin, would, it seems to me, be more likely to mark the spot we are in search of. I say if of Indian origin, for foundations of stone, round or flat, would indicate neither a missionary chapel nor a Petun lodge. The mission of the Apostles was not long enough in existence to admit of its having a chapel or the foundations of one in masonry.

If I mention particularly these two parts of the country north and south it is because I have received very welcome letters directing my attention to them, and for which I here tender my thanks to Mr. F. Birch, of Wodehouse, and Mr. P. Fogget, of Toronto. Both have devoted no little time to the matter, and have had the great kindness to commit to writing such of their impressions and deductions as might prove helpful to me in my researches.

TABULATED LIST OF HURON SITES.

(The Arabic figures indicate the lots, and the Roman numerals the concessions, thus: "Cahiagué, in Oro Township, east half of lot 20, concession X.")

Sites.	Near.	On.
1. Andiatae	Tiny, southern part, on a stream.	
2. Angoutene		Tiny, 11, X
3. Annendaonactia	Tiny, north of Con. XIII. and XIV.	
4. Anonatea	Tiny, 10, XVII.	
5. Arendaonatia, see 3		
6. Arenta.—té.—tet	" 18 or 19, XIII.	
7. Arethsi	Tay, E. ½ 2, IX.	
8. Arontaen		Tiny, 20, XVII.
9. Cahiagué	Oro, E. ½ 20, X.	
10. " Landing		Oro, W. ½ 23, XII.
11. Caldaria	Medonté, 73, 74, I	
12. Carantonan, see 8		
13. Carhagouha, see 8		
14. Carmaron	Tiny, 2, XX	
15. Conception, La		Tiny { 18, VIII / 16, VII
16. Contarea, eia		Oro, W. ½ 7, XIII.
17. Ekhiondastsaan	Flos, 53, I.	
18. Endarahy	Parry Sound Distr., McDougall or Foley tps.	
19. Iaenhouton	North-west of Penetanguishene Bay.	
20. Ihonatiria	Tiny, 6, XX, XXI.	
21. Kaontia		Tay, E. ½ 9, III.
22. Karenhassa	Tiny, 2, XX.	
23. Khinonaskarant	" 23,24, XVIII, XIX.	
24. La Rochelle, see 15		
25. Oenrio	" 5, XVII.	
26. Onnentisati		Tiny, 10, XIII

TABULATED LIST OF HURON SITES.—*Continued.*

Sites.	Near.	On.
27. Ossossané (two of its sites)		Tiny { 18, VIII. 16, VII.
28. Otouacha	Tiny, A, XVI.	
29. Ouenrio	" 5, XVII	
30. Quieuindohian, see 27		
31. Quiennonascaran, see 23		
32. Ste. Anne		Tay, E. ½ 9, III.
33. St. Charles		" 113, 1.
34. St. Denis		" W. ½ 3, V.
35. Ste. Elizabeth (one of its sites)	N. Orillia. W. ½ 9, 10, XVII.	
36. St. François Xavier		Tiny, 93, II.
37. St. Gabriel, see 27		
38. St. Ignace I		Medonté, E. ½ 22, VIII.
39. " II		Tay, E. ½ 4, VII.
40. St. Jean		" W. ½ 6, X
41. St. Jean Baptiste		Oro, E. ½ 20, X
42. " " Landing		" W. ½ 23, 24, XII.
43. St. Joachim		Tay, E. ½ 4, IX., and W. ½ 4, X.
44. St. Joseph (of the Recollets) see 23.		
45. St. Joseph I	Tiny, 6, XX, XXI.	
46. " II		Medonté, W. ½ 7, IV.
47. " III, see 50		
48. St. Louis		Tay, W. ½ 11, VI
49. Ste. Madeleine, see 6		
50. Ste. Marie I		" 16, III
51. " II	On eastern shore of Christian Isld., midway north and south.	
52. St. Michel		Medonté, W. ½ 17, III.
53. St. Nicholas	Tiny, 1, XVII.	
54. Scanonaenrat		Medonté, W. ½ 17, III.
55. Taenhatentaron		Medonté, E. ½ 22, VIII.

TABULATED LIST OF HURON SITES.—*Continued.*

Sites.	Near.	On.
56. Tandehouaronnon	Plateau of Randolph Hill, Tiny.	
57. Tangouaen	N. of L. Nipissing, perhaps Sturgeon Falls	
58. Taruentutunum		Tiny, 20, XVII.
59. Teanaostaiaë		Medonté, W. ½ 7, IV.
60. Teandeouiata	Tiny, 3, XIX.	
61. Teqnenonquiaye, see 27		
62. Tequeunoikuaye, see 27		
61. Toanchain, etc., see 65		
65. Toanché I	Tiny, 1, XVII.	
66 " Landing	" A, XVI.	
67. " II	" 3, XIX.	
68. Tondakra.—ea.		Tiny, 19, XX.
69. Touagnainchain		" Park lot 37.

PETUN VILLAGE SITES

EhSae, or S. Pierre et S. Paul.	Probably in Arran Township, Bruce County, to the north-east of Mount Hope.
Ekarenniondi, or St. Mathias	Very little west or south of "Standing Rock," lot 30, concession XII., of Nottawasaga Township, Simcoe County. The village should be in Grey County.
Etharita, or St. Jean of Petuns	About twelve miles in a southerly or southwesterly direction from *Ekarenniondi* or St. Mathias. No certain traces of it have as yet been discovered.
St. Matthieu	Probably less than six miles from St. Mathias in the direction of St. Jean or *Etharita*.
S. Simon et S. Jude	Probably on lots marked 16 in concession X. and XI., Lindsay Township, Bruce County; but certainly somewhere in the north-east part of this township.
St. Thomas	About 32 miles from *Ossossané*, around Nottawasaga Bay, either near the meridian of Loree, Collingwood Township, Grey County, or that of Meaford, but in Euphrasia Township.

SOME MODERN EQUIVALENTS.

AhSendoë, Ins	Christian Island.
Angnienceronnon	The Mohawks.
Anaouites, Lacus	Cranberry Lake, Tiny Township.
Anatari	Thorah Island.
Aochra8ata or Hatichra8ata	The Algonquins.
ASen-atsi	La Galette or Prescott
Atsistaeeronnon	The Mascoutens or Fire Nation.
Chionkiara	South shore of mouth of R. Severn, Tay and Matchedash.
Contarea, Lacus	Lake Semple, Tay Township.
Ekaentoton	Manitoulin Island.
EkSentondïe	Three Rivers.
Ethaouatius, pagus	Lake Simcoe shore near Uptergrove.
Etondatrateus, pagus	Extreme north-western part of Tiny Township.
Ganna8age	Sault St. Louis or Caughnawaga.
Goiögoinronnon	The Cayugas.
Hotinnonchiondi	The Iroquois or Five Nations.
Isiaragui, Lacus	Mud Lake, Tay Township.
Ok8ateeneüde	Lake Superior.
Ondechiatiri	Toronto.

SOME MODERN EQUIVALENTS.—*Continued.*

Ondiatana, Ins. or Ondichaouan	Giant's Tomb Island.
Onnei8'tr8nnon	The Oneidas.
Onnon:aeeronnon	The Onondagas.
Ontare	Any lake except Lake Superior.
Sendat	The Hurons.
Schiondekiaria, Ins.	Prince William Henry or Beausoleil Island.
Skesk8ateeronnon	The Nipissings.
Te iatontarie	Quebec.
Teokiai	Montreal.
Te Oskouchiae	Sault Ste. Marie.
Ti8skouchiai, Sndgiara or Etio8nda8oinendi Sngiara or simply Sndgiara	Niagara Falls.
TsonnontSoinronnon or TsonnontSoin	The Senecas.

Bone Pit in Medonte, East Half Lot 18, Con. IX
Sketch by Father Martin, 1855 *See page 249*

Missionaries and Mission Centres Year by Year, 1615-1650

PART SECOND.

1615

(From the end of July)

R. F. Joseph le Caron, Recollet, in Huronia at Carhagouha.

The first missionary to set foot in the country of the Hurons was Father Joseph Le Caron, a Recollet priest. He, together with three others of the same Franciscan observance, Fathers Denis Jamay, Jean d'Olbeau and Brother Pacifique du Plessis embarked at Honfleur on April 24, 1615 (*Le Clercq I. pp. 56, 62*). They reached Tadousac on May 25. D'Olbeau on the 17th set out for Quebec (*Id. p. 57*), where he arrived June 2 (*Id. p. 63*), his fellow religious following some days later. Father d'Olbeau was left alone at Quebec with the lay-brother (*Id. pp. 63, 64*), while the Superior, Denis Jamay, and Joseph Le Caron continued on as far as Three Rivers (*Id. pp. 60, 63*). During their absence Father d'Olbeau having erected a little chapel at "the habitation" of Quebec (*Id. p. 59*), celebrated his first mass in the colony on June 25, 1615. D'Olbeau in his letter dated July 20, 1615 to Father Didace David in France, gives the same date; "Le 25 de Iuin en l'absence Ju Reverend Pere Commissaire [Denis Jamay] j'ay celebré la sainte Messe, la première qui ait esté dite en ce pays" (*Le Clercq I. p. 62*). Le Clercq, relying perhaps on this authority, makes the same assertion: "Il (le père d'Olbeau) eut l'avantage le 25, Juin, d'y celebrer la première Messe qui se soit jamais dite en Canada" (*Id. p. 60*).

This statement is far from being correct. Not to speak of doubtful occurrences, Dom Guillaume Le Breton and Dom Anthoine, both chaplains of Jacques Cartier's second expedition to Canada undoubtedly said Mass in the places Cartier himself mentions, namely, at the Ile-aux-Coudres about fifty-five miles below Quebec, September 7, 1535, then throughout the winter at Sainte Croix Harbour in the St. Charles River, Quebec.

If we take "Canada" to mean what is now the Dominion, Father Pierre Biard, of the Society of Jesus, mentions Jesse Flèché, a priest, who in June, 1610 administered baptism to twenty-four or twenty-five Indians at Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, and who as chaplain to Potrincourt's expedition

Note: See Synoptical Tables I, II and III at the end of this volume.

could not have failed to say Mass there more than once (*Relation de la Nouvelle France, Quebec edit, 1858, p. 26, 1 col.*). But as this is not expressly stated, we have it on the authority of the same Relation (*p. 30, 2 col.*), that the Jesuit missionaries offered up Holy Mass early in the summer of 1611 near Port Royal. The passage refers to the reconciliation of Potrincourt with the younger Du Pont, and the latter, it is there said, received communion "auec fort bon exemple de tous, au bord de la mer, où se chantoit le service." Again, Father Biard celebrated Mass in October 1611 on the River St. John, New Brunswick, about six leagues up the stream (*Id. p. 34, 1 col.*).

The date that Le Clercq assigns for Father Le Caron's first Mass at Three Rivers is certainly incorrect. Father Jamay having returned to Quebec leaves Father Le Caron alone at that post and the author adds: "il eut l'honneur d'y celebrer la sainte Messe le 26 Juillet 1615." Now Champlain set out for Huronia on July 9, and the very day before so doing he was informed that Le Caron had already left for the upper country with the Hurons who were returning thither (*Champlain IV. p. 19 n. 507 o.*). I shall not attempt here to rectify this date as in connection with the matter in hand it is of very secondary importance.

What concerns us more immediately is that a consultation was to be held with Champlain on the affairs of the colony and of the mission, so Le Caron was recalled to Quebec. As a result of this meeting the Recollets were assigned to their several missions (*Le Clercq p. 67*). Le Caron's wishes were consulted and he was appointed missionary to the Hurons (*Id. p. 69*).

The precise date of his departure for the upper-country is given neither by Le Tac (*p. 94*), nor Sagard (*p. 41 n. 28 o.*) nor Le Clercq (*p. 69*), but as we have just noted, it certainly took place before July 9. Champlain's journey up the Ottawa, across Lake Nipissing, down the French River and through the islands along Parry Sound, counting from the date given, July 9, was accomplished in twenty-three or twenty-four days. He landed at Otoüacha on August 1. (*Champl. IV. p. 26 n. 514 o.*).

On August 2 he visited *Carmaron* and returned to Otoüacha. (*Id. ib. p. 27 n. 515 o.*). Passing through Touaguainchain on the 3rd he proceeded to *Tequenonquiaye*, otherwise La Rochelle or later Ossossanë, thence, he says, he was conducted to *Carhagouha (i.e. Arontaen)* where he found Father Joseph Le Caron "was dwelling" (*Id. ib. p. 28 n. 516 o.*). No date is given but evidently it was on August 4. Champlain's way of expressing himself seems to imply that Le Caron had resided there for a few days at least. Allowing about the same number of days that Champlain took for

his trip up and the several days' residence at *Carhagouha*, we may safely conclude that Le Caron had set out from the Riviere des Prairies for the Huron country about July 7, 1615.

First Arrival.

Unless the opening of August may be fitly termed autumn, Le Clercq is not quite accurate in specifying the time of Le Caron's arrival in Huronia. Relating the events of 1616 he says: "The Reverend Father Joseph Le Caron had left already the preceding autumn in the boats of *Messieurs de la Compagnie* [of Rouen, 1614-20] which had gone up to Three Rivers and then had pushed on towards the Hurons and other Indian tribes five or six hundred leagues farther inland, in company with the Indians who had come down to barter, and with twelve Frenchmen assigned to the Hurons by Monsieur de Champlain to defend them against their enemies" (*p. 72*).

Champlain, in his journal, continues: "And on August 12 [1615] the Reverend Father celebrated Holy Mass and set about erecting a cross near by a little dwelling house, apart from the village, [Tiny, lot 20, con. xvii.] which the Indians had built during my sojourn there" (*IV. 29 n. 517 o.*). This was certainly the first mass said in what is now the Province of Ontario, and the spot lay in the present parish of La Fontaine, Simcoe County.

According to Le Clercq, Huronia at this period comprised within its limits eighteen "bourgades" (towns or settlements) with a population of about ten thousand souls (*p. 75*) speaking the same language, and their principal stronghold was *Carragouha* (sic), which was girt about with a triple palisade thirty-six feet high (*p. 76*). This in the main is in agreement with Champlain: "I was conducted to *Carhagouha* which is inclosed in a triple palisade of wood thirty-five feet in height" (*IV. p. 28 n. 516 o.*); but of the five important villages Champlain visited, all of which were palisaded, he says that it was *Cahiagué* which was the principal one, containing two hundred rather large sized lodges (*Id. p. 30 n. 518 o.*).

The account of what took place on Le Caron's arrival among the Hurons, as given in Le Clercq's "Premier Etablissement de la Foy," differs but little from Champlain's narrative: "It was," he says, "at this village [*Carhagouha*], that the Hurons, wishing to show Father Joseph the joy they felt at his coming, offered to receive him in their common lodges. He represented to them that having to confer with God on affairs of such importance concerning the welfare of all their nation, these weighty matters deserved to be dealt with more respectfully in solitude and retreat

far from domestic turmoil and the bustle of every-day life. They heeded his remonstrances and with poles and strips of bark built him a cabin apart from the village. Therein he raised an altar that he might offer to God the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and give himself over to his spiritual exercises" (*pp. 76, 77*).

"It was but a short time after his arrival that the Father had the consolation of embracing Monsieur de Champlain who had followed him closely with two Frenchmen and seven Indians manning two canoes. His purpose was to take part in the war against the Iroquois. He had reached the Huron Country in time to assist at the first Mass that Father Joseph had the consolation of celebrating there, and at the planting of the Sign of our redemption which was hailed with volleys of musketry and accompanied by acts of thanksgiving the Te Deum being solemnly chanted for the first time in that barbarous country" (*Le Clercq I. pp. 77, 78*).

On August 14 Champlain sets out for *Cahiagué* (*Champl. IV. p. 29 n. 517 o.*) leaving Le Caron at *Carhagouha;* and by September 10, with his allies the Hurons, he is fairly on his way to the Iroquois Country (*Id. p. 35 n. 523 o.*). This expedition lasted through the remainder of September, and through the months of October and November, until December 23, when Champlain was back at the town of *Cahiagué*. This is the correct date, and not December 20, for though the latter is given in the edition of 1619 (*IV. p. 56 n. 544 o.*) it is amended in that of 1632 (*V. p. 273, n. 929 c.*), and this in accordance with a previous clause in both editions: "Le quatriesme iour de Decembre nous partismes de ce lieu marchant sur la riuiere qui estoit gelée . . . l'espace de dix-neuf iours" (*IV. p. 55 n. 543 o. and V. p. 272 n. 928 o.*). The nineteen days elapsed on December 23.

During Champlain's absence Le Caron remained at *Carhagouha.*

1616

(Until May 20.)

R. F. Joseph Le Caron, Recollet, at Carhagouha and with the Petuns.

After a rest of some days at *Cahiagué* Champlain says he decided to rejoin Father Le Caron. He left the village January 14 (1616) and on the morrow found the Father at his little dwelling house at *Carhagouha* (*IV. p. 57 n. 545 o.*). "I remained some days with him," he continues, "planning a journey to the Petun people as I had previously decided. And though there is

much discomfort in travelling during the winter we set out together on February 15 for that nation, arriving there on the 17th of the said month" (*Id. ib.*). The edition of 1632 has " I journeyed to the Nation of the Petun where I arrived on the 17th of the said month of January" (*Champl. V. p. 274 n. 930 o.*). Here is a tangle of dates which Sagard (*Hist. du Canada I., p. 43 n. 29 o.*) does not help us to unravel as his account is most meagre, nor does he mention a single date. The only one, relating to the present events, to be found in Le Clercq is January 14, which he marks as the day of Champlain's return to *Carhagouha*, "où le Pere Joseph le reçeut avec toute la joie imaginable" (*I. 87.*). All Le Tac has to say is that Champlain "passa quelques mois avec eux (*i.e.* the Hurons) à la chasse et se rangea le 14 janvier dans le village de *Carrhagouha* (sic) où etoit le P. Joseph," (*p. 99*).

The correction I shall adopt and which makes everything clear is that suggested by l'abbé Laverdière (*Champl. V., foot note to p. 274 n. 930 o.*) Having arrived at *Cahiagué* December 23, Champlain rests for *some days*. He sets out again to rejoin Fr. Joseph on January 4. The 5th he is at *Carhagouha* where he spends *some days* with the Father. They start off together on January 15 to visit the *Tionnontates* (otherwise the Petun Nation) and arrive there on January 17, etc."

The date of their return "vers nostredict Village," that is *Carhagouha*, seems certain enough, and is given by Champlain as "the fifteenth day of February (*IV. p. 64 n. 552 o.*). Consequently when he said that he and Father Le Caron left *Carhagouha* for the Petuns (*IV. p. 57 n. 545 o.*) on the fifteenth of February it was simply a slip for January.

During their stay in the Country of the Petuns they had visited, as Champlain says, "seven other Villages, their neighbours and allies " (*Id. ib*). Without doubt these were villages of the "Cheveux relevés" whom he mentions on the following page. Then, as later on when the Jesuits had missions in Huronia, the various Algonquin tribes from the east, west, and north, went to winter in large numbers among both the Hurons Proper and the Petuns. This in one instance at least was noted by Champlain (*IV. p. 61 n. 549 o.*). What the latter author designated as "seven other Villages" Le Clercq (*p. 87*), styles "seven other neighbouring nations," as does also Le Tac (*p. 99*). Champlain's terminology is correct since there were no other seven nations on or near Petun territory.

Departure.

"After his return to the Huron country he (Le Caron) remained there for the rest of the winter, perfecting what know-

ledge he had acquired of their language, and compiling a tolerably correct dictionary, which is still extant, and which is still treasured as a relic. He devoted his time to humanizing these barbarians. The hour had not yet come when great conversions were to be effected, but little by little the savages were being prepared gently to receive the light of the Gospel, whenever it should please God to second by the efficacy of His Grace the sincerity and comprehensiveness of the missionary's zeal, and that of others who were to come after him. Having got everything into shape, he set out from Carragouha (sic), and landed at Three Rivers June 15, 1616" (*Le Clercq I. p. 88, 89.*).

Champlain's dates again call for some adjusting here: "During the winter, which lasted four months, I had leisure enough to study their country, manners, customs and other matters which I fain would describe. But it is necessary before hand to say something of the situation of the country" (IV. p. 69 n. 557 o.). And here follow some thirty-two pages treating on these subjects, after which he resumes his narrative "And now to take up the thread of my discourse. Our Savages gathered together purposing to accompany us and to conduct us to our habitation (*i.e. Quebec*). With this object in view we set out from their country on the twentieth day of the said month, and were forty days on the road." (*IV. p 102, n. 590 o.*). The last mentioned month in the paragraph preceding is *April*, but as he tells us he reached "nostre habitation" (Quebec) on July 11, counting back forty days would barely reach into May. That in fact *May* was what he intended we can gather from the parallel passage in the edition of 1632: "We left their country on the twentieth day of May (*V. p. 307 n. 963 o.*) and were forty days on the way . . . we arrived at the French settlements towards the end of the month of June" (*Id. ib.*). This was at Sault St. Louis, for on the same page he writes, "ie me disposay de partir du Sault Sainct Louis, pour aller à nostre habitation (Quebec;)" and on the following "We left on July 8, and reached our habitation the 11th of the same month (*V. p. 308 n. 964 o*), which dates tally with these given in the edition of 1619: "Ce fait, nous partismes le huictiesme iour de Iuillet, & arriuasmes à nostre habitation le 11 dudict mois." (*IV. p. 103 n. 591 o.*)

Le Tac dismisses the subject of Le Caron's departure from the Huron Country in a few lines: "L'un & l'autre (*i.e.* Father Joseph and Champlain) se trouva (sic) à Quebec le 20. Juillet 1616, les Hurons n'ayant amené le P. Joseph qu'à regret & dans l'esperance de le revoir chés eux au plutôt, ce que le Pere leur promit comme il le souhaittoit" (*p. 99*).

Sagard covers the whole ground of Le Caron's short visit to the Petuns and his departure from Huronia in one paragraph:

"He (Le Caron) passed over as far as the Nation of the Petuns where he met with more suffering than consolation in his dealings with these barbarians, who offered him no hearty welcome nor gave sign that his visit was at all pleasing, acting it may be at the instigation of their medicine-men or magicians, who had no wish to be thwarted in, or condemned for their mummeries. So that after a short stay the good Father was constrained to return to his Hurons, where he remained until it was time for them to go down [to Quebec] for the annual barter. So that all he was able to accomplish in this first voyage [to the Hurons] was merely to acquire a knowledge of the ways and doings of this people, to learn their language passably well, and dispose them to accept a more decent and civilized mode of living. For a first attempt this supposed no slight labour. To be ever finding fault and to be disputing from the very outset is not the thing, but rather to edify and gently captivate, waiting the proper time for the harvest, which must be watered by the blessings of Heaven and nurtured by holy and agreeable intercourse." (*Hist. of Canada I. p. 42 n. 29 o.*).

1617-1622

During the interval between 1617 and 1623 the Huron Mission was in abeyance. The Recollet Father Guillaume Poullain, who had landed in Quebec in June 1619 (*Le Clercq, I. p. 154*), proceeded, it is true, as far as the Nipissing country (*Id. ib. p. 219*) in 1622, but it is barely possible and not at all probable that he ever reached any point nearer Huronia. It is certainly nowhere placed on record. So also may it be said of two other Recollets, Father Jacques de la Foyer and his companion Brother Bonaventure who passed the winter of 1624 near Lake Nipissing (*Id. ib. p. 294*).

1623

After leaving the Hurons in 1616, Father Joseph Le Caron had sailed immediately for France with Champlain and Father Denis Jamay, the Superior of the Missions, that is on July 20 (*Le Clercq I. pp. 100, 101.*). While in France he was chosen to succeed Jamay, and in company with Father Paul Huet, of the same order, embarked at Honfleur April 11, 1617 on his return voyage to Canada (*Id. ib. p. 105*). It proved a tedious and exceedingly rough passage which lasted more than three months before they landed at Tadousac (*Id. ib. p. 108; Le Tac p. 102*). It was principally at this post that Le Caron did duty as missionary (*Le Clercq I., pp. 127, 156, 228, 232, 237*) until an opportunity favoured his resuming his former mission. This was the arrival of two new missionary labourers from France in 1623 (*Le Tac, p. 118*).

One of these was a lay-brother, Gabriel Sagard Théodat, the future historian. To account for this selection Le Clercq explains as follows: "Experience had shown that as there was question of little else than humanizing the savages and of preparing them for the light of the Gospel, lay-brothers were not only not useless but were a great help, and could be associated with the apostolic ministry" (*I. p. 245*). The second was Father Nicolas Viel who for three years had been eagerly suing for the privilege. They left Paris together March 18, 1623, and set sail from Dieppe in the beginning of April. It was on the fifty-fifth day out that they landed at Quebec with no untoward incidents marking their voyage (*Id. ib. p. 246*). As Champlain was desirous of knitting still more closely the ties of friendship which bound the Hurons to the French, the sending of an embassy was proposed. Father Joseph Le Caron was to go back to Huronia, and with him, at their earnest request, both Father Nicolas and Brother Gabriel Sagard (*Id. ib. p. 246*). Champlain told off eleven Frenchmen to assist and protect them on the way, and two "donnés" were added to the party by the missionaries themselves (*Id. ib. p. 248, see also Le Tac, p. 118*).

The day they started from Quebec is not recorded and from what Le Clercq says it would seem that Father Nicolas Viel and Brother Sagard journeyed together to Three Rivers: "Ils s'embarquerent donc dans la chalouppe des Messieurs de la Compagnie jusqu'aux trois rivieres où nostre Missionnaire [Father Joseph Le Caron] les y reçût avec joye" (*I. p. 247*). Consequently Father Le Caron joined them at that post, and "deux jours aprés ils poursuivirent leur route dans les canots preparez à cet effet" (*Id. ib. p. 248*).

Sagard's account differs a little: "Apres nous estre rafraichis deux ou trois iours avec nos Freres dans nostre petit Couuent, nous montasmes auec les barques par la mesme riuiere Sainct Laurent jusques au Cap de Victoire" (*Grand Voyage I. p. 40 n. 59* o.), and on the page following we meet with the first certain date: "nous arriuasmes au Cap de Victoire le iour de la Saincte Magdeleine." This feast occurs on July 22, and in 1623 it fell on a Saturday. Cape Victory according to Sagard was situated twelve or fifteen leagues below the entrance to the Rivière des Prairies, otherwise below the lower point of the Island of Montreal. In fact one of the points near Sorel, on the west side, bore this name for a number of years in commemoration of the victory won in 1610 by Champlain and his Montagnais and Algonquin allies over the Iroquois.

The Recollet historian explains how it happened that he and the two Fathers journeyed in different canoes on their way up: "Mais pour ce que les Hurons ne s'associent que cinq à cinq ou

six à six pour chacun canot, ces petits vaisseaux n'en pouuans pour le plus contenir qu'vn dauantage auec leurs marchandises: il nous fallut necessairement separer, et nous accommoder à part, chacun auec vne de ces societez ou petit canot, qui nous conduisirent iusques dans leur pays, sans nous plus reuoir en chemin que les deux premiers iours que nous logeasmes auec le Pere Ioseph, et puis plus, iusques à plusieurs sepmaines apres nostre arriuée au pays des Hurons; mais pour le Pere Nicolas, ie le trouuay pour la première fois, enuiron deux cens lieuës de Kebec, en vne Nation que nous appellons Epicerinys ou Sorciers, et en Huron Squekaneronons" (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 42 n. 61 o.*).

The seventeen pages taken up by the good Brother's account of his journey up the Ottawa, across Lake Nipissing, and down the French River make interesting reading, but it does not come within the scope of the present work, and we may turn from it with less reluctance as his experience of hardships and privations differed in little or nothing from that of all the other Huron missionaries.

Arrival.

"Two days before our arrival among the Hurons," writes Brother Sagard, "we came in sight of the fresh water sea [Lake Huron]. On its waters we crossed from island to island and made land in the long yearned for country on a Sunday the feast of St. Bernard, near noon, with the sun's rays falling perpendicularly" (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 56 n. 81 o.*).

These particulars, as given, settle the question as to what year Sagard and his party reached Huronia. On page 5 n. 6 o. in this same volume of his "Grand Voyage" he is made to say: "Nous partismes de Paris auec la benediction de nostre R. Pere Prouincial le dix-huictiesme de Mars mil six cens vingt-*quatre*." This is certainly a mistake. The feast of St. Bernard is always kept on August 20. Now August 20, 1624 came on a Tuesday, while in 1623 it fell on a Sunday, just as stated above. As a consequence Eugene Réveillaud's foot-note on page 118 of Sixte Le Tac's "Histoire Chronologique" must not be construed so as to lead one into error.

Sagard continues: "My Indians having stowed away their canoe in a thicket near by loaded me with my luggage and bundles, which hitherto, on the way, they had always carried. This was owing to the great distance from the landing place to their town, and because they were already sufficiently burdened with their own merchandise. I carried my load with great difficulty both on account of its weight and on account of the heat which was exces-

sive, not to mention my prostration and a great weakness which I had felt for a considerable time back in all my limbs. Add to this that they had made me go before, as was their wont (for to follow them I had all I could do) and I wandered from the right trail so that for a long time I tramped on alone not knowing toward what point I was heading. At last, after having walked a great deal and gone over much ground, I met two Huron women near a cross-road and asked what direction I should take to reach the village where I was due. But I did not know its name, and less, which of the two roads I ought to choose. The poor women strove in vain to make themselves understood, it was of no use. Finally, inspired by Heaven, I took the right road and after a while I found my Indians sitting in the shade of a tree in a fine wide meadow, where they were waiting for me much worried at the thought of what might have become of me" (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 56 n. 82 o.*).

The village to which he was guided bore indifferently the name of *Quieuindohian* or that of *Téqueunonkiayé* (*Id. ib. p. 57 n. 83 o.*). On the side of the country it lay it was the nearest to the Iroquois (*Id. ib. p. 61 n. 90 o.*). Its second appellation serves to identify it with the village of *Tequenonquiaye* visited by Champlain (*Champl. IV. 28 n. 516 o.*). Sagard also informs us that with the French it went by the name of La Rochelle while the Recollets spoke of it as the village of St. Gabriel (*Hist. du Can. I. p. 200 n. 208 o.*) Fr. de Brébeuf's letter to the General places beyond doubt its identity with the *Ossossanë* of the Relations: "We are at present forming a new residence in the village we call La Rochelle, and the Indians *Ossossanë* . . . we intend to give it the title of Residence of the Immaculate Conception" (*Carayon Prem. Miss. p. 160*).

(Until the middle of October.)

R. F. Joseph Le Caron, Recollet, at St. Joseph, *Carhagouha (Arontaen)*.
F. Nicolas Viel, Recollet, at St. Nicolas, *Toanché I.*
B. Gabriel Sagard, Recollet, at St. Gabriel, La Rochelle *(Ossossanë)*.

This distribution of the missionaries did not last till the end of the year 1623 but merely until Father Nicolas visited Brother Sagard at St. Gabriel, when both repaired to St. Joseph or Carhagouha to join Father Joseph Le Caron. This took place "plusieurs sepmaines" after their arrival in Huronia (*Sagard, Grd. Voy. I. p. 42 n. 62 o.*); or as the same historian states later on: "A rather lengthy interval elapsed after my arrival before I found out where my fellow religious had arrived or before any news

from them reached me." (*Id. ib. p. 63 n. 91 o.*). If, on their journey up, Sagard's party had reached the Cap de Victoire by July 22, it would have been very little after the 15th of August when they landed in Huronia. The "plusieurs sepmaines" may be taken as equivalent to about seven or eight weeks, so that Father Viel's visit to Brother Sagard might be said to have taken place somewhere about the 10th or 12th of October. After the middle of the latter month they were all residents of St. Joseph or Carhagouha.

(After the middle of October.)

R. F. Joseph Le Caron, Recollet,
F. Nicolas Viel, Recollet,
Br. Gabriel Sagard, Recollet, at St. Joseph or *Carhagouha.*

No news of his companions reached him, as Sagard said, "until a certain day when Father Nicolas, accompanied by an Indian, came to me from his village which was only five leagues from ours. I was delighted to see him in good health and in good spirits in spite of all the hard work and scanty fare he had had to put up with since our departure from the trading post below. . . . We agreed to go in quest of Father Joseph who had settled down in another village four or five leagues distant" (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 63 n. 91 o.*) The name of this village according to our author was *Quieunonascaran*, (*p. 64 n. 93 o.*) no other than the *Khinonaskarant* of the Relations, as has been shown elsewhere, and standing very near *Carhagouha*, where Champlain said he had found Father Joseph dwelling in 1615 (*IV. p. 28 n. 516 o.*) and 1616 (*IV. p. 57 n. 545 o.*). In fact, as it has already been explained at length, Le Caron's dwelling stood between these two centres of population. From what Sagard says one would be led to conclude that in 1623 it was an entirely new structure which the three Recollets occupied: "en suite nous fismes bastir vne cabane pour nous loger (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 64 n. 93 o.*); but Le Clercq says very explicitly: " He (that is Father Joseph Le Caron) found his former cabin or habitation, which some Frenchmen had occupied during his absence, still standing on a hill-side at the foot of which flowed a charming brooklet. This dwelling place, which was soon restored, measured in length more than 25 feet and 15 feet in width" (*I. p. 249*). Then follows a full description of the building and its contents. Very much the same particulars are to be found in Sagard (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 66 n. 96 o. et ss.*), but in Le Tac they are entirely omitted (*Hist. Chron. pp. 118, 119.*).

"A year having gone by and perceiving that many little things of which we stood in need were wanting, the question arose of our returning to our convent of Canada [that is, at Quebec], to procure and bring back whatever was necessary. So we deliberated together and came to the conclusion that we should avail ourselves of the company and guidance of our Hurons, who, about this time of the year had to go down to the bartering place, and thus we should reach Canada and return with our little wants supplied." (*Gird. Voy. p. 237 n. 336 a.*).

1624

(*Until June.*)

R. F. Joseph Le Caron, Recollet,
F. Nicolas Viel, Recollet,
Br. Gabriel Sagard, Recollet, at St. Joseph or *Carhagouha.*

Departures.

In his "Premier Etablissement de la Foy" (I. p. 257) Le Clercq sums up the results of their labour: "Thus they passed the winter though little headway was made in the work of converting these barbarians. Still they won over some families, whom they found better disposed, more docile and more tractable, inducing them to move down to Quebec and settle among the French, or else to set up their cabins on our own grounds. They baptized but two adults, a father and his daughter of whom they felt more assured. It had been resolved that this mission was not to be abandoned, but on the contrary that it was to become a central establishment whence the Religious (of the Order) were to spread out over the neighbouring nations. They had been but preparing this vineyard of the Lord, and now Father Joseph and Gabriel Sagard, after a residence there of ten months, turned it over to the safe keeping of Father Nicolas. They had perfected a dictionary of the Huron language, and as a strong flotilla of canoes afforded them an opportunity, they took their departure for Quebec; while to Father Nicolas was the task assigned of watching over the Nascent Church, together with what Frenchmen were to remain.

The flotilla, here mentioned, consisted of sixty canoes manned by two hundred Hurons and freighted down with beaver skins and other furs. It was ready to start in the spring of 1624, but delayed

its departure until June for the convenience of Father Joseph, as the Indians had set their heart on having him accompany them (*Le Clercq. I. p. 258*).

(After June.)

F. Nicolas Viel, Recollet, at St. Joseph or *Carhagouha*.

In the account of his return trip down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence to Quebec, Brother Sagard is very sparing of dates, though his narrative enters into many details relative to the incidents of his journey. When he arrived at Quebec he found that Father Le Caron had outstripped him, and had reached his destination some eight days previously (*Grd. Voy. II. p. 264 n. 376 o.*). A search in Le Clercq for something more precise would prove equally barren (*I. p. 261*). Le Tac, however, fixes the date: "The fleet [of the Hurons] arrived at last on July 1, 1624. Brother Gabriel counted on returning with the Hurons, but the *obcissance* [for *obédience*, the word more generally used, to denote a written order, or written instructions] of his Provincial which was placed in his hands had for effect his going back to France with Father Irenée Piat." Eugène Réveillaud, Le Tac's editor, blunders once more here, in a foot-note, in attempting to rectify this date: "There is here another error in the date. It was not in 1624, as would appear from this account, but in 1625 that Brother Gabriel Sagard went back to France; this is evinced by the quotation already given of his work entitled : *Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons. Paris, 1632*" (*Le Tac, p. 120*).

I have met and explained this difficulty when speaking of Brother Sagard's arrival in Huronia (see 1623). What is taken as incontrovertible by Mr. Réveillaud, and all others is that Sagard went back to France one year after his arrival among the Hurons. This arrival, Sagard says (*Grd. Voy. I. p. 56 n. 81 o.*) took place on a *Sunday, the feast of St. Bernard.* The date of this feast is August 20. In 1624 it fell on a Tuesday, but in 1623 it fell on a Sunday. The latter therefore is the correct year of his arrival, and the year following 1624 is the year he returned to France.

Meanwhile Father Nicolas Viel continued to reside at *Carhagouha*, and it would seem that even before his setting sail for France Father Irenée Piat received letters from him which gave evidence of his intention to persevere, and asked as a favour that he might be allowed to live and die in his mission in Huronia (*Le Clercq. I. 292*).

1625

(Until the middle of May.)

F. Nicolas Viel, Recollet, at St. Joseph or *Carhagouha*.

DEPARTURE.

None of the chronicles of the early missions among the Hurons favour us with any details of Father Viel's sojourn in the country after the departure of his two companions. Charlevoix, in his "Histoire de la Nouvelle-France" (*edit. Paris, 1744, I. p. 106*), leaves us in no doubt as to the motive which prompted him to undertake the return journey to the French settlements: "Father Nicolas Viel, Recollet, after having dwelt nigh on to two years among the Hurons, conceived the desire of making his way to Quebec for the purpose of spending some time in retreat there."

The fact that he never reached Quebec is known to all and that he met his death by drowning in the Rivière des Prairies to the north of the Island of Montreal (now familiarly termed the Back River) is equally well ascertained. Authors however are not at one in describing the manner of his death.

Le Tac twice mentions the sad occurrence: " . . . Le P. Nicolas qui descendoit des Hurons où il avoit demeuré deux années fut noyé par les Hurons au dernier Sault appellé depuis ce malheur le Sault des Recollets, avec un jeune garçon qu'il eslevoit à la foy" (*pp. 127, 128*), and again: " . . . Le P. Nicolas Viel, Recollet, qui revenoit d'une mission de six cent lieuës où il avoit passé deux années, perdit la vie en retournant, par la malice des Hurons" (*p. 130*). He enters into no further particulars, nor does he mention the name of the young Indian who shared the same fate as the missioner.

Chrestien Le Clercq's account is more satisfactory. Speaking of the expedition bound for the trading post he says: "There were in the band a multitude of Hurons harmless enough in a way, but among them were some brutal characters, enemies of Religion, who assumed, however, a friendly and respectful bearing to the good Father. Rough weather separated the canoes, and unfortunately it happened that in the canoe of the Religious there were three villainous and impious savages who threw him into the water together with his little disciple *Ahaustic*, at the last rapids on their way down to Montreal, where the deep and seething waters overwhelmed them in an instant. All that was saved was his chapel [*i.e.* his chalice, etc.] and some few manuscripts, in fascicles of bark, comprising a kind of missionary journal. He had left his

dictionary and memoirs in care of some Frenchmen in the Huron country. The place where this good Religious was drowned even down to the present day is called the Sault au Recollet" (*I 321*). He adds, a little further on (*p. 323*) that it was from the reports of the Hurons themselves, who had come together for the trafficking, that the cruel manner in which both the Father and his young disciple had been put to death was made known.

Turning to Sagard's History (*III. p. 794 n. 874 o.*) we find this short reference, which however gives the name of the young Huron: " . . . They inquired after Father Nicolas by means of the Huron interpreter; but, having learnt that at the last rapids he had been drowned with his little disciple *Auhaitsique*, they were exceedingly grieved, etc." The allusion Sagard makes to the same incident in his Grand Voyage (*II. pp. 246, 247 n. 350 o.*) is somewhat perplexing. He is descanting on the dangers he himself encountered on his way down from Huronia, and says: " . . . beaucoup de fois nous courusmes risque de nostre vie, et d'estre submergez dans des chutes et abysmes d'eau, comme a esté du depuis le bon Pere Nicolas et vn ieune garcon François nostre disciple, qui le suyuoit de pres dans vn autre canot . . ."

The reader will immediately perceive the ambiguity in the latter part of the quotation when an attempt is made at translation, which might run thus: "Time and again we ran the risk of losing our lives and of being swallowed up in the falls and whirlpools as were, since then, good Father Nicolas and a young French boy, our disciple, who was following him closely in another canoe." This rendering would be quite correct, for Sagard and other French writers of the period used capitals for the initial letters of adjectives denoting nationality, while the word "François" was not yet modernized to "Français" (French), and it stands in the phrase without commas as seemingly in apposition to "ieune garçon."

But though literally and grammatically correct the rendering is quite at variance with either the explicit or implicit statements of all other chroniclers, who give us clearly to understand that Viel's companion was a young Huron and not a French boy. Whether the youth, at the time of the disaster, was in the same or in another canoe is a question of minor importance here. Moreover the very fact that Sagard in the same breath terms him "nostre disciple," which expression with the Recollet writers seems to be an equivalent for "neophyte," would preclude all idea of his being anything but an Indian.

These considerations must in effect not only weaken our confidence in the correctness of the rendering, but lead us to conclude that it is absolutely faulty. And this especially when attention is

drawn to the fact that in those days punctuation was neither uniform nor consistent, and that the word "Francois" might very well stand for the Christian name of the young *Auhaitsique*, "our disciple." "François," the adjective, denoting nationality, with the meaning "French," is now written, it is true, "Français;" but "François," a Christian name, meaning "Francis," as well as "Françoise" meaning "Frances," have both retained their original form. And what more likely than that the Recollets should have given the name of the Seraphic Founder, St. Francis to the young and promising Huron neophyte?

These reasons, I think, should not be slighted, they even appeal to me as convincing, and in consequence I submit the following translation as the correct one: "Time and again we ran the risk of losing our lives and of being swallowed up in the falls and whirlpools as were, since then, good Father Nicolas and a young boy, Francis, our disciple, who was following him closely in another canoe."

Before setting aside our Sagard let us turn to his Dictionary, or rather vocabulary, which follows, and is generally bound up with his "Grand Voyage," but which is not paginated. The subjects however come in alphabetical order and under the heading "Poissons" we find the meaning of the young Indian's Huron name: "Petits poissons, *Auhaitsiq*." As Sagard used phonetic spelling, giving the French sound to the letters used, the word should be pronounced in English as if written *O-het-sik*. It does not follow from this that the Huron word, as given above, is necessarily in the plural. Huron nouns whether governed or not, or whether they stood for the singular or the plural were unchangeable: "Nomina non inflectuntur per casus, adeoque non patiuntur ab alio nomine aut verbo ullam alterationem nisi in compositionem cum illo intrent" (*Potier, Gr. p. 65*). They *often* took an "s" in the plural but not necessarily: "ad pluralem numerum exprimendum sæpe additur 's' " (*Id. ib.*). Hence, the boy's name was "The Little Fish."

From another passage in Sagard's writings we may fairly surmise what kind of little fish was meant: "As they [the Indians] are very observant, just as our own Frenchmen are who fish for cod, they know to within a day or two the time of arrival of each kind of fish, and they do not fail when it is time to go to fish for the little fish which they call *Auhaitsiq*. They catch incredible numbers (vne infinité) of these with their nets, etc." (*Grd. Voy. II. p. 224 n. 317 o.*). And a few lines above he tells us that these fish resemble the herring, but only the smallest herring.

There are three passages in the Relations in which mention is made of the death of Father Viel. The first is in Relation 1626

(*p. 2, 2 col.*): "Quand nous arriuasmes icy [at Quebec] l'an passé il y auoit vn Pere Recollet qui s'en venoit auec les Sauuages, au lieu de la traicte, 35 lieuës au dessous [probably a misprint for "audessus"] de ceste habitation; mais au dernier sault qu'il passa, son canot se renuersa, et il se noya."

The second is in Relation 1634 (*p. 92, 2 col.*): "Depuis la mort d'vn pauure miserable François massacré aux Hurons, on a découuert que ces Barbares auoient fait noyer le R. P. Nicolas, Recollet, tenu pour vn grand homme de bien."

In the third passage Brébeuf, while relating how the embassy from the Borgne de l'Ile, which was sent to prevail upon the Hurons to join in a war of reprisals against the Iroquois, proved a failure; and how through spite they did their utmost to blacken the character of the Hurons with the missionaries, proceeds to recapitulate their reasons: "They, posing as our friends, made us in fact a grand harangue, whose trend was to induce us to abandon completely either the Huron country or at least the Bear Clan as the most wicked of all, seeing that they had massacred Etienne Bruslé and the good Father Nicolas, the Recollet, with his companion, and who some time before had, on one occasion, struck down eight of their men, etc." (*Rel 1636, p. 91, 2 col.*).

Charlevoix's version of the affair completes all that has been put on record by the early authors touching the death of Father Nicolas: "Father Nicolas Viel, Recollet, after having dwelt nigh on to two years among the Hurons, conceived the desire of making his way to Quebec for the purpose of spending some time in retreat there. Some Indians who were making preparations for the same journey offered him a place in their canoe, which he accepted. Instead of holding the usual course they followed the channel which runs between the Island of Montreal and the Isle of Jesus, and which is commonly called the Rivière des Prairies. Halfway in this stream there is a rapid where the Indians instead of landing, and making what is called a portage, kept to the canoe and attempted to "shoot" it. Whether there was some miscalculation in the measures they took or whether it was brought about by design, the canoe capsized. Father Viel and a young neophyte, who accompanied him, were drowned, and it was on account of this accident that the name of the Sault au Recollet was given to the rapid, a name which it still bears. As all the Hurons effected their escape, and as they had shown themselves, it is said, ill-affected towards the missionary, strong suspicions were aroused that the wreck was not the effect of hazard, the more so as these barbarians took possession of the best part of the missionary's equipment. Be this as it may, there was not a soul at

Three Rivers who was not of a mind that Fathers Daillon and de Brébeuf should put off for a time their journey [to the Huron country]" (Hist. du Can. I. p. 160).

To the best of my knowledge the precise date of this sad occurrence is nowhere given, but it probably took place about the middle of June. Tanguay in his "Répertoire" (*Quebec, 1868, p. 25*) says that the body was recovered, taken to Quebec and interred in the chapel of St. Charles, on June 25, 1625, and he gives as his authority the "Mortuologue des Recollets."

The reader has remarked, no doubt, that of the several authors I have quoted, two only have mentioned the Huron name of Viel's companion, Le Clercq, who calls him *Ahautsic* (*I. p. 321*), pronounced in English *Ah-hote-sic*, and Sagard *Auhaitsique* (*Hist. III. p. 794 n., 874 o.*), equivalent about, in English spelling, to *O-het-sic*. The latter, as we have seen, gives in an independent passage (*Grd. Voy. II. p. 224 n., 317 o. and Dict. sub voc. Poissons*) "Little Fish" as the meaning of *Auhaitsiq*. After a long and conscientious search through Potier's "Radices" I find no word which may be coaxed by any legitimate process into anything like either of these two Huron names. For "little fish" the *Radices* (*p. 288, 1 col.*) sets down *AhScnta* or *AkScnta*, sounding in English *yah-when-ta* and *ah-kwenta* respectively. The latter probably derives from the verb *kS-cnton* (the primitive being *cnton*), to come and go in a day; thus *aθenta* he came and went in a day, *akScnta* she came and went in a day (*R. H. 1751, p. 222*), in allusion no doubt to the sudden appearance and disappearance of the schools of small fish visiting certain localities in certain seasons.

Which of the two Recollet authors is the more reliable in this particular matter—and it must be remembered that the name is given by no others—is not a difficult question to decide. Sagard, as we have seen, was Father Viel's companion in Huronia, and must have known personally the youthful convert to Christianity, perhaps he even had a share in his instruction. The expression "our disciple" was presumably used with a purpose. Furthermore, he knew the meaning attached, in his time, to the Huron appellation. As a consequence, preference should be given to the form *Auhaitsic*, *Auhaitsique*, or *Auhaitsiq* rather than to Le Clercq's *Ahautsic*.

Anyone conversant with the writings of the Recollet authors must have come to a similar decision. And yet, but a few years ago, when there was question of commemorating the name of the young Huron, it was decided to change what was known previously as Lajeunesse's corners or Lépine's, a cluster of houses adjoin-

ing the village of Sault au Recollet, to *Ahuntsic*, a word unknown to history, and impossible by its very structure to find place in a Huron vocabulary.

1626

(R. F. Charles Lalemant, S. J. Superior General of the Canada Missions, at Quebec, 1625,1629.)

It was in 1626 that the Jesuits entered the missionary field in Huronia for the first time. The Recollet Le Clercq bears witness to the motives which actuated the members of his Order when they asked the religious of the Society of Jesus to come to their assistance at this stage of their evangelical labours in New France. He states the main reason in the following terms: "Our missionaries, then at Quebec, invoked for several days the light of the Holy Spirit so that they might adopt the most efficient means for the planting of the Faith and for its propagation in these countries entrusted to their care. Taking into account the great number of different tribes, and realizing that the Colony was beginning to take shape, they came to the conclusion that the harvest was too vast for such a small number of labourers. Considering also that the *Messieurs de la Compagnie* fancied that they were making a great effort in contributing annually to the subsistence of six Recollets who needs must trust to Providence to do the rest. . . they (the Recollet missionaries) concluded that if some religious community could be found willing, at its own expense, to sacrifice a number of missionaries in behalf of this new world some hope of advancement might be entertained (*I.pp. 288, 289; Cf. Sagard, Hist. III., p. 783 n., 862 o.*).

Thereupon "They decided unanimously to send one of their members to France to lay the proposition before the Jesuit Fathers, whom they deemed the most suitable for the work of establishing and extending the Faith in Canada in co-operation with their own." (*Id. ib., p. 290*).

The project was carried out. R. F. Coton, who was then Provincial of the Jesuits in the Province of Paris, named Father Charles Lalemant, superior, giving him for companions, in the new undertaking Fathers Ennemond Massé and Jean de Brébeuf. Massé, as a missionary, had already seen service in Canada. Leaving Dieppe January 26, 1611, (*Prem. Miss. p. 13*), he had landed at Canso on May 5, and eventually at Port Royal on May 22 (*Id. p. 17*). This mission, however, had been organized as early as 1608, (*Id. p. 2*), but had been beset with countless difficulties from the beginning, and had ended in disaster through the vio-

lence of Captain Samuel Argall.* The Fathers had been compelled to abandon their undertaking and return to France in 1614, one year previous to the first landing of the Recollets on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

Of the three Jesuits destined for Canada, Brébeuf alone was to become a missionary among the Hurons, while Father Charles Lalemant, stationed at Quebec, was to act as Superior. Two lay-brothers, Gilbert Burel and François Carton were to accompany the Fathers, and the little band of five Jesuits and the Recollet, Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon embarked at Dieppe (Cf. Voy. de Champl. Part II., liv. I. p. 86 n. 1070 o.) on April 26† and arrived at Quebec June 19, 1625.

How it came about that no missionaries went to Huronia that same year is explained thus by Sagard: "It is very necessary to have members of religious orders in Canada and among all nomadic tribes, that they may be instructed in the laws of God, but the best results are to be looked for among those nations which are settled on the land and are sedentary. Father Joseph de la Roche (d'Aillon), mindful of what I told him, resolved to set out for the latter, together with R. F. Brébeuf, a Jesuit. With this object in view both left our convent of Notre Dame des Anges about the month of July, 1525, [a misprint for 1625] for Three Rivers and thence for Cap de Victoire where the bartering was going on with the divers nations gathered there.

"Having got to the vessels they conferred with their commanders. The latter applauded their zeal and offered to supply them with whatever they stood in need of for their journey. They provided them with strings of coloured beads, knives, kettles and other domestic utensils. These were accepted either to be made use of by themselves when they arrived in the country, or to be bestowed on their Indians, and whoever might supply them with food or render them any service.

"While they were thus getting together their little store, by means of the Huron interpreter they made inquiries about Father Nicolas (Viel). They were informed that the Hurons had drowned him at the last rapids and our little disciple Auhaitsique with him.' They were sorely grieved at this, and were obliged to return to Quebec without having accomplished anything. There was no going to the Hurons this trip, they had not had courage enough, though they did so the year following [i.e., in 1626].

*For more copious details on this mission see Rel. 1611. Quebec edit.; Première Mission, pp. 1-116; Relations, Cleveland, edit. vols. I., II., III., and IV. to p. 167.

†"Dieppæ conscenderunt omnes [i.e. the six mentioned] 6 Cal. Maias, secundoque nauigationis cursu, Kebeccum altero post mense tenuerunt" (*Ducreux, p. 6*). The sixth of the Calends of May was April 26.

"It was then that Father Joseph [de la Roche d'Aillon] came to terms with some Hurons of our acquaintance who received him graciously into their company. As for poor Father Brébeuf, it was not such an easy matter. He was not only unknown to them, and as badly equipped as ourselves, but they moreover put it forward as a pretext that he was rather heavy for their canoe. This was a civil refusal and not devoid of reason; for if a stout person leans ever so little on one side more than the other, or if in getting in he does not set his foot down gently and in the very middle of the canoe, over it goes, and everything is spilled into the river. Then comes the question, are you able to swim in your heavy clothes? It is a difficult feat, for the accident may happen in places where the Indians themselves cannot escape drowning.

"But as Father Brébeuf, accompanied on that occasion by Father de Nouë, offered the Hurons presents of no small value, he at last found place in a canoe, and started out after the others under the protection of Our Lord and of his good Angel." (*Hist. III., pp. 793-795 n. 873-875 o.; Cf. Le Clercq I., pp. 343-344*).

The Father Anne de Nouë, mentioned in the above extract landed at Quebec with Father Philibert Noyrot and Brother Jean Caufestre, July 14, 1626. Their names are also given by Le Tac, who, however, omits the date of their arrival in Canada (*p. 132*). Le Clercq likewise makes a bare mention of their names. (*I. p. 340; Cf. Voyages de Champl. Liv. 2. p. 95 n., 1079 o.*).

The approximate date of the departure of the Recollet and the two Jesuit missionaries for the Hurons may be inferred from Father Charles Lalemant's letters. In the one published in the "Première Mission" (*p. 120*) he writes: "Nous devons sous peu leur envoyer (i.e., to the sedentary Hurons) un des Nôtres, ou plutôt deux, le P. Jean de Brébeuf et le P. Anne de Noue. Si leur mission réussit, elle ouvrira un vaste champ à l'Evangile. Ils voyageront dans les canots des sauvages; car on ne peut pas employer d'autres marins." In the second, that of the Relation, 1626, after stating that he is sending back to France Father Noyrot, on affairs of the mission, he continues, "I'enuoye son compagnon [fr. de Nouë] auec le Pere Brebeuf à 300 lieuës d'icy à vne de ces nations qui sont stables en leur demeure. Ils y seront bien tost . . . i'attends tous les iours de leurs nouuelles. Ie viens d'apprendre tout maintenant qu'ils sont partis." (*Rel., 1626, p. 8, 1 col.*). This last phrase seems to have been added after the letter was written. Both letters are dated from Quebec, August 1, 1626. In any case it is safe to say that the expedition got under way in the very last days of July or the beginning of August. Father Felix Martin, S. J., in his Life of de Brébeuf, printed in Paris in 1877, does not specify the day of

their departure, (*See p. 43*), but in a MS. Life of the same (*p. 48*) he states very precisely that it was July 25. I have not been able so far to verify this date.

Arrivals.

From what has been said above it becomes evident that the three missionaries reached their destination in the month of August, 1626; but in all likelihood not on the same day, as they travelled in different canoes. One inexperienced hand was quite enough to put the patience of the Indians to the severest test when the crew numbered, as was generally the case, but five or six.

(Until October 18.)

R. F. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, Recollet,
R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Jesuit,
F. Anne de Nouë, Jesuit, at Toanché I.

That they established their residence in the same village is what is attested by Le Tac (*p. 133*) "These three missionaries dwelt for a time together until Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, on the receipt of a letter from Father Joseph [Le] Caron, advising him to betake himself to the Neutral Nation, hitherto unknown, and where no other priest had yet been, separated himself from the Jesuit Fathers and went there, bringing with him two Frenchmen and some Indians to lead the way."

That the village where the missionary residence stood was *Toanché I.*, may be gleaned from what Brébeuf says in Relation, 1635, (*p. 28, 1 col.*), and furthermore, that this village had a "port" or landing place: "Ie pris terre au port [*Otouacha*] de *Toanché* . . . où autrefois nous estions habituez," and further, (*2 col*): "ie m'en allay chercher le village [of *Toanché II.*, otherwise *Teandeouïata*], que ie rencontray heureusement enuiron à trois quarts de lieuë, ayant en passant veu auec attendrissement et ressentiment le lieu où nous auions habité et celebré le S. sacrifice de la Messe trois ans durant, conuerty en vn beau champ, comme aussi la place du vieux village [*Toanché* I.], où excepté vne cabane rien ne restoit que les ruines des autres."

That the date of Father de la Roche d'Aillon's departure was October 18, 1626, is not less certain is evinced by the Father's own words in his letter dated from *Toanchain*, (sic), July 18, 1627: "ie . . . partis des Hurons à ce dessein (i.e., to go to the Neutrals) le 18 Octobre, 1626, auec vn nommé Grenolle, and

la Vallée, François de Nation" (*Sagard, Hist. III., p. 800, n., 881 o.*); and in the next line, he tells us that in journeying to the Neutrals he passed through the Petun country, (Cf. Le Clercq, I., pp. 347, 348). It almost necessarily follows that his route lay through Grey and Wellington counties southward, following the course of the Grand River. The record of de la Roche d'Aillon's excursion to the Neutrals is also to be found in Rel., 1641, (*p. 74, 2 col.*).

(*From October 18, 1626, till about March 14, 1627.*)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Jesuit,
F. Anne de Nouë, Jesuit, at *Toanché* I.
R. F. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, at *Ounontisaston*, Neutral Nation.

The Neutral Nation occupied approximately all that portion of the present Province of Ontario lying southwest of an imaginary line drawn from Oakville on Lake Ontario, to Goderich on Lake Huron. Down to about 1640 their territory extended even beyond what is now the Canadian frontier, for on the American side of the Niagara River they still occupied three or four towns stretching in a line east and west towards the Erieehronons or nation of the "Chat." Father Jérôme Lalemant, Superior of the Huron Mission at that date, makes this sufficiently clear: "Du premier bourg de la Nation Neutre, que l'on rencontre y arriuant d'icy, continuant de cheminer au Midy ou Sudest, il y a enuiron quatre iournées de chemin iusques à l'emboucheure de la Riuiere si celebre de cette Nation, dans l'Ontario ou lac de S. Louys. Au deça de cette Riuiere, et non ou delà, comme le marque quelque Charte, sont la plus part des bourgs de la Nation Neutre. Il y en a trois ou quatre au delà, rangez d'Orient à l'Occident, vers la Nation du Chat ou Erieehronons.

"Cette Riuiere ou Fleuue est celuy par lequel se descharge nostre grand lac des Hurons ou Mer douce, qui se rend premierement dans le lac d'Erié, ou de la Nation du Chat, et iusques là elle entre dans les terres de la Nation Neutre, et prend le nom d'*Onguiaahra*, iusques à ce qu'elle se soit deschargée dans l'Ontario ou lac de Sainct Louys d'où en fin sort le fleuue qui passe deuant Quebek, dit de S. Laurens." (*Rel., 1641, p. 71, 2 col.*).

How long did Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon remain in the Neutral Country? Le Clercq says three months: "Le Pere Joseph laissa les deux Peres Jesuites dans nostre habitation, and poussa jusques à la nation des Neutres, où il fit quelque progrés pendant trois mois de sejour, aprés quoy il revint aux Hurons se rejoindre aux Peres Jesuites" (*I pp. 345, 346*). Counting from

the very day of his departure, October 18, the three months would be up on January 18. But as there is question, not of the length of his absence, but of his sojourn among the Neutrals, allowance must be made for his stay among the Petuns and the time he was on the way. The Father, himself, in his letter already referred to, corroborates Le Clercq as to the length of his visit: "Trois mois durant j'eus toutes les occasions du monde de me contenter de mes gens" (*Le Clercq I., p. 353*); but, always in the same letter; he mentions the melting of the snows in that milder climate of the Neutrals, and states that "they began to melt as early as January 26, [1627], and by March 8 there was no longer any in the exposed places, but a little remained in the flats." (*Id. p. 360*).

This means that he was still in the Neutral Country at the latter date, or at least on his return tramp, when he could the better observe the breaking up of winter. Now, counting back three months from March 8, we may fix his arrival among the Neutrals somewhere about December 8, 1626. And as Father Jérôme Lalemant, in the passage of Relation 1641, already quoted, allots about a four days' journey on foot to cover the distance from Huronia to the mouth of Niagara River, generously conceding him six, we should expect to see the good Father back among the Hurons somewhere about *Latare* Sunday, that is to say March 14, 1627.

1627

(*From the Middle of March till May or June.*)

R. F. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, Recollet,
R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Jesuit,
F. Anne de Nouë, Jesuit, at *Toanché I.*

There is no doubt that Brébeuf and de Nouë continued to reside at *Toanché* I., for we have seen that the former stated explicitly that he recognized on his way to *Toanché* II., otherwise *Téandeouiata*, the ruins of the old *Toanché*, where, he says, *we* had dwelt for three years. But it is also certain that the Recollet, Father Joseph, resided there with them and not at *Carhagouha*. His letter bears out this statement: "Ainsi je m'en revins au païs de nos Hurons, où je suis à present", (*Le Clercq I., p. 359*), while the letter itself is written "à *Tonachin* Village des Hurons, ce 18 Juillet, 1627," (*Id. p. 362*). Needless to add here that *Tonachin* is a misprint, the form occurs nowhere else, while in Sagard's History, (*III. p. 809 n., 892 o.*), the same letter is reproduced with the colophon, "Fait à *Toanchain*, village des Hurons, ce 18 Iuillet, 1627."

DEPARTURE

Father de Nouë was a most devoted man, and eager for the conversation of the heathen Indian, but an insurmountable obstacle baffled all his praiseworthy attempts in that direction. A year's experience made it plain that it was a sheer impossibility for him, at the age of forty, to acquire even a smattering of the Huron language. Neither Sagard, nor Le Clercq make mention of his leaving Huronia before the others; but Champlain and Ducreux leave very little doubt about the matter, and from their way of expressing themselves it may be safely inferred that it was in 1627 he returned to Quebec.

Champlain, recording what took place at Quebec during the autumn of 1627, and explaining how Father Charles Lalemant, disappointed in not receiving any tidings of Father Noyrot's vessel, which was to bring the necessary supplies for the winter, was forced to return to France, says: "Le dit Pere l'Allemand fut contrainct de faire passer tous ses ouuriers et autres, horsmis les Peres Massé, Dénoüe (sic), vn frere, et cinq autres personnes pour n'abandonner leur maison, lesquels il accommoda au mieu qu'il peut, etc." (*Seconde Partie, Voyages, Liv. 2, p. 145 n. 1129 o.*). This supposes that Father de Nouë was present at Quebec, while no mention is made of Father de Brébeuf, who was in Huronia.

In the beginning of the paragraph, from which the extract is taken (*see preceding page*), October 2 is given as the date of the departure of Lalemant's vessel from Quebec for Tadousac, but the paragraph closes (*see page following the extract*) with these words: 'Dans la mesme barque [and there is no other mentioned] s'en alla le dit Destouches, qui fut le 2. de Septembre." From what is stated in the paragraph which follows, I am inclined to think that September 2 is the date meant, but the thing is not at all clear.

Ducreux probably with Champlain's account in view, has this to say: "Ergo re in deliberationem vocata, rogatus Lalemantius, cum Raldæo sub ineuntem Septembrem reuertente transmisit in Galliam, abducta secum maxima operarum parte, quando vnde aleret non suppetebat. Quinque tantum ex toto numero reliquit [at Quebec] eum Massæo, Noæs, ex Huronibus reduce, alteroque laicorum, etc." (*Hist. Can. Lib. 1, p. 13*). Here it is positively asserted that Father de Nouë was back from the Hurons and that he was left with Father Massé, who was at Quebec. Moreover the time of Lalemant's departure is stated as having taken place in the first days of September.

To come now to the date of Father de Noue's leaving Huronia, all that may be positively affirmed is that it took place about a month previous to Lalemant's sailing. Still, as it was the well ascertained custom of the Hurons to start yearly for the lower country as soon as the waterways were free of ice, we may conjecture, without fear of being much astray, that he left the Huron Country, with the Indian traffickers not later than June.

(*From May or June, 1627, till about the same time in 1628.*)

R. F. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, Recollet,
R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Jesuit, at *Toanché I.*

1628

Departure.

The next change was to be the departure of the Recollet missionary, Father de la Roche d'Aillon. We have no inkling from the records as to why he left Huronia, but the general dearth, from which the colony was then suffering, must have made itself felt more acutely in the poverty-stricken cabin of the missionaries. They could count upon little or no assistance from the Indians, who usually acted upon the principle of nothing for nothing, unless indeed they were to be the beneficiaries. After dilating on the precautionary measures taken by the Recollet Fathers at Quebec, at the approach, in 1628 of David and Louis Kirk (a surname with many variants), Le Clercq adds: "Sur ces entrefaites on vit arriver 20. Canots Hurons qui amenoient le Pere Joseph de la Roche Daillon." (*I. p. 393*). That there is question of their arrival at Three Rivers is made patent by what is said on the preceding page.

"La nouuelle," says Sagard, referring to the departure of the hostile expedition, "n'en fut que tres-bonne, mais ce qui en augmenta la ioye fut l'arriuée de 20. canots Hurons, dans l'un lesquels estoit le V. P. Joseph de la Roche, haslé, maigre & deffait comme un homme à qui la necessité auoit enioint forces ieusnes, etc." (*Hist. IV., p. 847 n., 933 o.*).

Le Tac, recording the events of 1628 briefly states: "Les François qui avoient resté chés les Hurons deseendirent avec le P. Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon." (*p. 146*), but evidently not all the Frenchmen for he speaks further on of others who came down with Brébeuf the year following. No date is given, nor is any other accompanying incident mentioned upon which to

base theories. We may at best fall back on the general usage of the natives and say that probably it was late in the spring, or in the early summer of 1627.

1629

(From May or June, 1628, till about Midsummer, 1629.)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Jesuit, at *Toanché I.*

Departure.

Father de Brébeuf was now left alone among the Hurons. But rumors of famine and disaster in the lower country must have reached him on the return of the Huron flotilla after the annual trafficking with the French at Quebec and Three Rivers. He needed no other summons. What with gaunt famine on the one hand, paralizing the resistance of the French, and on the other the unrelenting efforts of the English to become masters of Quebec, he realized fully that a serious crisis was impending, or rather that the very existence of the colony was at stake.

But it would seem, from what Champlain says, that a formal order to repair to Quebec was sent him: "Reverend Father Brébeuf in compliance with a mandate sent by Reverend Father Massé, Superior, came down from the Hurons." *(Part II., Liv. 3. Voyages. p. 234 n., 1218 o.)*. Father Massé here mentioned as Superior acted as such only as a *locum tenens* during the absence of Father Charles Lalemant who had sailed for France in quest of supplies in 1627.

Moreover, as we shall see just now, Brébeuf's answer to the expostulations of the Hurons, when they became aware that he was to leave them, shows very clearly that he was not at liberty to remain longer.

Here is what the other authors have to say on the same subject: "At last our Hurons arrived with our Religious and all their Frenchmen. They were received with all honours and all possible consideration. They were made sharers in the goods and supplies of our home as well as in its wretched penury. The interpreter Olivier, bargained with the Hurons for a few sacks of Indian corn for the fort and "habitation". We received two for our share, and the Reverend Jesuit Fathers what they stood in need of for themselves and their people. After that there was no need of worrying over the traffic [with the Indians] for the English soon made their appearance. This put an end to the miseries then existing, but only to open up the way to fresh ones."

(*Sagard Dist. IV., p. 895 n., 986 o.*). The same author incidentally mentions Father de Brébeuf's presence at Quebec on July 19, 1629, the day the city was summoned to surrender. (*Id. pp. 895 n., 986 o. and 896 n., 987 o.*).

Le Clercq is even more chary of dates: "Meanwhile the Hurons arrived at Quebec with 20 canoes. A bargain was made with them for their Indian corn, part of which was served out to the Jesuit Fathers and to ourselves until the arrival of the English, which was not long delayed." (*I. p. 399.*)

Le Tac is either more considerate or better informed, for he says: "The Frenchmen who had wintered in Huronia brought down Father Brébeuf. They arrived on July 17th, to add to the number of the famished, everyone being then busy burrowing for himself for roots to escape death" (*p. 147*).

But the different authors, extracts from whose writings I have given above, doubtless derived most of their information, if not all, from Champlain, part of whose version is as follows: "On July 17, [1629] our people who had been living among the Hurons arrived in twelve canoes. Most of them brought down no meal; some of them had a little, but kept it out of sight on being apprised of the dearth prevailing among us. The newcomers, like ourselves, had to go in search of roots to sustain life. I decided to send them to the Abenakis settlements that they might live there on the Indian corn of that nation until spring, for I counted no longer on seeing either friends or enemies. According to all human foresight the season [for the arrival of vessels from over the seas] had gone by.

"Reverend Father Brébeuf, in compliance with a mandate of Reverend Father Massé, Superior, came down from the Hurons, leaving them in the deepest sorrow at his departure. 'But what,' said they to him, 'are you going to forsake us! For three years you have lived here learning our language and teaching us to know your God, to adore and to serve Him. This is why you came, as you told us. And now that you know our language more perfectly than any one who ever set foot here before, you are deserting us! If we know at all the God you adore, we here call upon Him to witness that should you abandon us like this the fault is not ours, but yours.'

"The Father explained to them how the obedience he owed to his superiors would not allow of his remaining for the present, neither would the affairs he had on hand, which were most important. He would, however, with God's grace, return and bring with him whatever was necessary to teach them to know God and serve Him. Thereupon he took leave of them." (*Voyages, Part II., Liv. 3, p. 233 n. 1217 o. et ss.*)

But Champlain goes on to say that: "This good Father had a special aptitude for languages. It took him but two or three years to understand and acquire as much of them as others could in twenty" (*Id. ib.*). What follows relates to the famine at Quebec and to the doling out of what little grain they had left, which account does not tally in every particular given by the authors previously quoted.

Father de Brébeuf, having taken leave of his Indians, bade farewell to the land, field of his apostolic labours, which, all unknown to him then, he was one day to bedew with his blood. With his French associates he joined the Huron traders on their annual migratory expedition and descended to Quebec. Having reached that town on July 17, he must have left Huronia about the middle of June.

The summons to surrender Quebec was received by Champlain on Thursday, July 19, 1629, (*Part II. Voy. de Champl. Liv. 3, p. 239 n., 1223 o.*). Quebec capitulated on July 20 (*Id. p. 243 n., 1227 o., et. ss.; Sagard, Hist. IV., p. 904 n., 996 o.; Le Tac, p. 149*). The Jesuits were sent down to Tadousac on Sunday, July 22 (*Sagard, op. cit. p. 905 n., 998 o.*), and finally were embarked for England. And thus closed the first period of the Mission of Huronia.

1630-1633

From 1629 to 1634 there were no missionaries in Huronia. After the taking of Quebec in 1629, Canada remained in possession of the English until it was ceded back to France by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Lay, March 29, 1632. Emerie de Caen was appointed to govern the country for one year in compensation for the losses he had sustained when the colony passed into the hands of the English. But, on March 1, 1633, Champlain was named by Richelieu as his lieutenant with jurisdiction "throughout all the extent of the St. Lawrence and other rivers." He sailed from Dieppe, March 23, 1633, his flotilla consisting of three vessels, carrying about two hundred persons, among whom were Fathers Ennemond Massé and Jean de Brébeuf. Champlain cast anchor before Quebec, May 23, 1633, (*Mercure Français, Vol.* XIX.). The Relation, 1633, (*p. 25, 2 col.*) says it was on May 22. Fathers Paul Le Jeune and Anne de Nouë were already there. When Brébeuf proceeded with Champlain to Quebec, Massé had remained for a time at Tadousac. Fathers Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost (or Daôut) were then on the way to Quebec from Grand Cibou (*Id. p. 26, 1*). As for Paul Le Jeune, Anne de

Nouë and Brother Gilbert Burel, they had sailed from Honfleur, April 18, 1632 (*Rel., 1632, p. 1*), landing at Tadousac, June 18, (*Id. p. 3, 2 col.*), finally reaching Quebec, July 5, (*Id. p. 7, 2 col*).

1634

(R. F. Paul Le Jeune, S. J., Superior General of the Canada Missions, at Quebec, 1632-1639.)

(*From August till September 19.*)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup.,
F. Antoine Daniel,
F. Ambroise Davost, at *Teandeouiata* or Toanché II.
François Petit-Pré, hired man (*Rel. 1635, p. 39, 1 col.*)
Dominique—hired man (*Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.*)
Simon Barou, hired man (*Rel. 1635, p. 27, 1 col.*)
Robert Le Coq, hired man (*Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.*)

Arrivals.

Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Antoine Daniel set out from Three Rivers (*Rel., 1635, p. 23, 2 col.*) for the Huron Country on July 7, 1634, and Father Antoine Davost on the 15th (*Id p. 25, 1 col.; Cf. Rel. 1634, p. 89, 2 col.*). Brébeuf reached Huronia August 5, 1634, and landed at [*Otoüacha*] once the "port" of *Toanché* I. (at this date abandoned) and now the port of *Teandeouiata* or *Toanché II*. The villagers of Old *Toanché* had, during Brébeuf's absence set up their cabins on a new site, three-quarters of a league farther inland, (*Rel., 1635, p. 28, 1 and 2 col.*). As the missionaries travelled in different canoes they arrived in Huronia at different dates. Daniel and Davost took much more than thirty days to cover the distance, (*Id. ib.*). But Davost fared the worst, reaching his destination on August 23 or 24, having spent forty days in making his way up, (*Rel., 1635, p. 30, 1 col.*). These three Fathers were certainly present in Huronia in 1634, (*Rel., 1635, p. 37, 2 col.; Rel., 1634, p. 90, 1 col.; P.M. p. 126*). Brébeuf was Superior of the Huron Mission, (*C. G.-LL., p. 38*) and he remained in office until August, 1638.

The Fathers were not alone among the Indians, they were to have taken with them five whites: "Father Brébeuf, Father Daniel and Father Davost, together with three hardy young men and two boys will be with the Hurons" (*Paul Le Jeune G. J. from Quebec to the Provincial; 1634, Prem. Miss. p. 126*). This is what was proposed, but I find no allusion to the two boys in the Relation 1635, while the presence of the four hired mentioned is attested.

(From September 19 till October 20)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup.
F. Antoine Daniel,
F. Ambroise Davost, at *Ihonatiria*, or St. Joseph I.

Ihonatiria or St. Joseph I. was established September 19, 1634 (*Rel. 1635, p. 29, 2*; *Id. p. 28, 1 col.*; *p. 30, 1 and 2 col. conjunctim*).

At first the missionary party had accepted the hospitality of Aouandoïe, who dwelt at *Teandeouiata*, otherwise *Toanché* II., but on September 19, at which date everything being in readiness, they established themselves permanently in their own little village of *Ihonatiria* (*R. 1635, p. 29, 2 col.; p. 30, 2 col.*).

(After October 20)

F. Antoine Daniel,
F. Ambroise Davost, at *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I.
R. F. Jean de Brébeuf in the Petun country.

The superior of the Huron Mission, R. F. de Brébeuf, leaving his two companions in charge of *Ihonatiria*, on October 20 starts off for the Petun Nation (*Rel. 1635, p. 37, 2 col.*). His stay among the Petuns was not a long one, for he was back at his post before December 15 (*Id. p. 38, 2 col*).

1635

(From August 17, 1635 till July 22, 1636)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf,
F. Ambroise Davost,
F. Antoine Daniel,
F. François Le Mercier,
F. Pierre Pijart, at *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I.
François Petit-Pré, hired man (*Rel. 1635, p. 39, 1 col.*)
Dominique——, " " (*Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.*)
Simon Baron " " (*Rel. 1635, p. 27, 1 col.*)
Robert Le Coq " " (*Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.*)

Arrivals.

On July 23, 1635 (*Rel. 1635, p. 20, 2 col.*) Fathers François Le Mercier and Pierre Pijart started from Quebec (*Id. p. 19, 1, 2 col.*) for Huronia (*Cf. Rel. 1636, p. 64, 2 col.*). The former arrived at his destination on August 13, 1635 and Father Pijart on the 17th (*Rel. 1636, p. 87, 1 col.*).

Ihonatiria was still the only missionary centre (*Rel. 1635, p. 3, 1 col.*).

"Last year we were but three priests of the Society here, this year we are five. . . . Two of our Fathers, who are here, Fathers Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost, will return shortly to Quebec, I think, and will bring with them some youths from this region, so as to get the Huron Seminary under way "(Letter written by Brébeuf from *Ihonatiria*—See *Première Mission, Carayon, p. 163.* But there is an error in the date given as 1638. This is to be inferred from the fact that he mentions Daniel and Davost as about to return to Quebec. But they arrived in Huronia in 1635 and left in 1636 and Davost never returned to the mission. The letter was written after the arrival of the two Fathers consequently in 1635. In the latin MS. copy at St. Mary's College, Montreal, no date is ascribed to it—*LL ad G. p. 18*).

1636

Departures.

Father Antoine Daniel went down to Quebec in 1636 (*Rel. 1637, p. 55, 2 col*). The exact date of his leaving Ihonatiria was July 22 (Id. ib. p. 103, 2 col.).

Father Ambroise Davost took canoe for Quebec on July 27, 1636 (*Rel. 1637, p. 104, 1 col.*). Owing to age and infirmities he never returned to the mission. He died during his passage to France (*Rel. 1643, p. 72, 1 col.*) on September 27, 1643. Both he and Father Antoine Daniel had reached Quebec, after leaving Huronia, on August 19 (*Rel. 1636, p. 71, 1 col.; Cf. Rel. 1637, p. 73, 1 col.*).

The "Engagé," François Petit-Pré, was with the party going down to Quebec, for we find him with Father Pijart at Three Rivers assisting the missionary when he was there on his return trip to the Hurons (*Rel. 1637, p. 97, 2 col.*). Simon Baron also went down, for he was absent in September (*Rel. 1637, p. 121, 1 col.*), but returned on October 11 with the Hurons (*Rel. 1637, p. 127, 2 col.*).

Arrivals.

Father Pierre Chastelain and Father Charles Garnier started from Quebec on their way to the Huron country on July 1, 1636 (*Rel. 1636, p. 60, 1 col.*); and both took canoe with the Hurons at Three Rivers on July 21 (*Id. p. 64, 1 col.*). Father Chastelain arrived at the Mission on August 12 (*Rel. 1637, p. 106, 1 col.*). Garnier arrived on the 13th (*Id. ib. 2 col.*). Father Isaac Jogues

Rev. Paul Le Jeune, S.J., Missionary to the Hurons.

Rev. Paul Ragueneau, S.J., Missionary to the Hurons.

set out for Three Rivers from Quebec after the arrival there of Daniel and Davost. In the copy of a letter to his mother, dated June 5, 1637, which is reproduced in a MS. Life* of him by l' Abbé Forest (*Orléans, 1792, pp. 22, 24*), he says: "Je partis des Trois Rivières.....le 24 Août [1636], jour de la St. Barthélemy (*p. 23*).....on fit enfin si grande diligence qu 'au lieu de 25 ou 30 jours que dure ordinairement ce voyage il ne fallut que 19 pour me rendre où etaient 5 de nos Pères, dont quelques uns comptent déjà 5 ou 6 ans de residence dans le pays. Les deux derniers [Garnier and Chastelain] n'y etaient arrivé qu'un mois devant moi" (*p. 24*). According to Relation 1637 (*p. 120, 1 col*) he landed in Huronia September 11, 1636. (*Cf. Rel. 1636, p. 74, 1 col.; p. 75, 1 col.*). A young Frenchman, François Marguerie, coming from the Algonquins de l'Ile, paid an unexpected visit to Brébeuf on March 28, 1636, how long he remained is not stated (*Rel. 1636, p. 90, 2 col.*).

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier
F. Pierre Pijart
F. Pierre Chastelain
F. Isaac Jogues.
F. Charles Garnier, at *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I.

Simon Baron, hired man (absent with expedition to Quebec from July until October 11, 1636, *Rel. 1637, p. 127, 2 col.; p. 155, 2 col.; p. 175, 2 col.*).

Dominique——, hired man (*Rel. 1637, p. 121, 1 col.*)

François Petit-Pré, hired man (*Rel. 1637, p. 121, 1 col.; p. 132, 2 col.; 159, 1 col.*)

Mathurin——, hired man (*Rel. 1637, p. 120, 2 col.; p. 151, 2 col.*)

A Boy (*Id. ib. 1 col.*)

From the following passage in Rel. 1637 (*p. 121, 1 col.*) it appears certain that in 1636 until October 11, there were but three hired men with the Fathers at *Ihonatiria*: "Le 23 [September, 1636], Dominique tomba malade.....Nous fusmes dés lors quasi sans domestiques; car François Petit-pré, qui restoit seul, estoit d'ordinaire occupé nuict et iour à la chasse, c'estoit de là que nous attendions tout notre secours, apres Dieu." And again (*p. 124, 2 col.*): Nous n'auions que François Petit-pré qui nous pust assister en ce poinct (i.e. pot hunting), et Dieu nous le conserua tousiours en bonne santé, etc." As for Mathurin who had arrived September 17 (*Rel. 1637, p. 120, 2 col.*), he was

*St. Mary's College Archives, Montreal.

already down with the prevailing sickness which seized him five days after he had reached Huronia (*Id. ib.*); while Simon Baron did not return from Quebec until October 11 (*Id. p. 127, 2 col.*). Le Coq's movements, for he also was absent, are not easy to follow. He was the "*negotiator*" (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*; *Extr-Mart. p. 6*) or business man of the mission, and was almost every year on the go between Huronia and Quebec.

1637

On May 20, 1637, there were six priests and four hired men at *Ihonatiria* (*Brébeuf's letter of that date from Ihonatiria, P.M. pp. 157, 161*). He states further on: "My companions in this Residence are Fathers François Le Mercier, Pierre Pijart, Pierre Chastelain, Charles Garnier and Isaac Jogues" (*Id. ib. p. 161*; *LL. ad Gen. pp. 13, 14*).

(*On May 20—P.M. p. 161*)

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier,
F. Pierre Pijart,
F. Pierre Chastelain,
F. Charles Garnier,
F. Isaac Jogues, at *Ihonatiria* or St. Joseph I.
Hired Men as at close of 1636.

On April 13, some of the hired men had occasion to undertake a journey to the Petuns and asked Father de Brébeuf, the Superior to accompany them. His trip though of short duration was not without consoling results. He was back about April 18 (*Rel. 1637, 2 col.*).

Ossossané, A New Mission Centre.

On May 17, Father Brébeuf submitted to the chief of Ossossanë his project of opening a new mission centre in that village.

The latter not only consented but agreed to build the missionary cabin. In consequence Father Pierre Pijart was sent there without delay with two hired men to superintend the work (*Rel. 1637, p. 168, 1 col.*), and from what he says (*Id. ib. 2 col.*) no other missionary was with him.

Father Le Mercier at *Ihonatiria* received a letter from him on June 4, reporting progress, and Le Mercier incidentally lets us know that the departure of the Huron flotilla for Quebec was again postponed for some days (*Id. p. 167, 2 col.*).

On June 7, the same Father received a second letter from Pijart informing him that he, Father Pijart, had on the 5th of that month offered up the first Mass in the new Residence of "La Conception de Notre Dame" (*Id. p. 171, 1 col.*), and adds "as I am writing this (the letter is dated June 7, 1637) there are only ten strips of bark (*dix écorces*) to put in place to finish the cabin; they have gone to get them, and this evening the work will be over" (*Id. ib. 2 col.*).

There is a postscript to Father Brébeuf's letter of May 20, which was quoted above, it bears the supplementary date of June 16, and runs thus: "Since writing my letter the new Residence of the Immaculate Conception [*Ossossanë* has been established, and we began to occupy it on the feast of the SS. Prime and Felician, Martyrs, June 9" (*P. M. p. 161*). of course in the body of the letter he had already referred to the new domicile: "At present (May 20) we are establishing a new residence in the village which we called La Rochelle and the Indians Ossossané" (*P. M. p. 160*).

"The 9th (June) our cabin at *Ossossané* being completely finished, forty or fifty Indians, men and women, came here to *Ihonatiria* to fetch our grain and our few little pieces of furniture. The Captains were of the party (*Rel. 1637, p. 177, 2 col. p. 178, 1 col.*)

On June 16, Father Garnier was already at *Ossossanë*, *Pierre* Chastelain remaining at *Ihonatiria* (*Rel. 1637, p. 178, 1 col.*), while François Joseph Le Mercier was on the point of relieving Pierre Pijart at *Ossossanë* so as to enable him to return to *Ihonatiria* and prepare for his journey to Quebec, whither Father Brébeuf was sending him to confer orally with Father Paul Le Jeune, superior of the Canada Missions (*Id. ib. 2 col.*).

Departure.

Father Pierre Pijart took his departure towards the latter part of June (*Rel. 1637, p. 178, 2 col. and p. 179, 2 col. conjunctim*) and reached Three Rivers August 2 (*Id. p. 87, 2 col.*). It would appear from the Relation (*1637, p. 22, 1 col.*) that he was at Quebec on August 6. He is again mentioned in conjunction with Father Raymbault on the same page (*2 col.*) as is also the departure of the Hurons from Three Rivers under the date of August 16. Turning to page 92 (*1 col.*) of the same Relation we find this date corroborated: "The 16th of this same month of August, Father Pierre Pijart, who had come down from the country of the Hurons to see us.....re-embarked in an Indian canoe to return to those regions."

He took with him the little Huron Christian *Aïandacé* (*Id. p. 69, 2 col.*)

Arrivals.

Father Paul Ragueneau left Quebec for Three Rivers on his way up to the Huron Country on July 19, 1637 (*Rel. 1637, p. 87, 1 col.; Cf. Id. p. 67, 1 col.*). On August 8, a few lines from him were received at Three Rivers; he was then well on his way (*Id. p. 90, 2 col.*). September 1 was the date of his reaching the mission, for on that day the arrival of a missionary is recorded, and four lines below mention is made, of another who had come up again (*remonté*) (*Rel. 1638, p. 57, 2 col.*). Father Ragueneau was the only new arrival in 1637, and Pierre Pijart was the only Father who could have returned, so that though they are not named in the passage there can be question of them only.

There is a dateless letter of Father Charles Garnier to his father written evidently from *Ossossanë* (since in it he states that he was then in La Rochelle) which must find its place here. To determine approximately its date it must be remembered that Le Mercier speaks of Garnier as being at *Ossossanë June 16* (*Rel. 1637, p. 178, 1 col.*). He himself, in a letter to his brother Henry, April 28, 1638, writes as follows: "I must tell you how the time was spent since I wrote to you last year. I was at that time still at the little Village of *Ihonatiria*. I came here [*i.e. to Ossossanë*] some few days (*quelques jours*) after the feast of Corpus Christi. This town where I am stationed was named by the French La Rochelle, for formerly it [i.e. one of its former sites] was perched on a bluff (*Montagne*) encircled by a moat of natural formation. There are forty Indian lodges, and ours bears the name of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady" (*C.G.-LL, Contemp. copy p. 46; Recent c. p. 38*).

There can be no question, judging by its contents, as to the year in which the letter was written, it was 1637. Now, the feast of Corpus Christi, which is always kept on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday, in 1637 fell on June 11, so that Garnier took up his abode at *Ossossanë* "quelques jours" after June 11; or to be a little more precise, between June 13 and June 16, at which latter date Le Mercier says he was there.

The letter, however, was indited some months later, for in it we are told that Ragueneau was an inmate of the same Residence, but the latter Father, as we have seen, set foot in Huronia as late as September 1, 1637. Consequently the information contained in the missive relates to a season when all the annual changes had taken place, I mean the comings and goings to and from the Huron

Mission. Hence also it may be used with advantage in determining the missionary staff of the two Residences. As Garnier mentions only the missionaries stationed at *Ossossanë* we may freely conclude that those not mentioned were at *Ihonatiria*. Here are his own words: "Since the date of my letter of last year [which is wanting] or thereabouts, I am living in this town styled by the French, La Rochelle. It counts fifty lodges and the Indians show us much affection. I am here with three others of Ours, namely Reverend Father Brébeuf, our superior, Father Mercier (sic) and Father Ragueneau, who had the satisfaction of seeing you [Father Garnier's father] before his departure, and was the bearer of reliable news from you, which was very comforting" (*C.G.-LL, Contemp. Cop. p. 26*; *Recent. c. p. 25*). The Father gives us no information as to the whereabouts of the hired men.

(After the beginning of September)

Ossossanë, or La Conception.

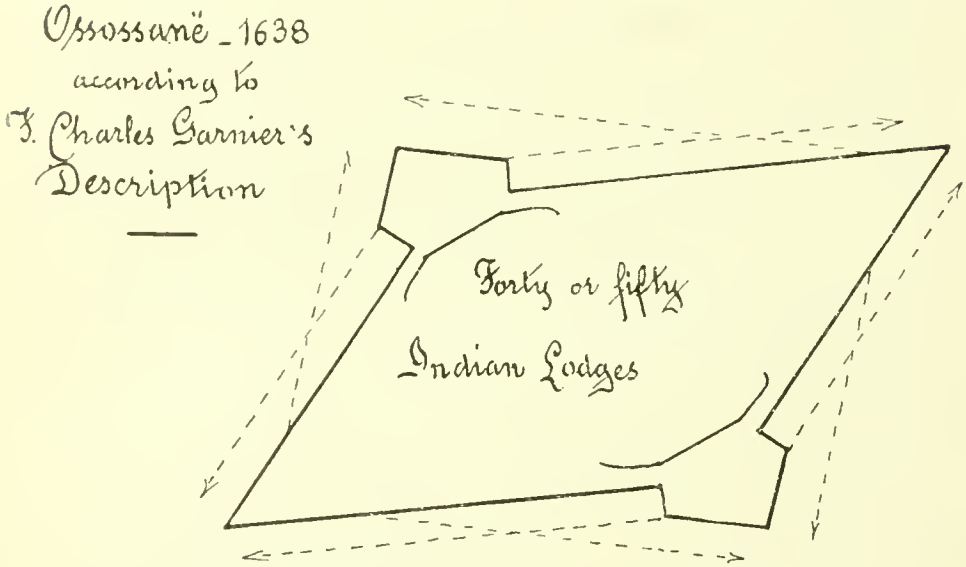
R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, superior,
F. François Le Mercier,
F. Charles Garnier,
F. Paul Ragueneau.

Ihonatiria, or St. Joseph I. *Abandoned in June, 1638.*

F. Pierre Chastelain,
F. Pierre Pijart,
F. Isaac Jogues, was for a short time at *Ossossanë* (*C.G.-LL. contemp. cop. p. 46*; *Rec. cop. p. 33.*)
Simon Baron, hired man,
Dominique——, hired man,
François Petit-Pré, hired man,
Mathurin——, hired man.

One of these four hired men returned to Quebec June 18 or 19, but which one it was is not easily ascertained for no name is given. Le Mercier's Relation of 1637 bears the date of that year, and that of June 21. Towards the close he says (*p. 178, 2 col.*): ".....l'embarquement presse, il y a deux iours qu'vn de nos domestiques est parti." He may, however, have come up again in the autumn on the return of the Hurons, or perhaps he was the same man (*un de nos hommes*) who came up with Father Le Moyne in 1638 (*P.M. p. 169*).

Though somewhat of a digression, I cannot here resist the temptation of again quoting from Garnier's letter (1637) to his father what concerns *Ossossanë*, the seat of the new Residence: "You must know that we are here living in a fortress which has not its like in France. We are encircled by a wall quite different from that of the Bastille. Yesterday they completed one of its towers. We stand less in dread of Spanish Cannons than you do in Paris. But I am afraid some sharp fellow will be ready to tell you that it is because cannon can scarcely be brought nearer here than some three hundred leagues, and that our ramparts consist of an enclosure of posts ten or twelve feet high and half a foot



thick, and that our tower is made up of some thirty odd posts planted at one angle* of the ramparts so as to command two of the sides of the enclosure, and that another will be built to defend the other two. It will be enough to put you on your guard against such spies if I tell you that our Hurons are in admiration over our fortifications, and imagine that those in France are modelled on about the same pattern. You see there how different their ideas and opinions are from ours. This is why I have gained much by leaving France where you were always twitting me for not having any beard, for the Indians, on that very account, think me handsome." (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. Cop. p. 29; Rec. Cop. p. 26*).

*See also R. 1636, p. 86, 1 Col.

1638

For the *status* of the first six months of 1638 we must again have recourse to Father Charles Garnier's letter. By the one dated from the "Residence of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady of La Rochelle "April 28, 1638 we are put in possession of all the information we had concerning the missionaries themselves: "We are here [at Ossossanë] four members of the Society, to wit: Reverend Father Brébeuf, superior in this country of the Hurons, F. Mercier (sic), F. Ragueneau and myself. Father Pijart has been staying at the Residence of St. Joseph [1.] at *Ihonatiria* with F. Chastelain and F. Jogues. We are on the point of removing, with the help of God, the said Residence of St. Joseph to the largest town of the Hurons named *Teanaustayae*, the village of *Ihonatiria* being now completely ruined. As for me, since I came here last year my occupation has been to visit all day long the cabins of this town, to find out who are sick, and to instruct and baptize them. Father Mercier (sic) also devoted a good part of his day to this work as well as Father Jogues while he was still with us, but he left us [i.e. at *Ossossanë*] when the canoes returned from Quebec, etc." (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 46; Rec. cop. p 38.*)

(From April 28.)

Ossossanë, or La Conception.

R. F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup.,
F. François Le Mercier,
F. Paul Ragueneau,
F. Charles Garnier.

Ihonatiria, or St. Joseph I.

F. Pierre Pijart,
F. Pierre Chastelain,
F. Isaac Jogues.

Hired Men, see close of 1637.

Departure.

Father Pierre Pijart, purveyor of the Huron Mission, leaves again for the lower country early in June, 1638 (*Rel. 1638, p. 59, 1, 2 col.*). He was absent all winter and the following summer.

Arrival.

Father Antoine Daniel, absent from the Mission since July 22, 1636, returned sometime between April 28, 1638 (date of F. Charles Garnier's letter already quoted, wherein the writer gives the names of all the Fathers then present, but omits that of F. Daniel) and August 26 (date of Father Jérôme Lalemant's arrival, who mentions F. Daniel in the list of Fathers then in Huronia). Had Daniel started from below at the very opening of navigation he could scarcely have reached the Mission before the middle of June.

New Residence at Teanaostaiaë, St. Joseph II.

"At last we are about to transfer the Residence of St. Joseph, which is still at *Ihonatiria* [St. Joseph I.] to another finer and larger town [i.e. *Teanaostaiaë*, or St. Joseph II.]. It is, as it were, the capital of a clan (*nation*) closely allied to that of the Bear, our best friends." This is from Father François Lemercier (*Rel. 1638, p. 59, 1 col.*), the date of the writing is June 9, 1638 (*Id. ib. 2 col.*), and we have just cited above what Garnier says on the same subject.

A retrospect in Relation 1639 (*p. 66, 1 col.*) puts the whole question of the change clearly and in small compass: "once we had made up our minds to abandon the dwelling of *Ihonatiria* because it was depopulated, the bulk of its inhabitants having been carried off by the contagion or dispersed.....we were not long in deciding where it was most advisable to go. The town of *Teanaostaiaë* was the most considerable throughout the country, consequently, if once it was won over to God the result would be that all the rest would receive a vehement impulse towards conversion.....Relying therefore on God only, Father Jean de Brébeuf betook himself to that town, conferred with the individual inhabitants, then with the Council, and managed so well that he captivated both. Thus, it took them but a little while to come to the determination of receiving us into their town, and of making over to us a lodge. This purpose was carried out. The first Mass was said there June 25 to the great satisfaction of our Fathers, who could scarcely credit what they saw so much did this town but so short a time before hold us in abomination." (*Rel. 1639, p. 66, 1, 2 col.: See also P.M. p. 160*).

More Arrivals.

Father Jérôme Lalemant left Three Rivers for Huronia about the end of July (*Rel. 1638, p. 30, 1 col*). This part of the Relation is dated from Three Rivers, August 25 (*Id. p. 32, 2 col.*) and

speaks of him as having gone, and as having written a letter while on the way from which citations are given. He arrived at his destination on August 26, 1638. "I found," he says, "seven Fathers occupying two Residences in the two most important towns [*Ossossanë* and *Teanaostaiaë*]; I made the eighth, and about a month later Father Simon Le Moyne and Father François Du Peron arrived and swelled the number to ten." (*Rel. 1639, p. 52, 2 col.*). He then proceeds to give the names of the missionaries as recorded below. (*Id. p. 53, 1 col.*).

Father François Du Peron set out for the Hurons from Three Rivers September 4, 1638 (*P.M. p. 168*). He picked up on the way Father Simon Le Moyne, whose Huron escort had fallen short of provisions, and with Father Le Moyne was one of the hired men (*Id. p. 169*). The latter Father had started before Father Du Peron (*Id. p. 168*). Du Peron landed in Huronia at midnight on the feast of St. Michael [September 29] (Id. ib.); elsewhere he says at one in the morning of September 29 (*Id. p. 175*), the "midnight," consequently must refer to the eve of the feast.

The exact date of Father Simon Le Moyne's leaving the lower country is not given (*Rel. 1638, p. 30, 2 col.*), but as stated above it was previous to Du Peron's. Left behind by his party of Indians, with one of the hired men they lived for a fortnight on what game the latter could bag, until relieved by Father Du Peron's band (P.M. p. 169). He landed about the same time as his rescuer (*Rel. 1639, p. 53, 1 col.*), but to all appearances not with him. (*P.M. pp. 174, 175.*)

Father Jérôme Lalemant, after remarking that "six (missionaries) remained for the greater part of the time at *Ossossanë* and four at *Teanaostaiaë*" (*Rel. 1639, p. 53, 1 col.*), furnishes us with the list and gives the Huron name of each Father.

(After September)

Ossossanë, or Immaculate Conception. *Established June 9, 1637.*

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, sup.*..... *Achiendassé,*
F. François Le Mercier..... *Chaüosé,*
F. Antoine Daniel ..... *AnSennen,*
F. Pierre Chastelain..... *Arioo,*
F. Charles Garnier ..... *Saracha,*
F. François Du Peron..... *Innonchiara.*
(F. Simon Le Moyne)**

* Lalemant Superior of the Huron Mission, see Extr-Lar. 1638, 1639, etc., pp. 5, 6; and Extr-Mar. p. 6; cf. also P.M. p. 168.

** His autograph letter, May 25, 1639.

Teanaostaiaë, or St. Joseph II. *Established in June, 1638.*

F. Jean de Brebeuf ..... *Echon.*
F. Isaac Jogues ..... *Ondessone*
F. Paul Ragueneau ..... *Aondecheté*
F. Simon Le Moyne ..... *Sane*

Simon Baron, hired man
Dominique——, hired man
François Petit-Pré, hired man
Mathurin——, hired man.
Robert Le Coq*, hired man
A Boy†

} In one or the other of the Two Residences.

The chapel built at *Ossossanë* this year was the first edifice of any architectural pretensions attempted so far in Huronia. It was not quite completed when a number of the *Senrohronons*, a tribe previously amalgamated with the Neutrals but who in 1638 were incorporated with the Hurons Proper (*Rel. 1639, pp. 59-61*), were solemnly baptized therein (*Id. ib. p. 61, 2 col.*). This event took place at the titular feast of the Chapel, December 8 (*Id. ib. p. 61, 1 col.*). On the Sunday following, December 12, François Du Peron offered up the first Mass said in the new edifice. "The chapel," he writes, April 27, 1639, "is a very handsome frame building, almost identical in style and size with our chapel of St. Julian" (*P.M. p. 183*). From a passage in Relation 1639 (*p. 62, 1 col.*) it would appear that it stood at a little distance from the town, or at least on the outskirts.

The domestic servants and other seculars, present this year in Huronia, are credited with having contributed much by their exemplary life to the good impression produced on the Indians, resulting in the conversion of not a few. (*Rel. 1639, p. 63, 2 col., p. 64, 1 col.*).

1639

(R. F. Barthélemy Vimont, Superior General of Canada Mission, at Quebec, 1639-1645)

Father François Du Peron, writing from *Ossossanë* under date of April 27, 1639, says: "We number here ten members of the Society in two Residences, one La Conception de notre Dame [*Ossossanë*], the other that of St. Joseph (II.) *Teanaostaiaë*, which lie five or six leagues apart" (*P.M. p. 172*). This letter

* See further on, in 1639, his trips to and fro discussed.

† Possibly Jean Amyot or Amiot, who with young François Marguerie was drowned in 1648 near Three Rivers (*Rel. 1648, p. 3, 2 col.*). He had spent his boyhood at Ste. Marie I. the Relation tells us (*Id. ib. p. 4, 1 col.*). He was buried at St. Joseph of Sillery (*Journ. des Jes. p. 109 and Rel. 1648, p. 4, 2 col. conjunction*).

being dated in April, and being written before any new missionaries could even start from Quebec on their way up, gives the number of the Fathers who were present in Huronia the previous autumn and throughout the winter months. It is in agreement with the *status* as it appeared at the close of 1638.

It will not be out of place to say a word here about the hired men and the *donnés*. Those of my readers who would understand in what relation they stood to the missionaries could not do better than consult the "*Mémoire touchant les Domestiques..... qui se donnent à nostre compagnie aux Hurons*," published, I think, for the first time and with a translation, in Volume 21 of Thwaites' Cleveland edition of the Relations (*pp. 292-307*). But to what I now wish to draw attention is the utter impossibility of following their different movements, or of determining to what particular mission they were individually attached while among the Hurons. It may, however, be taken as certain that, as a body, their ordinary domicile was at Ste. Marie from its very inception in 1639 until the final dispersion of the Hurons. But in emergencies, no doubt, they lent a helping hand in this or that missionary centre, for a longer or shorter time, according to the need.

Those supposed to be present early in 1639 were all hired men or boys, there were as yet no *donnés;* and, as well as I have been able to ascertain, their names and avocations are as subjoined. Still it must be borne in mind that they were expected to turn their hand to anything outside their usual employment when necessity required it.

Simon Baron, chirurgus (*Rel. 1637, p. 125, 2 col.*; *p. 139, 2 col.; p. 146, 1 col.*)
Dominique, ad omnia (*Ext-Lar. p. 6.*)
François Petit-Pré, venator (*Rel. 1637, p. 121, 1 col.*; *p. 124, 2 col.*)
Mathurin, ad domestica,
Robert Le Coq, negotiator (*Ext-Lar. p. 6*)

Le Coq was present in Huronia in 1639. The Relation of 1640 tells us, as if incidentally without precise indication of the date, that on his way up from Quebec he was stricken with the small-pox, and in that wretched plight abandoned by all his Huron companions save two (*p. 56, 1, 2 col.*); that later, despoiled of all his belongings,. he was left alone to die on a barren rock on the shores of Lake Huron (*p. 57, 1, 2 col.*); that even an Indian, for whom Le Coq had proved a good samaritan in a similar juncture, treated him at first with but little more consideration than the others (*p. 58, 2 col.*); but that eventually the Indian, with the help

of a companion, after many perilous adventures, but not without having first filched from the sick man a small parcel-consigned to the Fathers, landed him all but dead before the door of the missionaries. Now the expression used here in the narrative, if translated literally, does not make idiomatic English: "ils aborderent au pied de nostre maison" (*Id. ib. p. 59, 1 col.*), "they landed at the foot of our house." We should say "they landed at the very threshold of our house," though we do say "at the foot of a tree," "at the foot of the wall."

This house could have been no other than Ste. Marie I., for to it alone is the expression applicable. Built near *Tsirargi* Lake, on the eastern bank of the River Wye, a little canal or slip which is quite visible to the present day, had been dug out bringing the waters of the stream to the very threshold, and enabling the canoes to enter the enclosure, and to set down their passengers or freight at the very door. But Ste. Marie I. was just reaching completion in 1639: a few Fathers began to occupy Ste. Marie that summer (*Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.*), therefore Robert Le Coq's arrival, under the circumstances as rehearsed above, took place at the earliest in 1639.

To corroborate what precedes, and at the same time to show that Le Coq, stricken with the small-pox, did not arrive later, allow me to quote another passage from the same Relation containing the self-same expression: "Ce fut au retour du voyage que les Hurons auoient fait à Kébec, qu'elle [i.e. the small-pox, see *Id. ib. p. 52, 1 col.*] se mit dans le pays.....Le premier Huron qui l'apporta vint aborder aù pied de nostre maison nouuellement bastie" (*p. 54, 2 col.*).

Ste. Marie I. was the only Residence of the Fathers "newly erected" at whose threshold it was possible "to land" (*aborder*). It follows that the year in question was 1639, the year the terrible contagion began its ravages in Huronia.

Now that this point is settled, reverting to the same account of Le Coq's trials and sufferings, we can determine what year is meant in the following phrase: "Il y auoit vn an que retournant du mesme voyage il auoit rencontré à cinq ou six iournées au deçà des Trois Riuieres vn pauure barbare Huron, delaissé par ses compagnons pour vn mesme suiet de maladie, etc." (Rel. 1640, p. 58, 2 col.). This occurred a year before Le Coq's sickness, consequently in 1638. And as it is said "retournant du mesme voyage" it follows, of course, that he was present in 1638 after this return, and that earlier in the same or in a previous year he had gone down to Quebec, and when he tended the sick Indian he was on his way back in 1638.

So that from his first journey up from Quebec, in 1634 with Father Jean de Brébeuf (*Rel. 1635, p. 28, 1 col.*) he was nearly always on the move, and for that matter will continue flitting to and fro between the outposts of civilization and the home of the Huron until the final disaster. Nor could it be expected to be otherwise, for he was the *negotiator* or business man of the Mission, carrying messages to headquarters in the years when no one of the Fathers could be spared from his post, and overseeing the despatch of supplies and their transportation to the heart of the wilderness on the shores of the inland seas.

This year of 1639 was one of special note for Robert Le Coq. On December 23 he made his self-donation to the Society, pledging himself to serve the interests of the Huron Mission in particular (*Rel. Clev. edit. Vol. 21, p. 304*), becoming thus the first *donné*, the leader, as it were, of that devoted band of secular assistants, who, besides rendering the ordinary services of a lay-brother in religion, could bear arms and engage in the hunt for the sustenance of those otherwise employed. All they asked in return was food and raiment, care in sickness and a sheltering home in their declining years.

Le Coq remained ever faithful to the end, and it was only the year after the total overthrow of the Hurons and their final dispersion that, after having run many risks year after year, he was slain by the Iroqois in one of their raids near Three Rivers on August 20, 1650. This same spirit of self-sacrifice and devotedness which animated Le Coq was the characteristic of the other servants who, by their exemplary conduct and persevering efforts to forward the interests of the Mission, had been from time to time admitted as *donnés*.

Ste. Marie I.

New Permanent Central Residence.

The new Superior, F. Jérôme Lalemant, concluded to adopt a system of concentration, and establish a permanent central Residence, quite independent of, and remote from any existing village; and thence to send the Fathers out on flying missions to the several Indian towns. Later on, Residences might be allotted to the more distant Christian centres. The whole country was divided into five Missions:—

I. Ste. Marie I., with general Residence and Church (later on it was endowed with a hospice and hospital) for the whole of Huronia. Moreover it was to be the local centre of the mission

for the *Atoronchrons*,* (or Nation beyond the morass, or silted lake).

II. St. Joseph II., at *Teanaostaiaë*, for the *Attinquenongnahac* (or Nation of the Cord).†

III. La Conception, at *Ossossanë*, for the *Attignaouentan*, (or Nation of the Bear).†

IV. St. Jean-Baptiste [at *Cahiagué, Cf. Champl. 518*, for the *Ahrendaronons* (or Nation of The Rock).†

These four belonging to Huronia Proper, and a fifth named that of

V. The Apostles, among the Petun or Tobacco Tribe, for the *Khionontaterons*. (See derivation given in Part I.) (*Rel. 1640, p. 61, 2 col.*)

The Fathers began to occupy Ste. Marie I. in the summer of 1639 (*Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.*); but even when F. Chaumonot arrived, Sept. 10, 1639, the two Residences of *Ossossanë* and St. Joseph II. were not yet closed (*P.M. p. 198*), though the new Residence of Ste. Marie was opened, since he says the Fathers were assigned to three Residences.

Arrivals.

F. Pierre Pijart, on his return from the lower country, after having been absent since June, 1638 (*Rel. 1638, p. 59, 1, 2 col.*) was the first to arrive this year. That he arrived before F. Chaumonot is certain, for the latter states that, on Sept. 10, he found *eleven* Fathers on the mission, distributed in three Residences (*P.M. pp. 195, 198*). Now, at the closing of navigaton in 1638, there were but ten Fathers in Huronia. F. Pierre Pijart, who is mentioned later on as being in Huronia in 1639 (*Rel. 1640, p. 72, 2 col.*) would make eleven, and with FF. Chaumonot and Poncet, coming after, and being the only other arrivals would form the complement for the year.

* As far as my investigations go, no meaning has ever been suggested, either in the Relations or elsewhere, for this appellation. It is compounded of *Atara*, mud, slime, silt, ooze, mire (*Radices Huronicæ, Potier, 1751, p. 293, 2 col.*); *Aron*, in the way, lying across simply, or as an obstacle (*Id. p. 188, No. 46*); *Chi*, beyond (*Elementa Grammaticæ Huronicæ, Potier, 1745, p. 91*); and *Ronon*, the termination of "Nomina Nationalia." *Atara-aron-chi-ronon*, which in strict accordance with the rules for compounding words (*Elem. Gram. Hur. 1745, p. 66*) becomes *Atoronchronon*, the nation beyond the intervening fen, or mud-bottom-lake.

Directions for the use of *-ronon*, which is to be found only in composition, are given by Potier (*Elem. Gram. Hur., 1745, p. 65, No. 7*): "*nationalia formantur a nomine proprio addendo ronnon. V.G.*: *Etiorhenchronon*, the English, i.e. Dwellers in the East, etc."

† (*See Rel. 1657, p. 20, 2 col.*)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot, who landed from France on August 1, 1639, started for the Hurons eight days after, on August 9, (*P.M. p. 197*) in company with F. Joseph Antoine Poncet (de la Rivière) (*Id. p. 198*), though four days after they were forced to separate and travel in different canoes (*Id. ib.*). He took thirty days for the upward trip (*Id. p. 198*), and reached his destination, Ste. Marie, on Sept. 10, 1639 (*Id. p. 195*). *Tsirargi*, he lets us know, was the name of the lake near the Residence. (*Autob. pp. 46, 47.*)

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet de La Rivière, better known as Joseph Poncet, set out for the Huron Mission with F. Chaumonot (*P.M. p. 198*) on Aug. 9 (*Id. p. 197*), and arrived Sept. 12, 1639 (*Id. p. 198*).

Residence Withdrawn from Ossossanë.

In the middle of autumn (1639), the Residence of La Conception, or *Ossossanë* was transferred to Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.*). The chapel was left in care of a zealous Christian Joseph Chihouatenhoua (*Id. p. 88, 1 col.*; *Cf. Rel. 1641, p. 65, 2 col.*).

"At the beginning of October, 1639, we numbered here among these savages twenty-seven Frenchmen, including our thirteen Fathers." (*Rel. 1640, p. 52, 1 col.*).

At this date Huronia was sparsely peopled. There were but 32 towns or villages, and they were changed about from site to site every seven years." (*Autob. p. 54*). In the five missions there were 32 "*tant bourgs que bourgader,*" or 700 lodges, with 2,000 fires or about 12,000 souls; Huronia was much less densely settled than formerly. (*Rel. 1640, p. 62, 1 col.*)

The Five Missions of Huronia in 1639;

Four for the Hurons Proper—One for the Petun Nation.

I. STE. MARIE I.

General Residence Ste. Marie, Titular of Church, St. Joseph.

(*Rel. 1640, p. 63, 1 col.*; *p. 64, 2 col.*)

Mission (local) Ste. Marie (*Id. p. 70, 1 col.*)

1. Ste. Anne, 2. St. Louis, 3. St. Denis, 4. St. Jean (*Rel. 1640, p. 70, 1 col.*)

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Sup. of Huron Mission—

F. François Le Mercier, { Went down to Quebec and returned in the same season, 1639. (*Rel. 1640, p. 87, 1 col.*; *p. 86, 2 col.*; *p. 85, 2 col.*)

F. Pierre Pijart,

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet.

II. ST. JOSEPH II., AT TEANAOSTAIAE.

(*Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.*)

(The Residence was not withrawn till the spring of 1640. *Rel. 1640, p. 63, 2 col.*)

(1. St. Michel, 2. St. Ignace I., *Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.*; *p. 78, 1 col.*)

F. Jean de Brébeuf, Sup. of the Resid. (*Rel. 1640, p. 75, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.*†)

F. Pierre Chastelain *Rel. 1640, p. 73, 1 col.*†

III. LA CONCEPTION AT OSSOSSANE.

(*Rel. 1640, p. 78, 1 col.*)

(1. St. Xavier, 2. St. Charles, 3. Ste. Agnès, 4. Ste. Madeleine [*arenta*], 5. Ste. Geneviève, 6. St. Martin, 7. St. Antoine, 8. Ste. Cécile, 9. Ste. Catherine, 10. Ste. Térèse, 11. Ste. Barbe, 12. St. Etienne.

F. Paul Ragueneau, } (*Rel. 1640, p. 78, 1 col.*)
F. François Du Peron, }

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot, (Till the end of winter, 1639. *Autob. p. 66.*)

F. Simon Le Moyne, { An autograph letter to his cousin, May 25, 1639, from *Ossossanë* shows he was stationed at La Conception until that date at least.

Two Fathers only had charge of this mission (*Rel. 1640, p. 84, 2 col.*). F. Ragueneau was in command, while Fathers Du Peron and Chaumonot were his assistants, not simultaneously but in turn (*Id. p. 78, 1 col.*). The Residence had been suppressed, but the town continued to be cared for as a mission (*Id. ib.*). F. Chaumonot almost from his first arrival in Huronia was stationed at *Ossossanë* where during the winter of 1639, he was engaged

†These two Fathers during this year . . . "ont le plus ordinairement cultiué cette vigne" (*Id. l.c.*).

with F. Ragueneau in visiting, throughout the country, those stricken down by the contagion (*Autob. p. 64*; *Rel. 1640, p. 78, 2 col. and pp. ss.*). In the opening months of 1640 (probably in March), he was assigned as assistant to F. Daniel in the new mission of St. Jean Baptiste (*Autob. p. 66*; *Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col.*), where hitherto he (Father Daniel) and Father Simon Le Moyne were labouring (*Rel. 1640, ib.*).

IV. ST. JEAN-BAPTISTE (*Rel. 1640, p. 90, 1 col.*) at CAHIAGUE (*Champl. p. 518.*)

Mission of the *Arendaronons*, undertaken in the autumn of this year 1639.

(1. St. Joachim, 2. Ste. Elizabeth (*Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col.*; *p. 94, 2 col.*).

F. Antoine Daniel } At the date of his death, July 4, 1648, he had passed more than nine years in the frontier towns [i.e. St. Joseph II., and St. Jean-Baptiste, *R. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*].
F. Simon Le Moyne } (*Rel. 1640, 90, 2.*)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot. From the beginning of early spring 1640, *Autob. p. 66*, to November 2, 1640—*Rel. 1641, p. 74, 2 col.*

Father Simon Le Moyne, however, was still actively engaged in the ministry at La Conception, on May 25, 1639, as his autograph letter to his cousin at that date attests.

V. THE APOSTLES, IN THE PETUN OR TOBACCO COUNTRY.

(*Rel. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*).

(1. SS. Pierre et Paul, 2. St. André, 3. St. Jacques, 4. St. Thomas, 5. St. Jean, 6. St. Jacques, 7. St. Philippe, 8. St. Barthélemy, 9. St. Matthieu, 10. SS. Simon et Jude, Id. ib.)

F. Charles Garnier } (*Rel. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*; *C.G.-LL. p. 83.*)
F. Isaac Jogues }

On All Saints (November 1, 1639), the Fathers dispersed to go to their several Missions. (*Rel. 1640, p. 61, 2 col.*)

RESIDENCE WITHDRAWN FROM ST. JOSEPH II.

Having resolved to merge the two Residences of *Ossossanë* and *Teanaostaiaë* (*Rel. 1640, p. 63, 1 col.*) into one, so that the Fathers should not be obliged to move from place to place in after years, as did the Hurons with their villages, the first change they made began in the summer of this year 1639, with the transfer to Ste. Marie I. of some of the Missionaries. In the autumn following, the Residence was withdrawn from *Ossossanë*. And then, in the spring of 1640, that of *Teanaostaiaé* or St. Joseph II. was closed. After 1639 there existed but one house or permanent *Residence* in all Huronia, that of Ste. Marie I. It was from this their base that the Fathers sallied forth on their flying missions to the various Indian villages. Their stay might be longer or shorter, as circumstances demanded, but their permanent abode was Ste. Marie I. (*Id. 63, 2*).

1640

"Of the number of Fathers who were with us among the Hurons at the date of the last Relation [that from the Hurons was dated May 27, 1640, see Rel. 1640, p. 53, 1 col.] two, Father Paul Ragueneau and Father Joseph Poncet, went down to Quebec last summer to spend the winter there; and towards the beginning of autumn [1640] Father Claude Pijart and Father Charles Raymbault came here for the Algonquin speaking [Indians], which made up the same number of *thirteen Fathers* we were last year" (*Rel. 1641, p. 62, 1 col.*). The date of this part of the Relation is "From the permanent Residence of Ste. Marie [I.] among the Hurons, this May 19, 1641." (*Id. 60, 1*).

Father Jérôme Lalemant wrote to the General at Rome, under date of April 25, 1641: "Versati sumus in hac barbarie Galli triginta in unum collecti, patres tredecim, coadjutor (a lay-brother) unus, et domestici qui se nobis ad vitam dederuat (the donnés) septem, reliqui famuli communes. Pax inter omnes summa..... Septem habuimus missiones; duas novas ad gents novas, harum una ad meridiem versus est animarum 12,000, quibus tamen omnibus hoc anno Evangelium prædicari non potuit. Verum omnium in his septem missionibus, ad quorum aures Evangelium pervenerit, numerus est animarum plus 15,000. etc." (*MS. LL. ad Gen. p. 23*).

At the date May 1, 1640, F. Ragueneau writes from the Huron Mission to the General that while on mission in the *five principal towns*, the Fathers go two by two; they have no white attendant either man or boy; they live under the same roof with the

savages, use the same fire, partake of the common food, not meat but polenta usually, etc. He states also that a mission had been set on foot for the Algonquins, who lead a wandering life; and that the Fathers gather three or four times a year at Ste. Marie I. (*LL. ad Gen. p. 33.*)

F. Garnier writes to his brother Henri, from Ste. Marie I., June 25, 1641, that there were then in the Huron Mission *thirteen* Fathers, with F. Jérôme Lalemant their Superior, and he gives a list of their names. Fathers Raymbault and Claude Pijart had come up from Quebec the preceding year [1640] to take charge of the Algonquins. Seven Fathers, whom he names, were through the winter distributed in six missions. Fathers Brébeuf and Chaumonot had been sent to the Neutrals, as a first attempt to evangelize them. There were forty Neutral villages, the nearest six days' journey from Huronia, etc. (*C.G.-L.L p. 45*).

Departures.

F. Paul Ragueneau, left after August 2, 1640 (*Rel. 1641, p. 62, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1640, p. 103, 2 col.*), to spend the winter at Quebec. Towards the end of April, 1641, he was at Three Rivers negotiating with certain Iroquois envoys. (*Rel. 1641, p. 41, 1 col.*).

Father Joseph Antoine Poncet de La Rivière left also after August 2, 1640 (*Rel. 1641, p. 62, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1640, p. 103, 2 col.*). Several years passed before his return to Huronia. He was stationed in Montreal in 1643 (*Extr-Lar. p. 11*) and was probably there also in 1644.

Arrivals.

F. Claude Pijart, set out for the country of the Nipisiriniens from Three Rivers (*Rel. 1641, p. 58, 1 col.*). During the winter [1640-1641] the missionaries to this tribe remained among the Hurons [at Ste. Marie I.], leaving on May 8, 1641, for the haunts of those nomadic Indians, the Nipissings (*Id. p. 58, 2 col.*). Father Garnier's letter, June 25, 1641, makes it clear that F. Claude Pijart and his companion joined the Fathers in the Huron Mission in 1640, as he says they arrived last year (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 55*; *Rec. cop. p. 45*). Moreover, F. Jérôme Lalemant adds that they came towards the beginning of autumn (*Rel. 1641, p. 62, 1 col.*; *cf. also C.G.-LL. Id. ib.*).

F. Charles Raymbault, as much as the Indian mode of travel would allow, journeyed with F. Claude Pijart. What is said above of the latter applies equally to him. Leaving Three Rivers

together they should have reached their destination about the same time.

In the abstract of a letter of Father Jean de Quen to the General, written from St. Joseph de Sillery, near Quebec, under date, according to the *Extr-Larch (p. 63)* of Sept. 1, 1640, and according to *LL. ad Gen. (p. 21)*, of Aug. 1, 1640, it is stated that in the Huron Mission there were twelve Fathers and one Brother in one Residence. This is the first mention of a lay-brother in the mission. Though Father de Quen is not quite accurate, as to the number of Fathers, he in this particular (of a coadjutor Brother being present) agrees with what is stated in Father Jérôme Lalemant's letter of April 25, 1641. Brother Dominique Scot, whose name appears later on in 1642 is not mentioned among those present in 1640. While Father Jérôme Lalemant, at the date of April 1, 1640, states that the full number of Europeans in Huronia was twenty-seven, which number is complete without the Brother's names being added. (*LL. ad Gen. p. 21*). So that the lay-brother spoken of must have arrived in Huronia either late in the autumn of 1640 or in the summer of 1641. He could have been no other than Brother Dominique Scot, as he was the first among the coadjutor or lay-brothers to be sent to the Huron Mission.

RESIDENCE OF STE. MARIE I.

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Hieronymus Lalemant, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min. proc.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, oper.
Pater Isaac Jogues, oper.
Pater Joannes de Brébeuf, adm., præf. spir. et eccl., conf. N.N.
Pater Josephus Antonius Poncet, ædit. (until his departure in August.)
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Paulus Ragueneau, oper. (until his departure in August.)
Pater Petrus Chastelain, conf. domest. et N.N.
Pater Petrus Pijart, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Pater Claude Pijart, oper.
Pater Charles Raymbault, oper. } In the autumn.

Frater Dominicus Scot, sartor.

Donatus Carolus Boivin, fab. lign. (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*)
Donatus Christophorus Regnaut, adomnia, (*Extr-Lar. 1640 p. 6*)
Donatus Gulielmus Couture, ad multa (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*)
Donatus Jacobus Levrier, ad omnia (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*)
Donatus Josephus Molère, pharmac (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*)
Donatus Robertus Le Coq, negot (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 6*)

Admissi, Adolescentes:

Carolus Panic, ad omnia (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7*)
Petrus Boucher, ad omnia, (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7*) *MS. Authent. 1652, orig. p. 234, copy p. 81*)

Admissi Pueri:

Joannes Amiot (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7*)
Marinus Lefevre (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7*)

Domestici non Donati:

Gulielmus Loisier,
Franciscus Dornais,
Nicolaus Montreuil (*Extr-Lar. 1640, p. 7*)
Claudius Boucher (*Extr.-Lar. 1640, p. 7*)

Missions.

On Nov. 2, 1640, all the Fathers left the Residence of Ste. Marie I., dispersing throughout the country on the way to their respective missions. Father Chastelain alone remaining in charge of the Residence to receive the Christian Indians who might land there and to see that peace and good order were observed (*Rel. 1641, p. 62, 2 col.*). No doubt that the two allotted to the Mission of Ste. Marie, made it also most of the time their headquarters.

By comparing dates it is evident that the dispersion took place after the departure of Fathers Ragueneau and Poncet, and the arrival of Fathers Claude Pijart and Charles Raymbault.

I. Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1641, p. 63, 1 col.*)

1. Ste. Marie, 2. Ste. Anne, 3. St. Louis, 4. St. Jean, 5. St. Denis (*Rel. 1641, p. 63, 1 col.*), (*Rel. 1640, p. 70, 1 col.* C. G.-LL. *contemp. cop. p. 57*; *Rec. cop. p. 46.*)

F. Isaac Jogues, } (*Rel. 1641, p. 63, 1 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 57*; *Rec. cop. p. 46*).
F. François Du Peron, }

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë. (*Rel. 1641, p. 63, 1 col.*) (*Rel. 1641, p. 65, 2 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 56*; *Rec. cop. p. 45.*)

Previously the Fathers had their own wigwam there; this year but a little chapel.

1. St. Xavier, 2. St. Charles, 3. Ste. Agnes, 4. Ste. Madeleine, 5. Ste. Geneviève, 6. St. Martin, 7. St. Antoine, 8. Ste. Cécile, 9. Ste. Catherine, 10. Ste. Térèse, 11. Ste. Barbe, 12. St. Etienne (*Rel. 1641, p. 67, 1 col.*; *cfr. Rel. 1640, p. 78, 1 col.*)

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Sup. Miss Hur.
F. François Le Mercier,
(*Rel. 1641, p. 63, 1 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 56*; *Rec. cop. p. 45.*)

III. St. Jean-Baptiste, at Cahiagué. (*Rel. 1641, p. 67, 2 col. Champ. 518*; *cfr. Rel. 1640, p. 90, 1 col.*) and

St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë (*Rel. 1641, p. 67, 2 col.*; *C.G.-LL. p. 45.*)

1. St. Joachim, 2. Ste. Elizabeth (*Rel. 1640, p. 90, 2 col.*) 4. St. Michel, 5. St. Ignace I. (*Rel. 1640, p. 78, 1 col.*)

These villages were very far apart (*Rel. 1641, p. 67, 2 col.*)

F. Antoine Daniel,
F. Simon Le Moyne,
(*Rel. 1641, p. 67, 2 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 56*; *Rec. cop. p. 45*; *cf. Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot, (from the end of March, 1641) (*R. 1641, p. 81, col. 1*; *cfr. Id. p. 74, col. 2*; *Autob. p. 66, 79*; *et P.M. p. 217*).

F. Jean de Brébeuf (He mentions his presence in the Residence of St. Joseph on March 21, April 11 and May 9, 1640, *MS. Authent. 1652, orig. pp. 233, 234*; *copy. pp. 80, 81.*)

IV. The Apostles, in the Petun Country (*Rel. 1641, p. 69, 1 col.*).

1. EhSae (Rel. 1641, p. 69, 2 col.) SS. Pierre et Paul, 2. St. André, 3. St. Jacques, 4. St. Thomas, 5. St. Jean, 6. St. Jacques, 7. St. Philippe, 8. St. Barthélemy, 9. St. Matthieu, 10. SS. Simon et Jude (*Rel. 1640, p. 95, 1 col.*)

F. Charles Garnier,
F. Pierre Pijart,
(*Rel. 1641, p. 69, 1 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 57*; *Rec. cop. p. 46, and Contemp. cop. p. 97*; *Rec. cop. p. 83*; *Rel. 1641, p. 59, 1 col.*)

The Fathers, this year, spent four or five months with the Petuns (*Rel. 1641, p. 70, 1 col.*)

V. The Angels, in the Neutral Country (*Rel. 1641, p. 71, 1 col.*)

Eighteen of their towns or villages were visited, to each of which a Christian name was given (*Rel. 1641, p. 78, 2 col.*)

The only names mentioned in Relations are: *Kandoucho*, or All Saint's, the nearest to the Hurons (*Id. p. 75, 1 col.*; *p. 78, 2 col.*) *Onguiaahra*, on the Niagara River, which then bore the same name as the village; this was the farthest to the east of all the Neutral towns which they visited, and but one day's journey from the Senecas (*Id. p. 75, 2 col.*) there were at this date, however, three or four villages, stretching in a line from east to west beyond Niagara River and Lake Erie, the last, contiguous to the *Chat* or Erie Nation (*Id. p. 71, 2 col.*); *Teotongniaton* or St. Guillaumee, situated about in the centre of the country (*Id. p. 78, 2 col.*; and *Khioetoa* or St. Michel, which according to Ducreux's map, must have stood near the shore of Lake St. Clair, and but a short distance east of Windsor.

Besides this last village of St. Michel and *Onguiaahra* or *Ongiara*, mentioned above, Ducreux's Map gives five others: Ste. Francisci [in Lambton Co., east of Sarnia], Nostræ Dominæ Angelorum [west of the Grand River, anywhere between Cayuga, Haldimand Co., and Paris in Brant], Sti. Josephi [in Essex or Kent], Sti. Alexii [in Elgin] and Pagus Otontaronïus [a little inland from the shore line in Halton Co.].

East of Niagara River, the Ondieronii are set down as extending as far as the Genesee, with two village sites, both south-east of Buffalo, one only of which bears a name. Pagus Ondieronius, rendered in the Relations as *Aondironons* (*Rel. 1640, p. 35, 1 col.*; *1648, p. 49, 1 and 2 col.*) *or Ahondihronnons* (*Rel. 1656, p. 34, 2 col.*). But as they are said also to have been the nearest of the Neutrals to Huronia (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.*), no doubt the tribe stretched west across the Niagara River, and even north of Burlington Bay, comprising probably *Kandoucho*.

The Recollet Father Joseph de La Roche d'Aillon supplies us with two more names of Neutral towns, though it is quite possible that they have already been enumerated under a somewhat different appellation. They are *Oüaroronon* and *Oünontisaston*. The former, he informs us, was the last Neutral village to the east, and but one day's journey from the Iroquois (*Le Clereq I. p. 356, Sagard Hist. III., p. 804*). The latter was the village where he had taken up his abode (*Le Clercq I., p. 358*; *Sagard Ib. p. 805*), and was the sixth, journeying from the Petuns (*Le Clercq. Ib. p. 350*; *Sagard Ib. p. 801*). It was there that *Souharisser* (*Le Clercq. I. p. 351*; or *Souharissen, Sagard Ib. p. 802*), the most influential chief resided (Id. ib).

Dropping *ronon*, which is a mere termination meaning *people, nation, etc.* (*Potier, Elem. Gramm. Hur., p. 65*); and bearing in mind that the Huron *u* is invariably pronounced *ou*:

the O-ou-a-ro of the Recollet, is not so very different from the Ou-gi-a-ra of Ducreux, or the On-guia-ah-ra of the Relations; and both were said to be one day's journey from the Iroquois.

So also, eliminating the prefix T (or T a particle of many meanings) the *E-o-ton-gni-a-ton* of the Relations and the *O-ou-non-tis-as-ton* of Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon may very well be corruptions of the same name, especially as Potier remarks (*El. Gr. Hur. p. 1*) "*o* et *ou* aliquando promiscue adhibentur." The name of the great resident chief as given in Sagard was *Sou-ha-ris-sen*: while according to Relation 1641 (*p. 77, 1 col.*) it was *Tsa-ha-his-sen.** The above mentioned village was also said in the Relations to be situated about in the middle of the Neutral Country (*Id. p. 78, 2 col.*).

Though the number of names in our possession is so scant, there were about forty towns and villages dotted over the country (*Rel. 1641, p. 71, 2 col.*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 55*; *Rec. cop. p. 45*).

The two missionaries left the Residence of Ste. Marie I., for the Neutral Nation, Nov. 2, 1640 (*Rel. 1641, p. 74, 2 col.*), and were back there by March 19, 1641.† (*Id. p. 80, 1 col.*).

F. Jean de Brébeuf,
F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot,† (*Rel. 1641, p. 71, 1, 2 col.*; *C.G.-LL. p. 45*; *Autob. p. 79*; P.M. pp. 217, 211; *LL. ad Gen. p. 24*).

A short time after F. Chaumonot's return from the Neutrals, he was once more assigned as assistant to F. Daniel, who was to begin his summer mission at St. Jean-Baptiste and St. Joseph II. (*Rel. 1641, p. 81, 1 col.*; cfr. *Autob. pp. 79, 80*).

F. de Brébeuf, having broken his left clavicle in a fall on the ice in crossing Lake Simcoe on his return trip from the Neutral country, was incapacitated for active service; though it was only two years after the accident that he disclosed the real nature of the trouble to the surgeon at Quebec (*MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 216*; *copy, p. 73*). He, in consequence, remained most of the time at St. Joseph II. then at Ste. Marie I., until his departure for Quebec in the summer of 1641.

* In *MS. Authen. 1652*, the name of the town is *Andachkhroeh*, and that of the chief, *Tsohahissen*. Brébeuf was there December 13, 1640. (*Orig. p. 239, copy p. 84*).

† An ovoidal stone, now in the Provincial Museum, Toronto, was picked up on the farm of Mr. Murray, lot 24, con. V., Vaughan Tp., York County, Ontario, with "1641" inscribed upon it. See Mr. David Boyle's Ontario Archæological Report for 1897-98, p. 32.

VI. St. Esprit, Algonquin Mission of the Nipissirinians, (Termed Askikouanehronons by the Hurons, *Rel. 1641, p. 81, 2 col.*).

The two missionaries on their way up not finding the Nipissings at their usual summer haunt, proceeded immediately to Ste. Marie I. About two hundred Indians arrived there soon after. They camped for the winter about two gunshots from the Residence, and on the same side of the river [Wye] (*Rel. 1641, p. 82, 1 col.*). On May the 8, 1641, they departed for their summer fishing grounds accompanied by the Fathers (*Id. p. 82, 2 col.*; *see also C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 57*; *Rec. cop. p. 46*, the distance there given is "100 paces"; *Rel. 1641, p. 58, 2 col.*).

F. Charles Raymbault, F. Claude Pijart, (*Rel. 1641, p. 82, 1 col.*; *Id. p. 58, 1, 2 col.*).

During the winter F. Claude Pijart visited occasionally other stray bands, and in particular fifteen wigwams of *Tonuhrataronons*, an Algonquin tribe, who had camped on the missionary territory of St. Jean-Baptiste (*Rel. 1641, p. 83, 1 col.*).

1641

Departures.

F. Jean de Brébeuf, in company with F. François Du Peron, went to Quebec in the early summer of 1641 (*Rel. 1641, p. 20, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1642, p. 60, 2 col.*; date of one of his letters dated from Quebec, Aug. 20, 1641, *P.M. p. 216*; *cf. Rel. 1641, p. 47, 1 col.*; *cf. Rel. 1642, p. 69, 2 col.*; *p. 89, 1 col.*). He was absent until the summer of 1644.

F. François Du Peron, having gone down to Quebec with Father de Brébeuf remained there but a short time (*Rel. 1641, p. 20, 2 col.*); he returned either in the autumn of this same year, 1641, or very early in the summer of 1642 (*Rel. 1642 p. 57, 1 col.*; date of Huron Relation, June 10, 1642, *Id. p. 55, 1 col.*).

Arrivals.

F. Paul Ragueneau, absent in the lower country since August, 1640, returned to the Hurons August 14, 1641, bringing with him Father René Ménard (*Rel. 1641, p. 58, 2 col.*; *cf. Id. p. 47, 1 col., p. 48, 2 col.*)

F. René Ménard (as above).

In the Relation from the Hurons, sent June 10, 1642, R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Superior of the mission, says: "This [past]

year we numbered, here with the Hurons, fourteen priests of the Society, but scarcely do we see each other all gathered together for one whole month. We live dispersed for the most part, especially durng the winter, when the heaviest work is done for the conversion of these peoples. Eight of our number are engaged in the four principal Huron Missions under culture this year [1641-1642]. The Algonquins, who live near our Hurons engrossed the labours of three others. I have been obliged, in consequence of the Fathers being thus scattered, each attending to his allotted mission, to seek them out in turn, a month here and a month there as the occasion offered; so that I have had no fixed abode, and the care of this Residence [Ste. Marie I.] has fallen to the lot of F. Isaac Jogues and F. François Du Peron (*Rel. 1642, p. 57, 1 col.*)

RESIDENCE DE STE. MARIE I.

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Hieronymus Lalemant, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons. oper.
Pater Carolus Raymbault, oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, præf. eccl.
Pater Isaac Jogues, praef. agror., oper.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Paulus Ragueneau, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf. NN. cons., præf. spir. donat.
Pater Petrus Pijart, oper.
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper
Frater Dominicus Scot, sartor (*Extr-Larch, 1641, p. 7; C.G.-LL. p. 56*).

Donati:

Jacobus Levrier, sutor (fuit capucinus) (Extr-Lar. p. 8; Extr-Mart. p. 7).
Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif. (Extr-Lar. p. 8; Extr-Mart. p. 7).
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor (Extr-Lar. p. 8)
Gulielmus Couture, faber lign (Extr-Lar. p. 8; Extr-Mart. p. 7).
Joannes Guerin, ad omnia, (Extr-Lar. p. 8: Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Josephus Molère, pharm., lotor pannor, (Extr-Lar. p. 8; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Robertus Le Coq, negot. (Extr-Lar. p. 8).

Sunt præterea novem alii domestici, ordinarii famuli, inter quos adolescentes duo, pueri tres (*Extr-Lar. p. 8; Extr-Mart. p. 7*).

Adolescentes:

Carolus Panie, ad omnia, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Petrus Boucher, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Pueri:

Joannes Amiot, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Marinus Lefevre, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Nicolaus Giffar, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Domestici:

Claudius Boucher, (Journ. des Jés. p. 10).

Franciscus Dornais, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Gulielmus Loisier, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

Nicolaus Montreuil, (Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7).

(Mathurin——) went to Quebec in 1641 (*cf. Rel. 1643, p. 69, 1 col.*).

Missions.

It is all but certain that "Mathurin," one of the hired men of the Mission, left the Huron country for good this or the previous year. This conclusion is based on the following passage of the Relation 1643 (*p. 69, 1 col.*): "A band of Iroquois set out under the guidance of Mathurin's man, that is to say, of a Huron captured by the Iroquois, and who had lost all love of country and of his countrymen, against whom he is now bearing arms. As he knows the places where they must pass, he goes and lies in wait to surprise them. It was the wretched renegade who defeated the Hurons with whom the Father (Jogues) happened to be. He goes by the name of 'Mathurin's Man,' because he brought Mathurin back from the Hurons before he himself was taken by the Iroquois. The worthy young man who bore the name of Mathurin, after comporting himself commendably while with our Fathers in this remote corner of the earth, has gone back to France to offer himself to God in the holy order of the Capuchin Fathers, where he has made his profession."

Father Jogues' capture, wherein "Mathurin's Man" figured so ignominiously, took place on August 3, 1642. The bringing of Mathurin down safely, the capture of the renegade on, I suppose, his return trip, his journey as a prisoner to the Iroquois country,

then his incorporation as an adopted member, into the Iroquois tribe, and his return to the St. Lawrence to ambuscade the Hurons, form a series of events difficult to compress within the space of a twelve month. But what is more, when the Relation 1643 was written, Mathurin had already made his profession as a Capuchin Brother. So it is reasonable to suppose that he left Huronia either in 1641 or 1640

"Last year [1640-1641] we had undertaken a mission to the *Kionontatchronon* or Petun Nation, and we had even pushed on as far as the *Attioüendaronk*, named the Neutral Nation. But .....we have deemed it more expedient for the nonce to concentrate our energies and not continue extending our labours to these more distant peoples, until the nearer tribes are won over, more especially when we take into account the small number of workers.....We made, however, a few excursions to the missions of the Apostles.....Father Charles Garnier and Father Pierre Pijart went on these trips (*Rel. 1642, p. 88, 1 and 2 col.*)... .....during one of which some chiefs of the Neutral Nation, or the Mission of the Angels, invited us to return and visit them. But even without considering the absence at Quebec of the Father to whom this mission had been allotted, that is F. Jean de Brébeuf, ...it seemed likely that by concentrating our endeavours on the conversion of the Hurons we would be hastening at the same time the conversion of the others, etc. (*Id. p. 89, 1 col.*).

"In preceding years we had passed the winter in the mission of the Apostles, or Petun Nation; others had gone to the Neutral Nation or Mission of the Angels, as we had undertaken the evangelization of these tribes as well as that of the Hurons. The most we did this year was to make a few visits to the Mission of the Apostles, without making any stay to speak of; while we have withdrawn from the Neutral Nation, seeing that F. Jean de Brébeuf, who had gone there the preceding year, remained in Quebec this last winter, etc. (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 65*; *Rec. cop. p. 52.*).

I. Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1642, p. 57, 1 col.*; *p. 61, 1 col.*)

(*Residence*)

F. Isaac Jogues* } (*Rel. 1642, p. 57, 1 col.*).
F. François Du Peron }

1. St. Louis, 2. St. Denis.

* Until his departure with F. Charles Raymbault for Sault Ste. Marie, toward the end of September (*Rel. 1642, p. 97, 2 col.*). As they took seventeen days to go, their return must have required about the same time; and allowing a few days' stay at the Sault, they could hardly have got back before the first week in November. Father Jogues then resumed his post at Ste. Marie I.

F. Pierre Chastelain, (*Id. p. 61, 1 col.; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. pp. 66, 67, Rec. cop. pp. 52, 53.*)

I. Ste. Anne, 2. St. Xavier.

F. Pierre Pijart, (*Id. ib.; C.G.-LL. ib.*)

Their domicile was the Residence of Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 2 col.*).

F. Claude Pijart, though retained at Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1642, p. 98, 1 col.*), was exclusively engaged with the Algonquin bands wintering in Huronia.

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 2 col.*)

The villages visited from this mission are not mentioned in the Relation of this year.

St. Xavier, however, one formerly belonging to it, was visited from Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 1 col.*)

F. François Le Mercier, F. Paul Ragueneau, (*Rel. 1642, p. 61, 2 col.; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 65; Rec. cop. p. 52.*)

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë (*Rel. 1642, p. 76, 1 col.*).

F. Charles Garnier, F. Simon Le Moyne, (*Rel. 1642, p. 76, 1 col.; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 66; Rec. cop. p. 53*)

From the expression "They made the town of St. Joseph their most usual abode" [i.e. during the winter] it is certain that other villages depended on this mission, though none is mentioned (*Rel. 1642, p. 76, 1 col.*).

A Christian Huron, Etienne Totihri gave up a part of his lodge which the French workmen converted into a little chapel (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 67; Rec. cop. p. 53; Rel. 1642, p. 79, 2 col.; p. 80, 1 col.*).

IV. St. Jean-Baptiste, à Cahiagué *Rel. 1642, p. 82, 2 col.*

F. Antoine Daniel (Rel. 1642, p. 82, 2 col.)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot (Id. ib.) (C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 66; Rec. cop. p. 52.)

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant (C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 66; Rec. cop. p. 52.)

St. Michel belonged to this mission (*C.G.-LL. ib.; Rel. 1642, p. 86, 2 col.*)

"Among the other villages of this Mission, at the outset that of St. Michel seemed full of hope" (*Rel. 1642, p. 86, 2 col.*), from this statement it is evident that there were other dependent mis-

sionary villages besides the one named. The Christians were much scattered in this Mission (*Id. p. 82, 2 col.*).

V. St. Esprit, Algonquin Mission of the Nipissirinians. (*Rel. 1642, p. 93, 2 col.*).

F. Claude Pijart (*Rel. 1642, p. 93, 2 col.*; *Id. p. 99, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*; *Extr-Larch., p. 64.*)
F. Charles Raymbault (*Rel. 1642, p. 93, 2 col.*; *Id. p. 97, 2 col.*; *p. 98, 1 col.*)
F. René Ménard (*Rel. 1642, p. 99, 2 col.*; *p. 98, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*)
F. Isaac Jogues (*Rel. 1642, p. 97, 2 col.*)

F. Claude Pijart, among the Nipissings at the Mission of St. Esprit, under date of May 29, 1642, writes to Rome: "I have passed two winters at Ste. Marie [I.], for the Algonquins had wintered with us."

F. Jogues' post was at Ste. Marie I., but toward the end of September, 1641, he, together with F. Raymbault set out for Sault Ste. Marie. The party was made up of Hurons and Algonquins. F. Jogues acted as chaplain for the former (*Rel. 1642, p. 97, 1 and 2 col.*). The length of their stay at the place is not given, but seventeen days were spent on the journey thither (*Id. p. 97, 2 col.*), and probably about as many on the return trip. So, in all likelihood they were not back b fore the first week in November.

After this expedition F. Jogues returned to Ste. Marie I. FF. Raymbault and Ménard embarked immediately for the winter quarters of the Nipissirinians, otherwise the Nipissings, leaving F. Claude Pijart at Ste Marie I. to receive those of the Algonquins who usually camped for the winter in Huronia. Owing to furious gales on the lake, followed by the formation of ice floes, FF. Raymbault and Ménard were forced to put back to Ste. Marie I., and abandoned their project for that season. It was through exposure during this attempt that F. Raymbault contracted his fatal malady (*Id. p. 98, 1 col.*).

F. Claude Pijart, however, made several excursions, during the winter, to detached bands of Algonquins eleven or twelve leagues from Huronia (*Id. p. 98, 2 col.*); and both he and Father Ménard, at the end of April, 1642, left with the Nipissirinians, who were returning to their summer haunts (*Id. p. 99, 2 col.*).

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant dates the Huron Relation for this year (June, 1641 to June, 1642) from Ste. Marie of the Hurons, June 10, 1642 (*Id. p. 55, 1 col.*).

For the NEUTRAL *and* PETUN NATIONS, see what has been said above. Fathers Garnier and Pierre Pijart made a few trips, during the year, to the latter mission, that of the Apostles.

1642

DESTRUCTION OF CONTAREA, June, 1642 (*Rel. 1644, p. 69, 1 col.*).

Kontarea, Contarrea, or Contarcia, was a large village where the Fathers had never succeeded in establishing a mission, nor were their instructions, when attempted, even listened to. It was noted for its impiety (*Rel. 1644, p. 69, 1 and 2 col.*; *Rel. 1656, p. 10, 1 col.*). It was destroyed immediately after the despatch of the last Huron Relation (*Rel. 1644, p. 69, 1 col.*). The Huron Relation, comprised in the general Relation of 1644, recorded what occurred in Huronia from June, 1642, to June, 1643 (*Id. p. 68, title*), while the preceding Huron Relation, from June, 1641, to June, 1642, was despatched from Huronia on June 10, 1642 (*Rel. 1642, p. 55, 1 col.*); so that the destruction of this town must have taken place in June, 1642. No name is given in the Relation of 1644, still there is no room for doubt but that there was question of Contarea; this is evinced by what is stated in Relation 1642 (*p. 74, 1 col.*): "This winter [1641-1642] the Hurons were really filled with dread by a false alarm, for the rumour had reached them that an army of Iroquois was on the point of carrying by assault the town of Kontarea, the main bulwark of the country." This latter term also suggests that it was a frontier town, a fact plainly stated in Relation 1644: "having surprised one of our frontier towns, etc." (*p. 69, 1 col.*). The Relation 1636 supplies the information that the village of Contarea "was but one day's journey from us" (*Rel. 1636, p. 94, 2 col.*), that is from *Thonatiria,* where the Fathers then dwelt. Moreover, as it was a village of the *Arendorrhonons* it lay to the east. Finally, the word *Kontarea,* meaning where there is a lake, or Contareia, where there is a *little* lake, shows conclusively that it lay contiguous to a small sheet of water.

Lot 7, concession XIII., Oro township, where once a large fortified village stood, was doubtless the site of Contarea.

ARRIVAL?

If, as was most probably the case, Father Du Peron returned to Huronia in the autumn of 1641, there was no arrival this year. That he spent the winter 1641-1642, at Ste. Marie I., would seem certain from what F. Jérôme Lalemant says concerning the several

posts occupied by the Fathers that winter (*Rel. 1642, p. 57, 1 col.*; date of Hur. Rel. June 10, 1642, *Id. p. 55, 1 col.*).

Departures.

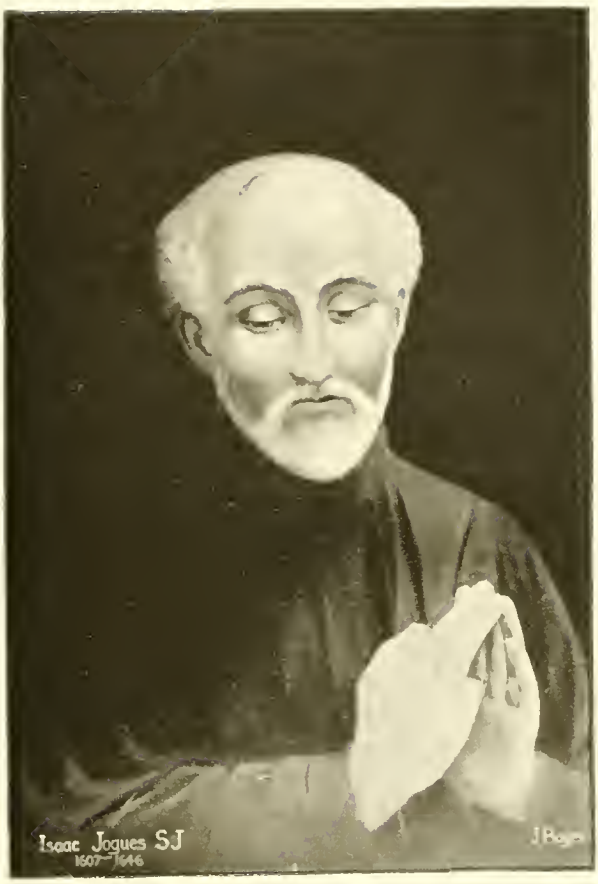
F. Charles Raymbault, after being frustrated in his attempt to reach the winter quarters of the Nipissirinians, in the beginning of the winter of 1641-1642, fell dangerously ill (*Rel. 1642, p. 98, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1643, p. 31, 1 col.*) and as there was no hope of his recovery he was sent with F. Isaac Jogues (*Rel. 1644, p. 74, 2 col.*) to Quebec, where he could be better cared for during his lingering malady (*Rel. 1643, p. 3, 1 col.*). He died at Quebec, Oct. 22, 1642, and was interred alongside the remains of Samuel de Champlain (*Id. ib.*).

F. Isaac Jogues, on June 13, 1642, set out for Quebec from Ste. Marie I. The party numbered forty-five, in four canoes. There were five Frenchmen (*Jogues' Letter, MS. Auth. 1652, copy p. 49; orig. pp. 81, 82; Alegambe, Mortes Illus. p. 619*) F.F. Jogues and Raymbault, the *donné* Guillaume Couture (MS. *Authen, 1652, Orig. p. 86, copy p. 52; Bressani, p. 192*) and two others. They reached Three Rivers the thirty-fifth day of their journey (*MS. 1652, Orig. p. 83, copy p. 50*). F. Jogues spent about fifteen days at that town and Quebec. The start, on his return trip, was made from Three Rivers (*Rel. 1647, p. 18, 1 col.*), the Relation says on August 1 (*Id. ib.*, F. Jogues in his letter says August 2, *MS. Authen. 1652, copy p. 50, orig. p. 81, 82*; *Bressani, Transl. p. 190*). On their second day's journey they were waylaid and attacked by a much stronger party of Iroquois. The enemy made twenty-five prisoners, three of whom were killed on the spot. F. Jogues and three other Frenchmen (*Rel. 1643, p. 72, 1 col.*) Henry, who had been taken at Montreal (*Id .p. 76, 2 col.*), Guillaume Couture and René Goupil were among the captives (*Rel. 1647, pp. 18, 19 et ss.*; *MS. Authen, 1652, Orig. p. 82 et ss.*; *Bressani, p. 191 et ss.*).

In a letter to the General, in 1642 (no day or month given), F. Pierre Pijart states that in the Huron Mission there were then thirteen Fathers and two coadjutor Brothers (*Extr-Larch, p. 64, No. 13*).

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant also writing to the General says "We number thirty-four Frenchmen here" among the Hurons. This at the date June 5, 1642, consequently before the departures for Quebec (*LL. ad Gen. p. 30*).

Last year, 1641-1642, there were fourteen Fathers on the Huron Mission, this year, 1642-1643, their number was reduced to twelve, ten of whom were employed actively among the Hurons



Rev. Isaac Jogues, S.J., Missionary to the Hurons.

Statue of Rev. Father Isaac Jogues, S.J., at Seminary Hall, Dunwoodie, New York.

(By Joseph Sibbel, Sculptor.)

and Algonquins, while the house or Residence of Ste. Marie I. was left to the care of Fathers François Le Mercier and Pierre Chastelain (*Rel. 1644, p. 74, 2 col.*).

The Fathers thought it more advantageous to concentrate their efforts on the Indians occupying Huronia, consequently no missions properly so called were attempted among the Neutrals and the Petuns (*Rel. 1644, p. 97, 2 col ; Jer. Lalemant's letter, June 5, 1642, LL. ad Gen. p. 30; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 65; Rec. cop. p. 52*).

Scanonaenrat or St. Michel made a Mission Centre.

At the urgent solicitation of several resident Christians, the village of St. Michel was added to the number of the more continuous missionary centres and a chapel was opened there. The change took place towards the end of autumn 1642 (*Rel. 1644, p. 94, 2 col.*).

Residence of Ste. Marie I.

At this date 1642, this residence had become a shelter not only for the missionaries who gathered there from time to time, but what might be called a caravansary for the travelling Indian, and for pilgrims who repaired thither in increasing numbers. It was more: a hospital had been built, quite separate from the Fathers' quarters, but within the enclosure, and a church had been erected. A graveyard was laid out for the Indians who had died there, or for the Christians who before dying at remote villages had expressed the wish to be buried in consecrated ground. Even the heathen Hurons were welcomed for a limited time during which they were urged to give a thought to the life to come (*Rel. 1644, p. 74, 2 col.*).

F. Paul Le Jeune, writing from Dieppe, France, April 23, 1642, to R. F. Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome, informs him that the Cardinal de Richelieu grants 30,000 from the Treasury for the construction of a strong Fort in the Huron country, and this at the request of his niece [the Duchess of Aiguillon] and of Mons. Des Noiers (Des noyers). (*LL. ad. Gen. p. 26.*)

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Hieronymus Lalemant, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.

Pater Franciscus Du Peron, præf. eccl.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Paulus Ragueneau, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf. NN., cons., præf. spir. donat.
Pater Petrus Pijart, oper.
Pater Renatus Ménard. oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Dominicus Scot, Sartor (*Extr-Larch p. 10*) (*Extr-Larch p. 64, No. 13.*)
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, ædit., fab-ferr. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12*) (*Extr-Larch p. 64, No. 13.*)

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif. (*Extr-Lar. p. 10*; Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Christophorus Regnaut, Sutor (*Extr-Lar. p. 10;* Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Gulielmus Couture† (*Extr-Lar. p. 10*; Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Jacobus Levrier, Sutor (*Extr-Lar. p. 10*; Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Joannes Guerin,* ad omnia (*Extr-Lar. p. 10*; Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Josephus Molère, pharmac. lotor vest. (*Extr-Lar. p. 10;* Extr-Mart. p. 8)
Robertus Le Coq, negot. (*Extr-Lar. p. 10*; Extr-Mart. p. 8)

Adolescentes:

Carolus Panic, ad omnia,
Petrus Boucher,

Pueri:

Carolus Le Moyne (*Journ. des Jés., pp. 9, 10*)
Jacobus Douard (?),
Joannes Amiot,
Marinus Lefevre,
Nicolaus Giffar (*Journ. des Jés., p. 10*)

Domestici:

Claudius Boucher,
Franciscus Dornais,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Nicolaus Montreuil,
Petrus Cauchon (*Journ. des Jés., p. 63*).

† Left June 13 with Father Jogues.

* For Jean Guerin's act of donation, signed at Ste. Marie I., March 19, 1642, see Cleveland edition of the Relations, Vol. 21, pp. 302, 303.

To complete the number of 34 Frenchmen (*LL. ad Gen. p. 30*) one more name is wanting.—The general Relation 1644 contains the Huron Relation of 1642-1643, see that Relation *page 68*.

Missions:

"As for our missions in the Huron villages, we have continued them as usual" (*Rel. 1649, p. 71, 1 col.*)

I. Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1644, p. 74, 1 col.*)

(*Residence.*)

F. François Le Mercier } (*Rel. 1644, p. 74, 2 col.*)
F. Pierre Chastelain }

Mission of Ste. Marie, with adjacent villages (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.*), including St. Xavier, beyond Mud Lake (Id. ibid.)

F. Pierre Pijart (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.*)

There was no chapel in the villages near Ste. Marie; the Christian Indians attended at the chapel of the Residence (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.*). Those of La Conception and St. Joseph II. asked as a favour to be buried in the graveyard of Ste. Marie I. (*Id. p. 76, 2 col.*). The first burial (*Id. p. 76, 1 col.*). Second burial (*Id. p. 92, 2 col.*).

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.*).

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Sup. } (*Rel. 1644, p. 78, 2 col.*).
F. Paul Ragueneau }

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë (*Rel. 1644, p. 86, 1 col.*).

F. Charles Garnier, } (*Rel. 1644, p. 87, 2 col.; C.G-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 73; Rec. cop. p. 58.*)
F. Simon Le Moyne, }

The chapel of this mission was fitted up in the lodge of a Christian Huron by name Etienne Totiri (*Rel. 1644, p. 86, 2 col.; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 74; Rec. cop. p. 59*).

IV. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat (*Rel. 1644, p. 93, 1 col.*)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot, } (*Rel. 1644, p. 94, 2 col.*).
F. François Du Peron, }

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, in 1642-1643, spent two months here (*Id. ib.*).

V. SS. Anges, among the Neutrals (*Rel. 1644, p. 97, 2 col.*)

Owing to the diminished number of missionaries, no Fathers were employed on this mission; but some Christian Hurons went

in their stead (*Id. ibid.*). Moreover, toward the end of winter a band of one hundred Neutrals visited the Fathers in Huronia (*Id. p. 98, 1 and 2 col.*).

VI. St. Jean-Baptiste, at Cahiagué (*Rel. 1644, p. 99, 1 col.*)

1. St. Jean-Baptiste, 2. St. Joachim, 3. St. Ignace I. (*ib.*).
F. Antoine Daniel (*Rel. 1644, p. 99, 1 col.*)

VII. Ste. Elizabeth among the Atontrataronnon Algonquins.

Driven from their country, along the banks of the upper St. Lawrence, these Indians had taken refuge among the Hurons, (*Rel. 1644, p. 100, 2 col.*); and this winter, 1642-1643, the principal centre of the nomadic mission of Ste. Elizabeth was established in their village, but one quarter of a league from St. Jean-Baptiste.

F. René Ménard (*Rel. 1644, p. 100, 2 col.* From September 1642, *Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*).

F. Ménard lodged with Father Daniel at St. Jean-Baptiste, and when not occupied with the Algonquins, assisted him with the Hurons (*Id. ibid.*).

VIII. St. Esprit, among the Nipissirinian Algonquins.

They dwelt about 70 leagues from Huronia (*Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*).
F. Claude Pijart (*Rel. 1644, p. 104, 1 col.*).

Fathers Claude Pijart and René Ménard left Huronia with the Nipissirinians for their country at the end of April 1642 (*Rel. 1642, p. 99, 2 col.*) and returned in September 1642 (*Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*). F. Ménard then joined F. Daniel at St. Jean Baptiste (*Rel. 1644, p. 100, 2 col.*). Toward the end of December, 1642, the Nipissirinians and several other Algonquin tribes, who led a nomadic life along the shores of Lake Huron, settled for the winter in the immediate neighborhood of Ste. Marie I. They were allotted to the care of F. Claude Pijart (*Rel. 1644, p. 104, 1 col.*).

1643

In a letter from Ste. Marie I. in 1643 (the contemporaneous copy, by a singular oversight, omits the month but gives the day as the 23rd). Father Garnier thus alludes in a general way to the system adopted at this period by the Fathers as to residence and missionary visitations. "As for Ours, they are on mission [i.e.

each one at his post] six months on the stretch, I mean during the autumn and winter, while even during the summer they make frequent excursions to the towns allotted to them" (*C.G.-LL. Contemporaneous copy p. 74; Recent copy p. 58.*)

The Superior of the Huron Mission, F. Jérôme Lalemant, at the date of March 31, 1644, intimates that during the year 1643-1644 the Fathers passed most of the time at their respective villages. "Contrary to what obtained in previous years, our Fathers are as steadily employed during the summer as in the winter. Our [village] missions have become Residences; the chapels have everywhere been enlarged. For want of bells, at the earnest entreaty of our Christians we have used discarded kettles; the cemeteries have been blessed; processions held in the villages; burials take place according to the rites of the Church; and crosses have been erected and solemnly venerated in full view of the savages" (*Rel. 1644, p. 106, 1 col.*).

The same Father on the 22nd of the same month in the same year, writes to the General that since 1641 their number had diminished and this had prevented distant excursions. One missionary had died, another was held captive by the Iroquois, a third was incapacitated by sickness for active work, and a fourth was sent on business relating to the mission. So that but six or seven remained. Two of these must stay at home to take care of the Residence, leaving four or five for the village missions other than Ste. Marie I. (*LL. ad. Gen. p. 32*).

There is evidently some miscalculation here, for the number of Fathers in Huronia was the same in 1643 as in 1642, that is to say twelve. In 1641, after taking into account Father Brébeuf's absence on business of the mission, there were fourteen present. Fathers Jogues and Raymbault left in June 1642, the former was taken by the Iroquois on his return trip, the latter died in Quebec of the sickness he contracted while on the mission. This reduced the number to twelve. Deducting the one, helpless through sickness, there yet remained eleven available for work. Two more must be kept at home to take care of the Church and Residence, with the result that there are nine left instead of F. Jérôme Lalemant's "six or seven." The only explanation I can suggest is that being Superior, busied on the work of administration, quite sufficient to occupy the time of one man, he took no account of his own personal missionary labours, which, however, were anything but insignificant; then, through inadvertence, he must have deducted F. de Brébeuf from the sum total of workers in 1641, in which case the final remainder would be "seven."

As for *Arrivals* or *Departures* in 1643-1644, no Father reached Huronia this year and none left. The only account of the twelve-

month, 1643-1644, contained in the Relations, is the short letter of about four columns of F. Jérôme Lalemant, dated March 31, 1644, with the title "Lettre de M.DC.XLIV" (*Rel. 1644, p. 105, 1 col., Cleveland edit. Vol. 27, p. 63*). What immediately precedes this letter in the Relation concerns the previous twelvemonth, 1642-1643.

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Hieronymus Lalemant, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, præf. eccl.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Paulus Ragueneau, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf. NN., cons., præf. spir., donat.
Pater Petrus Pijart, oper.
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Dominicus Scot, sartor (*Extr-Larch., p. 10, 11.*)
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, ædit., fab. ferr. (*Extr-Lar., p. 11. 12.*)

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor,
Jacobus Levrier, sutor,
Joannes Guerin, ad omnia,
Josephus Molère, pharmac., lotor vest.
Robertus Le Coq, negot.

Adolescentes:

Carolus Panic, ad omnia.
Petrus Boucher,

Pueri:

Carolus Le Moyne,
Jacobus Douard (?),
Joannes Amiot,
Marinus Lefevre,
Nicolaus Giffar,

Domestici:

Claudius Boucher,
Franciscus Dornais,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Nicolaus Montreuil,
Petrus Cauchon.

Missions (*Rel. 1644, p. 105, 1 col.*)

I. Ste. Marie I.

Residence and Hospital (*Rel. 1644, p. 106, 1 col.*).

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Sup. (?),
F. François Le Mercier,
F. Pierre Chastelain.

(*The Mission.*)

F. Pierre Pijart (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col. date Sept. 21, 1643, see p. 69, 1 col.*).

II. La Conception at Ossossanë.

F. Paul Ragueneau (*C.G.-LL. p. 71.*)

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë.

F. Charles Garnier
F. Simon Le Moyne } (*C.G.-LL Contempor. copy p. 73,; Rec. p. 58; Contemp. cop. p. 88; Rec. p. 75.*)

IV. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat.

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot,
F. François Du Peron.

For a "*long time*," owing to the sickness this year of many of the Fathers, St. Michel was left without a pastor, the missionaries being sent elsewhere to fill vacant posts or were themselves invalided. (*Rel. 1646, p. 77, 2 col.; p. 78, 1 col.*)

V. St. Jean-Baptiste at Cahiagué.

F. Antoine Daniel (*Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*)

VI. Ste. Elizabeth among Atontrataronnons (Algonquins)

F. René Ménard (*Rel. 1644, p. 100, 2 col.*)

VII. St. Esprit among Nipisiriniens, etc. (Algonquins)

F. Claude Pijart

Both René Ménard and Claude Pijart left with the Nipissings and remained with them from April to September, 1643, at a camp about seventy leagues distant (*Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*; *Cf. Rel. 1642, p. 99, 2 col.*).

There were no missionaries among the *Neutrals*, or *Petuns*.

Father Jérôme Lalemant was still Superior of the Huron Mission when Father Charles Garnier wrote his letter of April 8, 1644, to the General at Rome (*C.G.-LL. Rec. cop. p. 63*; *LL. ad Gen. p. 59*); but towards the end of the summer 1644, an unofficial communication reached Father Lalemant to the effect that he was to return to Quebec. The letters of the Provincial of France had been intercepted by the Iroquois. Thereupon Lalemant placed everything relating to his office in the hands of Father Ragueneau, and made preparations for his departure for Quebec (*Rel. 1645, p. 38, 2 col.*). But no convoy left Huronia until the following year, so that his journey down was unavoidably put off until the open season of 1645. The object of the removal was to place him at the head of the whole Canadian Mission.

Arrivals.

Four flotillas of canoes left Huronia for the lower country in 1644. Three were intercepted by the Iroquois. One only managed to return in safety (*Rel. 1645, p. 39, 2 col.*; *p. 40, 1 col.*) bringing back Father Jean de Brébeuf, and with him two new missionaries, Fathers Léonard Garreau and Noël Chabanel (*Id. ib.*). The two latter were intended for the Algonquin Missions in the neighborhood of Huronia (*Rel. 1644, p. 49, 2 col.*). The exact date of their arrival may be gathered from the following extract: "Twenty-two soldiers sent out from France by the Queen, together with a number of others for welfare of the colony,.....having gone up to the Huron country in 1644, were lodged in our own house in Huronia, and ate at our own table. They returned one year after, day for day. For, having arrived at the Hurons September 7 [1644] they were back at Montreal, with sixty Huron canoes, September 7 of the following year [1645], etc." (*Journ. des Jés., p. 9*). The entry is made in October, 1645. As Brébeuf, Garreau and Chabanel were with this escort (*Rel. 1644, p. 49, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1645, p. 40, 1 col.*) they necessarily arrived at the same time.

Father François Joseph Bressani had set out from Three Rivers April 27, 1644, for the Huron Country, but on the third day after his departure was taken prisoner by the Iroquois at a point

just above the mouth of the River Marguerie (*Rel. 1644, p. 41, 1, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1645, p. 40, 1 col.*), now Riviere aux Glaiser. He suffered cruelly at their hands, but quite unexpectedly his life was spared. After a captivity of about four months his escape was effected with the help of the Dutch at what is now Albany. He arrived at La Rochelle November 15, 1644 (*Rel. 1644, p. 45, 2 col.*) His return to Canada was not long delayed, and we shall find him again setting out for the Huron Mission and landing safely in Huronia in the autumn of 1645 (*Rel. 1646, p. 73, 1 col.*).

Departure.

Father Pierre Pijart left for the lower country during the summer of 1644 (*C.G.LL. Contemp. cop. p. 85*; *Rec. cop. p. 73*). In 1643, he had the care of the mission of Ste. Marie I. and of the adjacent villages included in that jurisdiction (*Rel. 1644, p. 77, 2 col.*). It is said he went on business of the mission (*Id. ib.*). In 1645 he was stationed at Three Rivers acting as purveyor for the Huron Mission (*Journ. des Jés., p. 5*). He never returned to Huronia (*Id. pp. 5, 42, 43, 87, 93*: *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 107*; *Rec. cop. p. 91*).

F. Jérôme Lalemant, the outgoing Superior of the Huron Missions, writes under date of May 15, 1645 (*Rel. 1645, p. 52, 2 col.*): "Of the seven churches we have here, there are six with pastoral residences (*à demeure*). The first at our House of Ste. Marie [I.], the five others at the five principal towns of the Hurons: La Conception, St. Joseph [II.], St. Michel, St. Ignace [I.] and St. Jean-Baptiste. The seventh church that of the St. Esprit, is made up of Algonquins, who this year [1644-1645], together with a number of other nations, wintered about 25 leagues from us on the great Lake of our Hurons. This obliged Father Claude Pijart and Father Léonard Garreau, their appointed instructors, to winter with them....." (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Paulus Ragueneau, Sup. (Took office in September.)
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, præf. eccl. oper.
Pater Hieronymus Lalemant, oper. (Superior until September, 1644.)
Pater Joannes De Brébeuf, conf. NN., cons., oper.

Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Leonardus Garreau, oper.
Pater Natalis Chabanel, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf. NN., cons., pref. sp. donat.
Pater Renatus Méuard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Dominicus Scot, sartor
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, ædit., fab. ferr.

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor,
Jacobus Levrier, sutor,
Joannes Guerin,
Josephus Molère, pharm., lotor vest.,
Robertus Le Coq, negot.,
Carolus Panie, ad omnia,
Petrus Boucher,
Joannes Amiot,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Nicolaus Montreuil.

Adolescentes et Pueri:

Jacobus Douard (or Douart),
Marinus Lefevre,
Claude Boucher,
Franciscus Dornais,
Daniel Cartron (or Carteron),
Nicolaus Giffa (or Giffard).

Domestici:

Petrinus ("Pierrot"),
Cauchon (or Cochon),
Carolus Le Moyne,

Milites, 22.

Missions:

HURON.

I. Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*).

(Residence).

R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Sup. until September (*Rel. 1645, p. 38, 2 col.*).

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup. after September (*Rel. 1645, p. 38, 2 col.*).
F. François Le Mercier, min. proc.
F. Pierre Chastellain, præf. spirit.

(Mission).

F. Jean de Brébeuf (For the Hurons) (*MS. Authen. 1652, orig. p. 240; cop. p. 85.*).
Noël Chabanel (For the Algonquins) (*Rel. 1644, p. 49, 2 col.*)

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

F. Paul Ragueneau (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 71*).

The passage referred to in Garnier's Letters is very explicit: "Le P. Ragueneau est *toujours* aussi au bourg de la Conception, où il y a bon nombre de Chrétiens, et nos autres Pères sont aussi dispersés ailleurs, etc." The first "*aussi*" is explained by the fact that he had just stated that others also had remained at their old posts. The "*toujours*" is significant inasmuch as it supposes that in a previous letter he had spoken of Ragueneau's being at Ossossanë. The date of the letter quoted, which is to his brother Henri, is June 7, 1645, while in the collection there is only one letter of 1644, and that to the General on April 8. That this little scrap of information may have its weight, it must not be lost sight of that Father Garnier was very particular about writing every year to his brother. The inference is that Father Ragueneau was at *Ossossanë* or La Conception not only in June, 1645, after he had become Superior, but also in 1644.

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

F. Charles Garnier (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 70.*)
F. Reué Ménard (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 70.*)

In this instance also the inference is valid. There is question of the same letter of June 7, 1645, wherein Garnier says: "Je suis *toujours* en ce bourg de St. Joseph avec le P. Ménard," meaning that his position had not been changed since he wrote last in the preceding year 1644.

IV. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot (*Cf. Rel. 1644, p. 94, 2 col.*)
F. François Du Peron (*Cf. Rel. 1644, p. 94, 2 col.*)

V. St. Ignace I., at Taenhatentaron (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

F.....(no data available)

VI. St. Jean-Baptiste, at Cahiagué (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*)

F. Antoine Daniel (*Rel. 1644, p. 99, 1 col.*; *Cf. Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*)

VII. St. Esprit, Nipissing, and other Algonquins. (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, p. 80, 2 col.*).

F. Claude Pijart (*Cfr. Rel. 1644, p. 104, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1645, p 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, p. 80, 2 col.*; *p. 81, 2 col.*)

F. Léonard Garreau (*Cfr. Rel. 1644, p. 104, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, p. 80, 2 col.*; *p. 81, 2 col.*)

They wintered together (1644-1645) at *Endarahy* (*Rel. 1656, p. 43, 1 col.*), and left their encampment to return to Huronia May 7, 1645 (*Rel. 1646, p. 81, 2 col.*).

Unaccounted for.

F. Simon Le Moyne

There are no data concerning him in the Relations until 1654, nor in the "Journ. des Jésuites" until 1653. It is not improbable that this year, 1644-1645, he was assisting Daniel in his extensive mission, and attending especially to the spiritual wants of the mission of St. Ignace I.

It must not be lost sight of that what is related in Chapter VII. of Relation 1646 (*pp. 80, 81*) is to be referred to what occurred in 1644-1645. On page 81 (*2 col.*), "May 7" is given as the date when the winter sojourn of the missionaries in question among the Algonquins came to an end. If we turn to page 54 (*1 col.*) of this same Relation we find that it is dated May 1, 1646. It follows that "May 7" cannot refer to 1646 but to 1645, consequently the wintering described in this part of the Relation 1646, is that of 1644-1645.

A very serious and inexcusable mistranslation must here be pointed out in *La Première Mission* by Carayon. On page 241 this passage occurs: "Le P. Antoine Daniel était depuis quatre ans dans cette Mission de Saint Joseph. Il y avait produit le plus grand bien; il semblait fait pour convertir ces peuples, etc." It is hard to believe that this was intended for a faithful rendering of the following, which is taken from a manuscript copy of Ragueneau's original Latin letter: "Jam quartum decimum annum

posuerat in hac Missione Huronensi Antonius, ubique frugifer, vereque natus in salutem istarum gentium, etc" (*Archives, St. Mary's College, A. 11, 1649, p. 4*) (*Cf. Relations, Clev. Edit. Vol. 33, pp. 246, 271*). That Daniel "had spent fourteen years in the Huron Mission" and that "he had been for the last four years at this Mission of St. Joseph" (that is, dating back from July 4, 1648, when he was killed) are two widely separate propositions, compatible in themselves, but in this case incorrect; the latter being at variance with the positive statements of one who had been at St. Joseph's at least a part of the time indicated, I mean Father Charles Garnier. The attention of the unwary is drawn to this misleading historical indication. It concerns the present year and the ones following.

1645

(R. F. Jérôme Lalemant, Superior General of Canada Mission, at Quebec, 1645-1650.)

Father Ragueneau, the new superior of the Huron Missions, writes: "We have transformed into residences the missions we were attending in the towns of *La Conception, St. Joseph* [II.], *St. Ignace* [I.], *St. Michel* and *St. Jean-Baptiste*, which this year [1645-1646] have given occupation to ten of ours. The mission of *St. Esprit* can have no fixed abode; for it would be impossible to settle in one spot five or six wandering tribes of Algonquins, scattered as they are along the shores of our Great Lake for more than one hundred and fifty leagues from here, and for whose conquest to the Faith we have been able to send but two of our Fathers. Two others remained at home, at our house at Ste. Marie [I.], which is the central point of the country and the heart of all our missions. From this centre we endeavour to supply the wants of all our churches, and it is here that we have the consolaton of meeting three times within a year, etc.....As for me, the last of the fifteen of our Fathers who are here, I have no regular cure allotted to me, so being unattached I am left more free to make the round of all the missions, remain in each place as long as the necessity for the time being requires....."

"In each of these church centres we have built chapels suitable enough, and have hung bells which are heard pretty far....." (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1, 2 col.*).

With the Relations written by Father Ragueneau, from this out, begin the perplexities of the would-be chronologist. He seems to have entered upon office with the preconceived notion that he was bound to follow not only the injunction of "*nil de mortuis*

nisi bonum" but, what is to be much regretted, that of "*nihil boni nisi de mortuis.*" For, whatever good is effected or hardship endured is simply attributed in his Relations to "one of our Fathers," or "two of our Fathers," or else to the "Father or Fathers in charge of this mission." As for names, except in the extreme case of actual martyrdom, scarcely one is vouchsafed. So that, when indications in other documents of the time are not forthcoming, I shall henceforth be reduced to mere surmise; and I beg the reader to be lenient if, in this inextricable tangle, I should more than once be brought to a complete stand-still.

Departures.

F. Jérôme Lalemant left Huronia (*C.G.-LL. date of letter June 7, 1645, Contemp. cop. p. 85*; *Rec. cop. p. 73*) in the month of August, 1645, for he reached Montreal on Sept. 7, Three Rivers on the 10th (*Rel. 1645, p. 29, 2 col.*; *p. 30, 1 col.*; *p. 23, 2 col.*) and Quebec on Oct. 2 (*Journ. des Jés. p. 3*). The lay-brother Dominique Scot probably journeyed with him. An entry, under date of October 24, 1645, runs thus: "Father Quentin, the ordinary procurator, and our Brother Scot, back from the Huron Mission on account of his disease of the lungs, took passage [for France] on the "Admiral" (*Journ. des. Jés., p. 8*).

Nicolas Giffard, a young boy, and Charles Lemoyne, a hired man, left for Quebec this summer (*Journ. des Jés., pp. 9, 10*).

Arrivals.

F. François Joseph Bressani, after his capture and excruciating though only preliminary tortures inflicted by the Iroquois, was ransomed by the Dutch and sent back to France. He landed at La Rochelle Nov. 15, 1644 (*Rel. 1644, p. 45, 1, 2 col.*). He, however, returned to Canada (*Rel. 1645, p. 2, 1 col.*) and again set out for Huronia, where he arrived in the early autumn of 1645 (*Rel. 1645, p. 73, 1 col.*).

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet, absent since the summer of 1640, returned, if not in company with F. Bressani, about the same time, though there is no explicit mention of his arrival. His name which appeared regularly on the parish register of Montreal in 1642, 1643 and 1644 (*Jacq. Viger, Petit Regist. in 40th, MS., p. 4*), is not to be found there after the last mentioned year, while it occurs, under the heading "Apud Hurones," in manuscript lists, excerpts from the scant fragments of Catalogues which exist, viz. in 1645, 1648, 1649; 1646 and 1647 are lacking (*Extr-Lar. pp. 12, 13, 14; Extr-Mart., pp. 9, 10, 11*). Moreover, F. Ragueneau gives

as fifteen the number of Fathers in Huronia in 1645-1646 (Rel. *1646, p. 56, 2 col.*); there would have been but fourteen had F. Poncet not been present.

The lay brother, Ambroise Brouet left also for Huronia in the autumn of 1645 (*MS. Authent. 1652, Orig. p. 145; Copy p. 119, where it says "last autumn," the date of the document being Feb. 17, 1646*).

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Paulus Ragueneau, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min, proc., cons., præf. eccl. et sanit. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12.*)
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron
Pater Franciscus Josephus Bressani
Pater Joannes De Brébeuf, conf. NN., cons., oper. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12; Extr-Mart. p. 9.*)
Pater Josephus Antonius Poncet
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Leonardus Garreau, oper.
Pater Natalis Chabanel, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm. præf. spir. conf. NN., cons., et domest. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12; Extr-Mart., p. 9.*)
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Ambrosius Brouet
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, ædit., fab. ferr.

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Carolus Panie,
Eustachius Lambert,
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Jacobus Levrier, sutor,
Joannes Amiot (or Amyot),
Joannes Guérin,
Josephus Molère, pharm., lotor vest.
Nicolaus Montreuil (*Extr.-Lar. p. 7; Extr.-Mart. p. 7.*)
Robertus Le Coq, negot. (*Extr-Lar. pp. 7, 8, 10; Extr-Mart. pp. 7, 8.*)
Petrus Boucher (*Extr-Lar. p. 7; Extr-Mart. p. 7; Journ. des Jés., p. 35.*)

Adolescentes et Pueri:

Claudius Boucher (*Extr-Lar. p. 7*; *Extr-Mart. p. 7*).

Daniel Cartron (or Carteron) (*Journ. des Jés. p. 64*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*).

Franciscus Dornais (*Extr-Lar. p. 7*; *Extr-Mart. p. 7*).

Jacobus Douard (or Douart) (*Rel. 1648, p. 77, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1649, p. 28, 2 col.*)

Marinus Lefevre (*Extr-Lar. p. 7*; *Extr-Mart. p. 7*).

Domestici et alii:

Petrinus ("Pierrot") Cochon (or Cauchon) (*Jour. des Jés. p. 64; Extr-Mart. p. 9*)

Ægidius (Gilles) Bacon (*Jour. des Jés. p. 64*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*)

Joannes Le Mercier (*Jour. des Jés. p. 64*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*)

Medardus Chouart Groselieıs (*Jour. des Jés. p. 64*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*)

————Racine (*Jour. des Jés. p. 64*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*)

Missions:

HURON.

I. Ste. Marie I. (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1, 2 col.*; *p. 78, 1 col.*)

(Residence)

(Two Fathers resided in our house at Ste. Marie. *Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.*)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup. no fixed domicile (*Id. ib. 2 col.*)

F. François Le Mercıer, min. proc. præf. eccl. et sanit. cons. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12*)

F. Pierre Chastelain, præf. spirit. conf. NN. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12*)

(Mission)

F. Jean de Brébeuf, cons. conf. NN. (*Extr-Lar. p. 12*; *Extr-Mart. p. 9*), miss. excurrens.

Father de Brébeuf, as the autumn [of 1645] was drawing to an end (*Rel. 1646, p. 76, 2 col.*) set out with a young Frenchman for *Tangouaen*, where there was an encampment of Algonquins and Hurons (Id. ib.). This place was five or six days' journey from Huronia. He remained there but a few days, for winter was setting in and threatened to prevent his return to Huronia (*Id. p. 77, 1 col.*) where his services were needed.

There is no doubt that during the year 1645-1646 there were several other Fathers who were obliged by sickness to return from

their missions to Ste. Marie I., for Ragueneau says "plusieurs de nos Peres estans tombez en mesme temps malades, etc." (*Rel. 1646, p. 77, 2 col., p. 78, 1 col.*).

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.; p. 60, 1 col.; p. 62, 1 col.*)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup. (*Rel. 1646, p. 72, 2 col.; C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 71*).

F..... (no data available).
F..... (no data available).

That Father Ragueneau was at *Ossossanë* is certain. Speaking of an eclipse of the moon which took place on January 30, 1645, he says: "I'estois alors dans le Bourg de la Conception" (*Rel. 1646, p. 72, 2 col.*). Garnier (*loc. cit. superius*) in his letter of June 7, 1645, writes "Le P. Ragueneau est toujours aussi au bourg de la Conception." This citation helped us already to place him last year, 1644, but as the date shows, it refers primarily to the present one. Still, it is not to be supposed that he was there alone, as the neophytes were more numerous there than elsewhere. But, so far, I have discovered no helpful data to determine how many and who his assistants were.

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.; p. 59, 2 col.; p .79, 1 col.*)

F. Charles Garnier (*C.G.-LL., June 7, 1645, Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 70*)
F. François Du Peron (*C.G.-LL., June 7, 1645, Contemp. cop. p. 80; Rec. cop. p. 70*)

There was more than one missionary on the station: "*Nos Peres* de la mission de S. Ioseph, voyans croistre le nombre de leurs morts, etc." (*Rel. 1646, p. 59, 2 col.*); but there is not even a hint as to who they were. Father Garnier's Letter (*loc. cit.*) happily supplies the deficiency. Under date of June 7, 1645, the Father says: "Je suis toujours en ce bourg de St. Joseph avec le P. Ménard." The presence of Father Garnier at St. Joseph II. this year is confirmed by Father Garreau's letter contained in Relation 1650 (*p. 14, 1 col.*).

IV. St. Ignace I., at Taenhatentaron (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.; p. 58, 2 col.; p. 63, 2 col.; p. 80, 1 col.*).

F..... (no data available).
F..... (no data available).

On page 59 (*1 col*), while referring to the village of St. Ignace I., the author says: "Nos Peres, en ayans appris la nouuelle, etc.," and from this expression I once more infer that there was more than one Father in charge of this mission. But there is no supplementary evidence from other sources to enlighten us as to their identity.

V. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.*; *p. 77, 2 col.*).

F..... (no data available).

There was to all appearances but one Father appointed to St. Michel this year, 1645-1646. And for that matter, it was deprived for nearly the whole time of its pastor. A young prisoner of war taken from the *Atsistaëronnons*, or Fire Nation, had been adopted by the Hurons of St. Michel, and on his conversion received in baptism the name of Exouaendaen. Stricken by paralysis he became a cripple, and was sadly neglected by his family of adoption, not being even provided with food for days at a time by his heathen relatives. This preamble will help to the understanding of the quotation:

"Sa maladie alloit tousiours croissant, et pour luy rauir dans le plus fort de ses miseres, l'vnique consolation qui luy restoit en terre, Dieu permit que *le Pere qui auoit soin de cette Mission*, fut obligé de s'en absenter bien long-temps, sans que nous puissions y suppléer par vne autre voye, plusieurs de nos Peres estans tombez en mesme temps malades, et les autres necessaires autre part" (*Rel. 1646, p. 77, 2 col.*; *p. 78, 1 col.*). This, and what follows, leaves the impression that the Mission of St. Michel suffered for a very considerable time from the absence of its one missionary.

This mission had been given a Residence in the autumn of 1642, as may be seen in Relation 1644 (*p. 94, 2 col.*), bearing always in mind that that part of Relation 1644 covered the twelvemonth from June, 1642, to June, 1643 (*see p. 68, Rel. 1644*). Chaumonot and François Du Peron were its first appointed pastors (*Rel. 1644, p. 94, 2 col.*). Of Du Peron we hear nothing more until 1646, when Garnier tells us that he was his companion at St. Joseph II. Nor of Chaumonot until 1647, when under the Indian name of *Aronhiatiri* we find him first at St. Ignace I. (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*), and then at La Conception (*Rel. 1649, p. 28, 2 col.*; *MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 166 et p. 164 conjunctim*; *Cf. P.M. p. 242*). So that no evidence of a positive nature precludes the supposition that Du Peron remained at St. Michel until 1646, or that Chaumonot was still a resident missionary there until

1647; only, be it remembered, that in this year, 1645, there was but one Father at St. Michel, and that for the greater part of the year he was absent through sickness.

VI. St. Jean-Baptiste, at Cahiagué (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.*; *p. 61, 1 col.*)

F. Antoine Daniel (*Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*; *Cf. Rel. 1644, p. 99, 1 col.*)

F..... (no data available).

It may be inferred that there were, this year, two missionaries stationed at St. Jean-Baptiste from the expression "estant interogée de *nos Peres*" (*Rel. 1646, p. 61, 2 col.*). There need be no doubt entertained as to Father Daniel. The nine years, and more, before his death he had lived in the villages nearest the frontier (*Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*). Since the destruction of *Contarea*, St. Jean-Baptiste and St. Joseph II. were the only two spoken of as such. As St. Joseph II. and its two missionaries are already accounted for this year, 1645-1646, with absolute certainty, obviously Father Daniel was at St. Jean-Baptiste. But who his companion was remains a problem.

ALGONQUIN.

VII. St. Esprit, Nipissings, etc. (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 1 col.; p. 80, 2 col.*).

F. Claude Pijart (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, pp. 80, 81, 84*).

F. Leonard Garreau (*Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, pp. 80, 81, 84*).

"Father Claude Pijart and Father Léonard Garreau, who had wintered with the Algonquins [*1644-1645* on the shores of our great lake amidst the snow which covers these regions for more than four or five months, followed these same tribes throughout the summer among the bare rocks where they dwell, exposed to a burning sun, so that they may be said to have spent about the whole of last year [1644-1645] with them" (*Rel. 1646, pp. 80, 81*).

"They had left us [for their mission] at the end of November [1644]" (*Id. p. 81, 1 col.*), with a young Frenchman a domestic servant (*Id. ib.*). "They remained [at their camp] until May 7, [1645]" (*Id. p. 81, 2 col.*), which camp was more than eighty leagues distant (*Id. p. 84, 1 col.*). Nothing is said of the summer of 1645.

"Our Fathers have not set eyes on the greater number of these fervent Christians [the Algonquins] since the autumn [1645] when they were obliged to take leave of them at a place [*Endarahy*, distant from here more than eighty leagues, the Nipissirinians having made up their minds to live scattered through the forests during all this last winter [1645-1646] (*Rel. 1646, p. 84, 1 col.*). At the same time [autumn of 1645] Father Garreau fell sick, a prey to a violent fever and dysentery, to alleviate which Father Claude Pijart and the Frenchman who accompanied them had no remedy at hand in a wilderness destitute of all human succour" (*Id. ib.*). Thereupon, the Relation tells us, they hurried home as best they could, through rapids and over portages, paddling while daylight lasted and often during the night. In the more dangerous passes even the sufferer lent a hand to the paddle. After a painful journey of twelve or thirteen days, without shelter from sun, or rain, or wind, and always ankle-deep in water, the invalid reached Huronia (*Id. ib.*).

"But he arrived," I quote the words of the Relation, "so thoroughly spent that our remedies were powerless against the evil, and in a few days we saw him so near death's door, that during a crisis which lasted a whole day we thought he was in his last agony, and his coffin was prepared" (*Id. p. 84, 1, 2 col.*). This sickness lasted into the winter [1645-1646].

All this seems plain enough when punctuated, as it were, with dates, which I have placed in brackets, as not belonging to the text, and for these glaring interpolations I feel that some justification is called for. Let us take as starting-point an event with an absolutely certain date, for the season and for the year, for instance, the following:

"Garreau's illness occurred in the autumn of 1645 or towards the beginning of the winter 1645-1646."

This is substantiated beyond a shadow of doubt by Garnier's letter of May 14, 1646 (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 89; Rec. cop. p. 76*): "Je fus souvent ravi d'admiration cet hiver [evidently of 1645-1646], voyant et entendant les sentiments d'un des nôtres qui fut si proche de la mort que nous avions déjà fait sa bière. Il fut malade environ 88 jours, ce me semble. La Relation vous apprendra comment il tomba malade."

The Relation of 1646, the date of which is May 1, 1646, is in perfect agreement with this, for we were told that the Fathers did not again see the Algonquins since the autumn, when they took leave of them, the latter dispersing in the woods "*through the whole of this last winter*," which from the date of the Relation could be no other than that of 1645-1646, while the autumn when

the Fathers separated from the Indians was that of 1645, and the Relation adds immediately: "Le Pere Gareau tomba malade en mesme temps" (*p. 84, 1 col.*). It is true that in Garnier's letter the name of the sick missionary is not given, but the incident of the coffin having been prepared before the man was dead, which is mentioned both in the letter and in the Relation, is too striking and too unusual not to refer to the same person.

Here then is our starting point, and from it let us work back.

Winter of 1645-1646. The Algonquins disperse through the woods during the winter 1645-1646 (*Rel. 1646, p. 84, 1 col.*)

Autumn of 1645. Beginning of Father Garreau's illness, at the time the Fathers take leave of the Indians (*Id. ib.*).

Summer of 1645. No mention is made of it in the Relation. But since the missionaries had returned to Huronia from a previous expedition after a journey of four or five days (*Id. p. 81, 1 col.*) beginning on May 7, 1645 (*Id. ib. 2 col.*), to be able to *return* again in the autumn of 1645 they must have been absent from Huronia, and with the Algonquins during the interval, that is during the summer of 1645. In fact, Claude Pijart's letter (*Rel. 1656, p. 43, 1 col.*) states positively that they were together this very summer in the Nipissing country.

The paragraph, near the head of the first column, on page 84, beginning: "Depuis ce temps-là, cette petite Eglise, etc." is the point of transition in the narrative between what happened during the twelvemonth 1644-1645 and the preceding year.

Spring of 1645. Turning back now to page 81 (*2 col.*), we find the first specified date, precise as to the day and month, but the year is not given: "There the three [Garreau, Claude Pijart and their young French companion] constructed out of birch bark a cabin for themselves, under whose shelter they dwelt until the snow was gone, that is May 7. "As this spot, their mission winter-quarters, was four or five days' journey from Huronia (*Id. p. 81, 1 col.*) they were back at Ste. Marie 1. about May 12, but assuredly not May 12, 1646, for the Relation itself is dated May 1, 1646 (p. 54, 1 col.). Consequently the party broke up camp May 7, 1645.

Winter of 1644-1645. The particulars of the winter mission of 1644-1645 should have found place in Relation 1645. In fact turning to page 51 (*col. 1.*) of that Relation we find mention made of that hibernation but in mere outline: "The seventh [missionary] Church, called St. Esprit, is composed of Algonquins who, this year [1644-1645], together with a number of other nations, wintered about twenty-five leagues from us on the [shores of the]

great Lake of our Hurons. This obliged Father Claude Pijart and Father Léonard Garreau, their appointed instructors, to winter with them, undergoing much hardship and labour but not without consolation."

To make up for such a meagre account for a rather eventful year, the author of the Relation 1646 in a retrospect at the beginning of Chapter VII. (*p. 80, 2 col.*) supplies the particulars which he had passed over in silence. It follows from this that the opening lines should read: "Father Claude Pijart and Father Léonard Garreau, who had wintered with the Algonquins *in 1644-1645* on the shore of our great lake, etc."

Autumn of 1644. It follows likewise that on page 81 (*1 col.*) the date should be filled in and the phrase read: "They had left us at the end of the month of November, 1644, etc." In this same paragraph we find described the narrow escape of the two missionaries from drowning after they had broken through the ice as having occurred shortly after their departure in November, 1644. I draw attention particularly to this as it will prove of service presently.

To look for corroboration of what has gone before by turning to the Relation 1644 would be time lost. All that precedes the letter of Father Jérôme Lalemant (*Rel. 1644, pp. 105, 107*) refers to what took place during the twelvemonth 1642-1643 (*see title p. 68*), while in the letter itself, which is dated March 31, 1644 (*p. 107, 2 col.*), the mission of St. Esprit is not even mentioned.

Corroboration of what precedes. But Relation 1656 contains an encomium of the virtues of Father Garreau, written on the occasion of the death, by his former companion Father Claude Pijart. In it this passage occurs: "Ie me souuiens qu'hiuernant auec luy l'an 1644 [winter of 1644-1645], en vn lieu nommé *Endaraky*, et passant sur vn étang glacé le quatriéme de Decembre, iour de saincte Barbe la glace se rompant, etc." (*Rel. 1656, p. 43, 1 col.*)....."Il fit, l'Esté suiuant, vn voyage auec moy au Païs des Nipisiriniens, où les fatigues que son zele luy faisoit souffrir, le ietterent dans vne maladie que nous croyïons tour estre mortelle; mais Dieu luy reseruoit vne mort plus genereuse" (*Id. ib.*).

While on this subject of the Algonquins it will be of interest to note that the two missionaries this year came in contact and effected conversions among what were for them new tribes, for no doubt Fathers Jogues and Raymbault had already met with them on their journey to Sault Ste. Marie in September and October, 1641 (*Rel. 1642, p. 97*). The Relation of 1646 puts it thus: "Outre les Nipissiriniens, auxquels depuis quelques années on auoit annoncé la foy, et dont quelques-vns de remarque estoient desia Chres-

tiens, il se trouua par bon-heur dans cét hyuernement vne autre nation d' Algonquins, nommez Achirigouans, dont le pays tire vers l'Occident, approchant des peuples du Sault, des Aoueatsiouaenronnons, c'est à dire qui habitent les costes de la Mer [or any large body of water]; et d'autres nations tres nombreuses auec lesquelles ils ont leur principal commerce et de tres-grandes habitudes" (*Rel. 1646, p. 81, 2 col.*; *p. 82, 1 col.*). The Relation then proceeds to give the results of the missionary efforts of the Fathers.

Unaccounted for.

The names of the missionaries, who were assuredly in Huronia this year, but whom, for lack of data, it has been impossible to place with any degree of certainty are as follows:

Bressani, François Joseph
Chabanel, Noël
Chaumonot, Joseph Marie
Du Peron, François
Le Moyne, Simon
Ménard, René.

1646

This year, 1646-1647, there were in Huronia fifteen Fathers, three coadjutor or lay brothers, fifteen "*donnés*," five hired men and four boys (*Father Ragueneau's letter, May 1, 1647, Extr-Lar. p. 65, No. 16*).

No Fathers arrived or left; but on May 11, 1646, Jean Caron set out from Three Rivers for the Hurons (*Journ. des. Jés., p. 44, Cf. Id. p. 145*); while Brother Pierre Masson left Quebec for the same destination on Sept. 29, 1646 (*Journ. des. Jés. p. 66*) together with Jean Boursier dit Desforges (*Id. ibid. Cf. p. 143*).

In a letter to his brother Henri, dated April 25, 1648, Father Charles Garnier gives us several particulars relating to the year 1646: "I told you [in previous letters intercepted by the Iroquois] that my superiors had sent me with one of Ours named F. Garreau to a new mission termed that of the Petun Nation, to which we have given the title of Mission of the Apostles. I call it a new mission, for though I had been there with the late Father Jogues in 1639, and subsequently in 1640 with F. [Pierre] Pijart, we did little else than baptize some sick Indians, but few adults. Then the mission was given up that we might work in other centres nearer our House [the Residence of Ste. Marie I.], where minds were better disposed to embrace the Faith.....We have been sent hither, F. Garreau and I, he to instruct the Algonquins, living among this same Petun Nation, though of a language

differing from that of our Hurons, and I, to instruct the Hurons. So we both took up our quarters in a town inhabited by both Hurons and Algonquins [St. Mathias or *Ekarenniondi.*]

"There F. Garreau worked hard throughout the winter of 1646 to learn the Algonquin language. He made great progress, so that in the spring [1647] he could make himself well understood."....

The Father then mentions the murder of an Algonquin and continues: "The Algonquins accused the Hurons of the deed and forthwith withdrew from the town named *Ekarenniondi* [The Standing Rock], where they had lived together, and set out to join another Algonquin Nation two days' journey from *Ekarenniondi.* .....For this reason the Father [Garreau] was appointed to the Hurons, in the knowledge of whose language he had already a good beginning. We joined forces, he and I, and since last summer [1647] our field of labour has been principally in two Huron [Petun] towns four leagues distant one from the other. One is called *Ekarennindi,* dedicated to St. Mathias, and the other *Etharita* dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. We have a little chapel in each of these two villages" (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. Cop. pp. 97-99*; *Rec. Cop. pp. 83, 84*).

Further on, in the same letter, speaking of the chances of a reconciliation of the Hurons (i.e. Petuns) and Algonquins, and of the fruits of their own labours, F. Garnier states expressly that he and F. Garreau had been missionaries among the Petuns since October, 1646. He speaks also of a third village, probably St. Matthieu (*Cf. Rel. 1650, p. 19, 2 col.*) where they had found work to do (*Id. Contemp. cop. p. 101*; *Rec. cop. p. 86*).

In the general Relation of 1647 there is no account of what took place among the Hurons in 1646-1647. For that matter, from the beginning of F. Ragueneau's administration in Huronia down to the dispersion, particulars as to where the several missionaries were stationed, year after year, are very scant, not to say entirely wanting.

The Frenchmen who went down to Quebec this year were Pierrot Cauchon, Gillis Bacon; Daniel Cartron, Jean Le Mercier, Des Groseliers, Racine and Eustache Lambert "who had become a *donné* and was to return, which he eventually did with the above named persons" (*Journ. des. Jés., p. 64*), a statement seemingly modified later: "With the Hurons, Eustache went up, and the three of whom I have spoken above" (*Id. p. 65*). Which *three?*

The departure of the Hurons, for the upper country, took place on September 22 (*Id. ib.*).

CATALOGUS PERSONARUM ET OFFICIORUM.

R. Pater Paulus Ragueneau, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper., præf. sanit. eccl. et.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron,
Pater Franciscus Josephus Bressani,
Pater Joannes de Brébeuf, Conf. NN., cons., oper.
Pater Josephus Antonius Poncet, oper.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Leonardus Garreau, oper.
Pater Natalis Chabanel, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf. NN., cons., præf. spir. donatorum,
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Ambrosius Brouet, coq.
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, fab. ferr.
Frater Petrus Masson, sart., ædit., hortulan.

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Carolus Panic,
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor,
Claudius Boucher,
*Daniel Cartron,
*Eustachius Lambert,
Franciscus Dornais,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Jacobus Douart,
Jacobus Levrier,
Joannes Guérin,
Josephus Molère,
Marinus Lefevre,
Nicolaus Montreuil,
Robertus Le Coq,
Josephus Boursier dit Desforges.

Domestici et Alii:

*Ægidius Bacon,
Joannes Caron,

* The seven whose names are marked with an asterisk went down to Quebec this year, 1646, but returned in the autumn (*Journ. des Jes.* pp. 64, 66).

Joannes Guiet, faber lign (*Journ. des Jés., p. 66*)
*Joannes Le Mercier,
*———— Racine,
*Petrinus ("Pierrot") Cauchon,
Petrus Tourment, cœment. (*Journ. des Jés., p. 66*)
*Medardus Chouart Groseliers,

Pueri:

———— Leger (*Journ. des Jés., p. 111*)
Franciscus Malherbe (*æt 14, Obit.*; *Archio. A Portf. 21, 13*)
Two other names wanting.

Missions:

HURON.

I. Ste. Marie I.

(Residence)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup. (*Rel. 1646, p. 56, 2 col.*; *Extr-Lar. pp. 12, 13, 14*).
F. François Le Mercier, proc. cons. præf. eccl. et sanit. (*Extr-Mart. p. 10*).
F. Pierre Chastelain, præf. rer. spir. Conf. NN., adm. (*Extr-Mart. p. 10*).
F. François Joseph Bressani, (recuperating).
F. Léonard Garreau, (recuperating until October).

Father Bressani, who had returned to Huronia in the autumn of 1645, was in no condition (*Rel. 1646, p. 73, 1 col.*) to undertake, even with a companion, the care of an outlying mission. First he had no knowledge as yet of the language: "S'il n'eust point esté pris captif des Iroquois en son premier voyage, il sçauroit desia la langue Huronne et seroit vn ouurier formé" (*Id. ib.*). Then his mutilated hands must as yet have been of little service to him. He had but one entire finger left, and from this the nail had been torn (*Breve Rel. Orig. p. 37, Transl. p. 122*). The particulars into which Ragueneau enters, as to the favourable impression made on the Hurons at the sight of those very hands, which spoke so eloquently, seem almost to indicate that the Superior had kept him by his side ever since his return. Apart from this consideration, there is nothing else to determine his position this year.

(Mission)

F. Jean de Brébeuf, till a little before the removal of St. Ignace I. to the new site (*Vie de Brébeuf, Martin, p. 246*).

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë.

F. Simon Le Moyne
F. Noël Chabanel

There are no data concerning them this year, and it is by process of elimination only that these two Fathers have been set down as missionaries at *Ossossanë*. All the other Fathers have found their places and these two alone remain unaccounted for. Seeing at the same time that there were more Christian Hurons at La Conception than elsewhere, missionaries were needed there, and the services of at least two. It is consequently morally certain that this was, in 1646-1647, the mission of Le Moyne and Chabanel.

III. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë.

F. Charles Garnier, until October, 1646.
F. Antoine Daniel, from October, 1646.
F. François Du Peron (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 88*; *Rec. cop. p. 75*).

The data which have helped me to assign these positions to the three missionaries are found in Garnier's letters: "As for news from this country I shall say that I am still at the town of St. Joseph with another Father whom you do not know. His name is François Du Peron. Father Ménard is now at the town of St. Ignace [I.]" (*Id. ib.*). The date of this letter is May 14, 1646.

That Garnier left St. Joseph II. in October, 1646, and was replaced by Daniel appears from the two following extracts: "In all, the Father [Garreau] and I have baptized, thanks be to God, 184 since coming to this mission of the Petun Nation, that is to say since the month of October, 1646" (*C.G.-LL Contemp. cop. p. 101; Rec. cop. p. 86*). The date of this letter is April 25, 1648.

The second extract is from a letter dated April 25, 1649: "Father Daniel . . . was killed July 4 (if I remember well) of last year while succouring his flock in the town of St. Joseph, where he then was, and which I left two years ago." (*Id. Contemp. cop. pp. 103, 104*; *Rec. cop. p. 88*).

IV. St. Ignace I., at Taeniatentaron.

F. René Ménard (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 88*; *Rec. cop. p. 75*).
F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*).

We have already seen above what Garnier, in his letter of May 14, 1646, said of Father Ménard, "Father Ménard is now at

the town of St. Ignace [I.]" (*Contemp. cop. p. 88*; *Rec. Cop. p. 75*).

A Father, whose Huron appellation was *Aronhiatiri* (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*), was most indubitably stationed at St. Ignace I. just before its removal, for one of the Christian Hurons noticing his dejection, at the prospect of having to dismantle and destroy the chapel, read him a lesson while addressing him as *Aronhiatiri*, which the Relation tells us was the name the Indians had given the Father who had charge of this mission (*Id. ib.*). In my remarks on the following year, 1647, I have endeavoured to show conclusively that Chaumonot went by this name among the Hurons.

V. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat.

F. ..... (no certain data).

This mission was probably attended this year from St. Ignace I. Last year, as has been noted, its missionary had fallen sick, so it was deprived of advantages of a resident pastor for a very considerable time (bien longtemps); and from Ragueneau's words, which follow, it may be inferred that when he was short of a man it was St. Ignace I. that suffered: "sans que nous puissions y suppléer," that is by sending another Father, "les autres (estans) necessaires autre part" (*Rel. 1646, pp. 77, 78*).

VI. St. Jean-Baptiste, at Cahiagué.

F. Antoine Daniel.

When Garnier went to the Petun Nation in October, 1646, Daniel took his place at St. Joseph II. This did not necessarily imply that he gave up St. Jean-Baptiste altogether. We know that for more than nine years he exercised his missionary zeal in "les places les plus frontieres de ce pays" (*Rel. 1649, p. 4, 2 col.*), and that both St. Jean-Baptiste and St. Joseph II. were so styled. Moreover, the former outlying town was on the point of breaking up, its inhabitants dispersing and taking refuge in other less exposed villages (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.*). This migration, taking place at the latest sometime between the autumn of 1647 and the very early spring of 1648, was no doubt foreseen and certainly forestalled by the Superior, Father Ragueneau, when he transferred Father Daniel to St. Joseph II.

LES APÔTRES, AMONG THE PETUNS.

VII. St. Mathias, at Ekarenniondi.

F. Charles Garnier (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 98*; *Rec. cop. p. 83*).

F. Léonard Garreau (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 98*; *Rec. cop. p. 83*).

This mission was re-opened by the two Fathers mentioned, in October, 1646 (*Id. Contemp. cop. p. 101*; *Rec. cop. p. 86*).

ALGONQUIN.

VIII. St. Esprit, Nipisings and Eastern Shore.

F. Claude Pijart.

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet, Algonquin camps in Huronia.

Father Garreau, the former associate of Father Claude Pijart, after his recovery did not return to the more remote Algonquin missions but was sent, as has been said, to the Petun Nation to minister to the Algonquins resident there (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 98*; *Rec. cop. p. 83*) On account of the long duration of his sickness and convalescence, he had been incapacitated for work throughout the winter and following summer. But during this interval, that is the winter of 1645-1646, the Algonquins, contrary to their wont, had not repaired to Huronia, at least in any considerable numbers (*Rel. 1646, p. 84, 1 col.*). When they began to resume their visits they found that Father Joseph Antoine Poncet, who had returned to Huronia in the autumn of 1645, had taken the place of Father Garreau. Thenceforth, until the very end, Claude Pijart and Joseph Poncet continued to minister to the Algonquin Nations.

Throughout all the Relation of 1647 there is not a word on record which concerns the Algonquins. The last allusion to them was made in Relation 1646 (*p. 84, 1 col.*), which brought the history of the mission down to the spring of 1646 by noting their absence during the previous winter.

The first mention made again of these wandering tribes is in Relation 1648 (*p. 63*). This touches upon the winter of 1647-1648, and, quite incidentally, just mentions the summer of 1647, but in a way to show that they were still in contact with the missionaries: "Last summer [1647], an Algonquin, wizard by trade, or at least one of those who make profession of invoking the Manitou, that is to say the Devil, finding himself confuted by the Father set upon

him in his maddened frenzy, threw him down and dragged him by the heels through the ashes and cinders of the camp fire, and had not other Indians rushed to his rescue would have ended by murdering him" (*Id. p. 63, 1, 2 col.*).

Two circumstances lead me to suppose that this did not take place in Huronia Proper. The first is that the incident occurred in summer when the Algonquins were usually at home in their own respective haunts. The second, that the Algonquin sorcerer would not have dared use such forceful arguments anywhere near Ste. Marie I.

Supposing such to be the case, I further infer that the victim of the assault was Father Claude Pijart, as Poncet had been sent to a remote Algonquin mission, that of St. Pierre, for the first time in his experience, in 1648, after "earnestly having solicited this favour for several years past" (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*).

There is consequently a gap left to be filled in, reaching from the spring of 1646 to the summer of 1647. No documents, to my knowledge, exist whereby to make good this deficiency; but it is in every way reasonable to suppose that the same two Fathers, during these thirteen or fourteen months, had uninterruptedly acted as missionaries for the Algonquins.

1647

"We number [1647-1648] forty-two Frenchmen in the midst of all these unbelieving Nations; eighteen of our Society, the remainder are picked men, most of whom have made up their minds to live and die with us. They help us by their labour and industry, etc." [*i.e. the donnés*] (*Rel. 1648, p. 48, 1 col.*).

Through dread of the Iroquois no Huron Flotilla reached Quebec this year, 1647 (*Rel. 1648, p. 11, 2 col.*; *Journ. des Jés., p. 95*). But an expedition certainly got at least as far as Montreal: "Le 12 [juin, 1648] vinrent les nouuelles apportées par les Algonquains & Hurons partis des l'automne passé, pour hyverner icy;.....Leger, ieune enfant, arriva en mesme temps, & demeura à Montreal, après auoir demeuré enuiron vn an aux Hurons" *Journal des Jés., p. 111*). This was written at Quebec. Nor did any news reach Huronia from the lower country (*C.G.-LL. Apr. 25, 1648*; *Contemp. eop. p. 97*; *Rec. eop. p. 83*). One year has passed without news from Quebec (*Ragueneau's letter, 1648, Extr-Larch. p. 66, No. 5*).

"This house [Residence of Ste. Marie I.] is a resort for the whole country, where the Christians find a Hospital when sick, a refuge when panic-stricken and a hospice when they come to visit us. During the past year we have reckoned over three thousand

persons to whom we have given shelter, and sometimes within a fortnight six or seven hundred Christians, which, as a rule, means three meals to each one. This does not include a larger number who come here continually to pass the whole day, and to whom also we give charity, etc." (*Rel. 1648, p. 48, 2 col.*).

"As a rule only two or three of our Fathers reside in this house [Residence of Ste. Marie I.]; the others are scattered through the missions, now ten in number. Missions in the principal towns of the country are more stationary, the others more on the move. A single Father has at times to take charge of ten or twelve villages; some have to range much further, over eighty or a hundred leagues .....We all endeavour, however, to meet together two or three times a year.....[for their spiritual retreats, etc.]. After that we must hurry back to our work as soon as possible." (*Rel. 1648, p. 48, 2 col*; *p. 49, 1 col.*).

The Mission of Ste. Marie [I.] comprises twelve or thirteen villages, which a single Father visits continually not without great fatigue. We happily found ourselves compelled eight months ago to establish another similar mission, still more fatiguing, for some villages farther away from us, which we call the Mission of Ste. Madeleine" [*Arenta or Arentel*] (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*).

"As those whom we call the Petun Nation have been urging us to go and instruct them, we sent thither two of our Fathers who carry on two missions there for two different clans which go to make up the whole population, one goes by the name of the Nation of the Wolves, termed by us the Mission of St. Jean [at *Etharita*]; while we call the other the Mission of St. Mathias [at *Ekarenniondi*] which is established among those who style themselves the Nation of the Deer" (*Id. p. 61, 1 col.*).

St. Mathias (or *Ekarenniondi*) and St. Jean l'Evangéliste (or Etharita), the two most important Petun towns, were four leagues distant one from the other (*C.G.-LL., Contemp. cop. p. 99*; *Rec. cop. p. 84*).

Under date of April 25, 1648, F. Garnier writes: "We are nearly always separated, the good F. Garreau and myself, for he makes a stay of ten or twenty days in one village and I in the other. Then he will come to join me, or I him; and after spending two or three days together, he will repair to the village where I had been previously, and I to the village where he had been. Thus we live without companionship save that of our good Angels and of the poor savages we are instructing." (*C.G.-LL. p. 85*).

At this date, April 25, there was a rumour that a reconciliation was contemplated between the Petuns and Algonquins (*Id. ib.*).

"This winter [1647-1648] a number of Algonquin Nations came and took up their winter quarters here among the Hurons. Two of our Fathers who have charge of the Missions of the Algonquin language, continued instructing them until the spring [1648], when the Indians dispersed. Our Fathers left at the same time to follow them. They organized two distinct missions: one for the Algonquin Nations whose haunts are along the eastern shores of our fresh-water sea and comprising the Nipissirinians, the other for the Nation speaking the same Algonquin language, who dwell along the north shore of the same lake. The former of these two missions is that which we call the Mission of St. Esprit, the latter, which we are commencing this year, has for name the Mission of St. Pierre (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*). The date of the Relation is April 16, 1648 (*p. 45, 1 col.*). In 1647-1648 there were fifteen Fathers, three Brothers, seventeen "donnés," and seven other domestics (*Ragueneau's Letter, 1648, Extr-Lar. p. 66, No. 5*).

Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum.

R. Pater Paulus Ragueneau, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper., præf. eccl. et sanit.
Pater Antonius Daniel, oper.
Pater Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, oper.
Pater Franciscus Josephus Bressani, oper.
Pater Joannes de Brébeuf, conf. NN., cons., oper.
Pater Josephus Antonius Poncet, oper.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Leonardus Garreau, oper.
Pater Natalis Chabanel, oper.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., conf NN., cons., præf. spirit. donator.
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne, oper.
Frater Ambrosius Brouet, coq.
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, fab. ferr.
Frater Petrus Masson, sart., ædit., hortulan.

Donati:

Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Carolus Panic,
Christophorus Regnaut, Sutor.

Claudius Boucher,
Daniel Cartron,
Franciscus Dornais,
Gulielmus Loisier,
Jacobus Douart,
Jacobus Levrier,
Joannes Guérin,
Josephus Boursier dit Desforges,
Josephus Molére, pharmac.
Marinus Lefèvre,
Nicolaus Montreuil,
Robertus Le Coq.
Two names wanting.

Pueri:

———— Leger,
Franciscus Malherbe (15 yrs.),
Two names wanting.

Domestici et Alii:

Ægidius Bacon,
Joannes Caron,
Joannes Guiet, fab. lign.
Joannes Le Mercier,
———— Racine,
Petrus Tourmente, cœment.

(Autumn of 1647 to Summer of 1648).

Missions:

HURON.

I. Ste. Marie I.

The Residence (*Rel. 1648, p. 48, 1 col.*)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier, min. proc. cons.
F. Pierre Chastelain, præf. spirit cons.

(*Rel. 1648, p. 48, 2 col.; Extr-Lar. p. 13.*)

"Ordinarily but two or three Fathers live in this Residence" (*Rel. 1648, ib.*)

(Mission)

"The Mission of Ste. Marie comprises twelve or thirteen villages. A single Father, with great fatigue, goes the round continually visiting them" (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*).

F. Jean de Brébeuf, conf. NN., cons (*Extr-Lar. p. 13*)
F. Noël Chabanel, for the Algonquins camping near Ste. Marie (*Rel. 1644, p. 49, 2 col.*).

No Father is mentioned by name as being in charge of these "douze ou treize bourgades," but as the "*Extr-Lar.*" sets Brébeuf down as one of the three "Consulters" of the Superior, Le Mercier and Chastelain being the other two, it is but natural to suppose that he would be so placed as to be easily called upon any day to meet in council. One of his letters written to the General at Rome, on his official capacity as consulter, is dated from Ste Marie, June 2, 1648, and is given in "*La Première Mission*" page 229. Another reason for placing him preferably on this mission, which necessarily supposes that his domicile was at Ste. Marie I., is that, besides the spiritual director, he is the only other Father marked "Conf. NN," i.e. Confessor of Ours. In this position any of the missionaries standing in need of his services would know where to find him.

However, concerning this particular period, Martin in his Life of Father Jean de Brébeuf (*p. 246*) has no hesitation in saying: "On the advice of Father de Brébeuf the inhabitants of St. Ignace decided to migrate, but in a body without separating. They moved to a spot not far from Ste. Marie, whence the French could easily come to their assistance. Father de Brébeuf was commissioned to choose the site, and he located the migrating village on the border of a little river which empties into an inlet of the great lake now called Sturgeon Bay, on the north side of the Huron peninsula." This plain statement must lead one to conclude that, on Chaumonot's departure for *Ossossanë*, his place was taken immediately by Brébeuf, who directed the works of circumvallation as he had already done in 1637 and 1638 for the villagers of La Conception.

Besides the Fathers, marked either this or other years as forming the community at Ste. Marie I., there were, owing to various causes, other more or less transient residents. It also goes without saying that new arrivals from Quebec passed a longer or shorter time there studying the language, and occasionally acting as companions for the older Fathers on their various missionary expeditions.

II. La Conception, or Ossossanë. (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*).

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot.

This year, 1647-1648, Father Chaumonot was first stationed at St. Ignace I. He was transferred to *Ossossanë* about the time

or very little after the removal of St. Ignace to its new site (See a little further on the explanations given under the heading of St. Ignace I.).

III. St. Michel, or Scanonaenrat. (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*).

F.....(no data available).

St. Jean-Baptiste, or Cahiagué Abandoned by the Hurons—Mission Closed.

"The *Arendaenronons* [Clan of the Rock] dwelling near our frontier towards the east, forming the mission we had named St. Jean-Baptiste, having met with so many reverses these last years [allusion to Contareia, etc.], have been compelled to abandon their country, too much exposed to the enemy, and to betake themselves to more populous centres, which are also better able to defend themselves" (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.*).

It seems impossible to determine the exact date of this change. It took place evidently previous to the date of the Relation, April 16, 1648 (*Rel. 1648, p. 45, 1 col.*); but how much sooner is a matter of mere surmise. The determining cause dated back to the preceding summer: "All this country was threatened last summer [1647] by an army of the enemy, but their plans were disarranged for reasons of which we shall speak presently" (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.*). The author then proceeds to dilate on the treacherous attack which the Senecas made on the unoffending Aondironnons, one of the Neutral clans.

As the transfer of St. Ignace I. is recorded in the same chapter, towards its close, I should infer that what occurred first was first described; and no doubt the evacuation of St. Jean-Baptiste was one of the main causes of the removal further north of St. Ignace.

IV. St. Ignace I. (Removed to new site some time between February and April 16, 1648; Rel. 1648, p. 49, 2 col.; p. 50, 2 col.; p. 51, 1 col.)

(F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot) alone (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*) "*Aronhiatiri*"

F. Jean de Brébeuf.....succeeded Father Chaumonot (*Life of Brébeuf, p. 246*).

"Au point qu'il fallut demolir l'Eglise de Saint Ignace [I.], et que tout le bourg commençoit à se dissiper après les pertes qui leur estoient survenuës coup sur coup.....ce bon homme [Ignace

Onakonchiaronk, name of the Huron in whose cabin dwelt "le Missionnaire de ce bourg"].....luy tint ce discours.....*Aron hiatiri,* luy dit-il, (c'est le nom que les Hurons donnent au Pere), etc." (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*). Nothing could be clearer than that Aronhiatiri was the name of the missionary who at the time St. Ignace I. was about to be transferred to a new site had charge of that mission. And we shall see presently that Chaumonot, previous to the death of Brébeuf, bore that name. Furthermore, the expression "le missionnaire de ce bourg" implies that but one Father had the spiritual care of the village.

To reconcile this with Chaumonot's presence this same year at *Ossossanë* or La Conception it must be borne in mind that all that is strictly implied in the above quotation is that just at the time of the removal of St. Ignace I. he was at that village; that is he was there for sometime previous to that event, but how long is not stated, and for some time previous to the date of the Relation 1648, which was April 16, (*Rel. 1648, p. 45, 1 col.*). Compare this now with the data by means of which we ascertain also for a fact that he was at *Ossossanë,* and it will be clearly seen that he was first at St. Ignace I. and subsequently at the Mission of La Conception.

There are two passages, one in the Relation, 1649, the other in the "*MS. Auth. 1652*" which attest the presence of Chaumonot at *Ossossanë.* The first is on page 28 of the Relation (*2 col.*): "Après la mort du petit Iacques Doüard assassiné l'an passé (this occurred April 28, 1648, see *Rel. 1648, p. 77, 2 col.*; *p. 78, 1 col.*), ie me souuiens d'auoir offert à Dieu en holocauste ce que i'auois de plus cher.....entre autres.....estoient les Chrestiens de la Conception *dont i'auois le soin.*" It follows that he had the care of La Conception Mission at, or at least, a little after April 28, 1648, in other words, subsequently to the time when his presence as missionary at St. Ignace II. is certain, as has just been established.

The other passage is on page 166 of the precious manuscript above mentioned, and runs thus: "Le P.N. quelques Iours après la mort du P. Antoine Daniel, estant *en sa Mission au Village de la conception* au Hurons, etc. (*Rec. cop. p. 69*). That Father "N" was no other than Chaumonot is made evident from Ragueneau's letter in the "*Prémière Mission*" (*p. 242*), where the same incidents are related and Chaumonot's name given, as it is also in the "MS. Authen. 1652" page 164. But as Daniel was killed July 4, 1648 (*Rel. 1649, p. 5, 1 col.*) La Conception was at and after that date Chaumonot's Mission.

V. St. Joseph II., at Teanaostaiaë. (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*)

F. Antoine Daniel

With regard to Daniel's *status* we find a helpful indication, covering about a decade, in Relation 1649 (*p. 4, 2 col.*): "He always carried his life (âme) in his hands having resided more than nine years in those places in this country which are nearest the frontiers, and in the missions most exposed to the enemy, awaiting with hope and supernatural love the death which fell to his lot." These villages ranged along the south eastern part of Huronia comprising the principal centres such as St. Jean-Baptiste, St. Joseph and St. Michel. The term "plus de neuf ans," taken strictly, would extend back from the day of his death, July 4, 1648, to a date somewhat earlier than July 4, 1639.

But reverting to this present period under consideration, that is from the early summer of 1647 to the spring of 1648, and to this particular Mission of St. Joseph II., Father Garnier considerately supplies us with the information required: ....."But, my dear brother [Henri] how happy I would be to die with this little flock [his Petun Mission] and to lay down my life for Him, as three of our Fathers have already done since last year; namely F. Antoine Daniel, who was killed on July 4 (if I remember well) of last year while succouring his flock in the town of St. Joseph where he then was, and which I left two years ago. Blessed be Our Lord, who in punishment of my sins deprived me of that crown" (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 103*; *Rec. cop. p. 88*) The date of the letter is April 25, 1649. Consequently F. Garnier should have left St. Joseph II, about April 25, 1647, when Father Antoine Daniel took up his position permanently there until his death.

But this too rigorous a conclusion must be modified somewhat by that other affirmation, alluded to previously, contained in his letter of April 25, 1648: "En tout, le Pere [Garreau] et moi avons baptisté, Dieu merci, 184: depuis que nous sommes en cette nation du Petun, c'est à savoir depuis le mois d'Octobre, 1646, (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 101*; *Rec. cop. p. 86*). Here Garnier is aiming at being more precise, and gives us month and year which must be accepted as correct. So that in reality he left St. Joseph II. in the summer or autumn months of 1646, and in the month of October, the same year, was sent with Garreau to the Petuns.

VI. Ste. Madeleine, at Arenta. (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*; *p. 61, 1 col.*)

A missionary offshoot, taking in apparently all the peninsula west of Penetanguishene Bay, and north of XIII concession of Tiny inclusively.

F ..... (no data found.)

LES APOTRES, PETUN NATION.

Two Fathers in two missions comprising two distinct clans, that of the Wolves and that of the Deer (*Rel. 1648, p. 61, 1 col.*)

VII. St. Jean, at Etharita, The Wolf Clan.

F. Charles Garnier (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 100*; *Rec. cop. p. 85*).

VIII. St. Mathias, at Ekarenniondi, The Deer Clan.

F. Léonard Garreau (*Id. ib.*)

ALGONQUIN.

"This last winter [1647-1648].....two Fathers in two missions (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*)

IX. St. Esprit, Lake Nipissing and east shore of L. Huron. (*Id. ib.*)

F. Claude Pijart.

X. St. Pierre, North Shore of L. Huron, and Manitoulin Island (*Id. Ib.*)

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet.

This last mission of St. Pierre was in reality started, under this title, only in the autumn of 1648, but there is no mistaking the fact that Algonquins from both regions above mentioned passed the winter of 1647-1648 in Huronia: "This winter [the Relation is dated April 16, 1648, *see p. 45, 1 col.*] many of these Algonquin tribes came to winter here among the Hurons. Two of our Fathers who have charge of these missions of the Algonquin tongue continued to instruct them until the coming of spring. This caused them to disperse and our Fathers left here to follow them, forming thus two distinct missions, etc." (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*) comprising the regions described above. There is not the least doubt but that Claude Pijart was with the Nipissings, for he was sent up from Quebec especially to evangelize them; and it is no less certain that Joseph Antoine Poncet acted as missionary for the other tribe as the sequel will show. The names of some of these Algonquin tribes, as given in Relation 1648 (*p. 62, 1 col.*) whose homes were north and east of Lake Huron, are as follows: the Outaouakamigouk, Sakahiganiriouek, Aouasanik, Atchougue, Amikouek, Achirigouans, Nikikouec, Michisagnek, and the Paou-

itagoung. The last were those which the missionaries called the Nation of the Sault.

As for those who, at this comparatively remote historical period, frequented the shores of the Petun Nation, that is of what are now the counties of Grey and Bruce, and were beyond, for they camped more or less permanently on the Lake fringe of Huron and Lambeth, extending all along the eastern coast of the State of Michigan, the same Relation (*p. 62, 2 col.*) has this to say:

"On the southern shore of this fresh water sea, or Lake of the Hurons, dwell the following Algonquin Nations: the Ouachaskesouek, Nigouaouichirinik, Outaouasinagouk, Kichkagoneiak and the Outaanak, all of whom are allies of our Hurons, and with whom we have dealings, but not with the following, who dwell on the shores of this same Lake but farther towards the west, to wit, the Ouchaouanag, who form part of the Fire Nation, the Ondatouatandy and the Ouinipegong, a tribe of the Nation of the Puants."

Aronhiatiri, Chaumonot's First Huron Name.

About the only item of helpful information given by Father Ragueneau in the Relation 1648, and this only incidentally, concerning any post occupied by a missionary is that *Aronhiatiri* was the Indian name of the Father who had charge of the mission of St. Ignace I. at the time of its removal to the site of St. Ignace II. (*Rel. 1648, p. 65, 2 col.*). Nor is there any certain knowledge on this particular point to be derived from other sources. It is therefore important to discover what Father bore this Indian name.

Father Chaumonot, in a letter to Father Nappi (*P.M. p. 210*), furnishes us with a clue which may help to identify the person meant. August 3, 1640 is the date given, an evident misprint for 1641, as in this letter he speaks of the expedition to the Neutral Country as having taken place "*l'année dernière.*" It was in fact only undertaken in November, 1641. At all events, he tells us that while among the Neutrals he went by the name *Oronhiaguehre*, which meant, he says, *porte-ciel* (Heaven-bearer) (*Id. p. 213*).

Both appellations are compound words.

Aronhia-tiri from *Aronhia* and *atiri*, Huron dialect.

Aronhia, ciel, air (Fr.), sky, atmosphere, heaven (Eng.) see Potier, *Radices Huronicæ, 1751, p. 293, 1 col.*

Atiri, appuyer (Fr.), to support, to prop up, consolidate (Eng.) (*Id. p. 31, No. 96*). "Quædam observanda in compositione, etc. 1o. Substantivum semper præit. 2o. Ultima vocalis substantive

perit, et consonans adjectivi vel verbi quæ initialis est eliditur, sive (quod idem est) perit vel ultima primi verbi littera, vel prima secundi verbi [word]" (*Potier Hur. Gram. p. 66*). Thus we have *Aronhiatiri*, heaven-supporter, heaven-bearer, *not* heaven-bringer. This last sense would be rendered in Huron by *Aronhihaon* or *Aronhienhaon*. The former from the verb *Ahaon*, to carry about, to bear from one place to another, (ferre, lat.). In the sense *to carry about with one* its present tense is *iehoua*, its imperfect *ichouak*. These vary with its other significations. The latter is from *Enhaon* (*R.H. 1751, p. 217, No. 29*).

Oronhia-guehre from *Oronhia*, bleu, azur, couleur bleue du ciel (Fr.) (*Lexique de la Langue, Iroquoise, Abbé Cuog. 1882, p. 35, 2 col.*) or *Karonhia*, ciel, paradis, firmament, atmosphère (Fr.); sky, heavens, paradise, the firmament, the atmosphere (Eng.); Iroquois dialect.. It is compounded with *Guehre*, Neutral dialect, akin to the Iroquois. In fact *guehre* is but a distinctive form of the Neutral dialect for the Huron *ierhe* with the hard-breathing on the first syllable, and for the Iroquois *ikehre*. Potier informs us that in Huron the *g* is generally pronounced like an i: "*g* vulgo sonat ut iota, aliquando tamen ut apud nos, v.g. *achingot*," a crane (Eng.) (*Elem. Gram. Hur. p. 1*). Properly speaking there is no *u*, either English or French, in the Huron language. It has invariably the sound of the *ou* in *through*, or the *u* in *rude*. When in the same syllable it precedes a vowel it is equivalent to our w. Its presence in *guehre* forces the French reader to pronounce the *g* hard; and combined with the aspirate it is very much like a *k*.

But not only is the *g*, as a rule, pronounced like *i* in Huron, it takes the place of *i* when a word of the Huron dialect is transformed into the Iroquois: "*iota* utilis est ad discendum idioma Iroquæum, nam scribunt *g* ubi scribimus *i*" (*Potier Gram. Hur. p. 2*).

As to the addition of this *i* to the Huron verb *eri*, it is thus explained in Potier (*Hur. Gram. p. 2*): "*i* adjectitium ita appellatur quia nihil sensui vocum addit vel minuit, sed euphoniæ causa præfigitur quibusdam vocibus et verbis 1o.....2o. verbis dissyllabis *aton*, dicere, *eri* velle, *ondi* facere, v.g: *iatonk* dico, *ierhe* volo, *ionniak* facio."

Thus we have three forms of the same verb:

Guehre, Neutral dialect; this we know on F. Chaumonot's authority, and moreover that its meaning was "qui *porte*" (*Fr.*), "who *bears* (Eng.). See (*première Mission, Carayon, p. 213*).

Ierhe, Huron dialect; volo, puto (Lat.). I deem, I will or wish (Eng.). *Potier Hur. Gram. p. 1, sub. voc. e*), from *eri*,

3 conj., penser, croire, ou juger, vouloir (Fr.), to deem, believe, wish, will (Eng.); *ierhe*, je pense, je veux (Fr.); I think, I will (Eng.); *Iherhe*, il pense, il veut, he thinks, he wills (*Rad. Hur. 1751, p. 222 et ss.*).

Ikehre, Iroquois dialect; irr .penser, vouloir, (Fr.), to judge, to will or wish (Eng.) (*Abbé Cuoq, Lex. de la Langue Iroq., 1882, p. 5, 2 col.*).

It does seem rather strange that the meaning of the pure Huron and Iroquois forms is not the same as that obtaining among the Neutrals. For this very reason, no doubt, when there was question of rendering into Huron the Neutral surname *Oronhiaguehre, porte-ciel*, heaven-bearer, the cognate verb was discarded and the fairly synonymic *Atiri* chosen, evolving its equivalent *Aronhiatiri*, heaven-bearer, not with the meaning of heaven-bringer, but of heaven sustainer, Atlas-wise, either in the literal or figurative sense. Two examples will suffice to show the use of *atiri*: "*Hotenṙatis*, they raise their palisade and make it firm in the ground.....*Akouendatiri*, to corroborate or to insist upon something while speaking" (*Rad. Hur. 1751, p. 31, No. 96*).

But one thing remains, and that is to indicate the Iroquois verbs which correspond to the Huron *Ahaon*, (*Iahaon*), to have on one, to carry about from place to place with one, etc., etc., and which seem to derive from the same root:

"*Ikhas*, porter, transporter, apporter, emporter, rapporter, remporter (Fr.), *suivant la note de localité ou de reduplication.*

"*Ikhawe* (*Ikhaoue*), porter sur soi, avec soi, avoir en main, en possession, garder avec soi.

"*Ikhes*, porter (cf. errata, Lexique p. IX), transporter, apporter en voiture ou par eau." (*Lexique de la Lang. Iroq.—Abbé Cuoq. p. 5, 2 col.*).

From what has been said, I think we may safely conclude that *Oronhiaguehre* and *Aronhiatiri*, having the same meaning, were applied by two different tribes to the same man, namely F. Chaumonot.

I might of course have proceeded also by process of elimination. But after having set aside the Fathers, whose Huron appellations are given in Relation 1639 (p. 53, 1 col.), and eliminated FF. Claude Pijart and Léonard Garreau, the former being certainly with the Algonquins of the lakes and the latter with the Petuns, while Chabanel had to attend to the other Algonquins, numbers of whom were nearly always present at Ste. Marie I. there would yet remain FF. Bressani, Poncet, Chaumonot, and Ménard. Beyond this there would be nothing absolutely certain.

Very valid reasons, however, which if rehearsed here would lengthen beyond reasonable bounds this inquiry, could be adduced to establish a strong probability tending to the exclusion of FF. Ménard and Bressani. This would further reduce the list to two: FF. Poncet and Chaumonot.

Still we should have been left in the uncertainty as to which of the two was the bearer of the title, were it not for the fact that F. Chaumonot bore the Indian name of *Oronhiaguehre*. This supplied the only and sufficient element necessary for a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Removal of St. Ignace I. to St. Ignace II.

The Hurons of St. Ignace I., on account of reverses, the first of which occurred towards the end of "this winter," i.e. 1647-1648 (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 2 col.*) and the second, more disastrous than the former, a few days after, moved to a new site, St. Ignace II., nearer to Ste. Marie I. where they thought they would be better sheltered from the Iroquois (*Id. ib. p. 50, 2 col.*; *p. 51, 1 col.*). This removal consequently did not take place earlier than February nor later than the date of the Relation, that is to say April 16, 1648 (*Rel. 1648, p. 45, 1 col.*).

Five villages were comprised in the new mission of St. Ignace II. (*Rel. 1649, p. 11, 1 col.*). There were: 1. The village itself of St. Ignace II., 2. Ste. Anne, 3. St. Louis, 4. St. Denis, 5. St. Jean.

1648

Departure.

Father Bressani with a band of 250 braves under five chiefs, numbering among them 120 Christian Indians, set out for Quebec (*Rel. 1648, p. 11, 2 col.*; *p. 12, 1 col.*), the Relations say, as soon as spring had set in (*dès le printemps*) (*Rel. 1649, p. 5, 2 col.*), but more probably towards the end of June; for F. Bressani reached Three Rivers July 18, 1648 (*Rel. 1648, p. 10, 2 col.*; *p. 11, 1, 2 col.*), and Quebec July 22 (*Jour. des Jés., p. 113*). He was absent from the Mission not more than three months (*Rel. 1649, p. 5, 2 col.*).

St. Joseph II., or Teanaostaiaë Taken and Destroyed by the Iroquois—Death of F. Antoine Daniel.

On July 2, 1648, F. Daniel, having just finished his annual retreat of eight days at Ste. Marie I., returned immediately to his Mission of St. Joseph II. Early on the 4th, when the usual

daily mass was about over, the first alarm of the approach of the Iroquois was given. Owing to the absence of many of the *Tcanaostaiaë* braves, scattered for the hunt, off on scouting parties or accompanying Bressani to Quebec, the enemy's sudden assault was successful. The village was fired, and men, women and children either massacred or made prisoners. Numbers, however, made good their escape, especially through the intrepidity of F. Daniel, who, coming forth from the crowded church alone, drew upon himself all the fury of the victors, thus diverting their attention from the stream of fugitives. Every shaft was directed towards him. He fell, but only when the charge of an arquebuse, fired at short range, tore through his breast. His body was stripped, mutilated and thrown into the blazing church. Not the least vestige of it was found when search was made after the departure of the Iroquois (*Rel. 1649, pp. 3 et ss.*; *P.M. p. 238 et ss*).

St. Joseph II., at the time of its destruction, contained about four hundred families. The slain and captives numbered about seven hundred, mostly women and children; those who escaped and settled near Ste. Marie I. were far more numerous (*Id. ib. and p. 8, 2 col.*).

The name of the other village belonging to the same Mission and which was destroyed at the same time (*Rel. 1649, Title of Ch. I. p. 3*; *p. 3, 1 col.*; *P.M. p. 238*; *C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 103*; *Rec. cop. p. 88*) is not given. F. Felix Martin seemed to think it was St. Michel (*Viedu P. Jean de Brébeuf, 1877, p. 268*), but this could not be, as even after the destruction of St. Ignace II., St. Michel was still standing, and sent out seven hundred warriors in pursuit of the enemy (Rel. 1649, p. 13, 1 col.). Neither could it have been St. Jean-Baptiste, which had been evacuated some months before (*Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.*). I should say that it was *Ekhiondatsaan* "a rather fine and populous village" (*Rel. 1637, p. 162, 1 col.*), which lay on the trail from St. Joseph II. (*or Tcanaostaiaë*) to *Ossossanë* (or La Conception), but not near St. Michel (*or Scanonaenrat*) (*Id. pp. 161, 163*); consequently to the south of Orr's Lake. Unmistakable evidences of a large village site on lot 53, I. concession, Flos Township, seems to point to that locality as being the spot once occupied by *Ekhiondatsaan*. It lies a little more than three miles and three quarters in a southwesterly direction from St. Joseph II.

Arrivals.

In the beginning of September, 1648 (*Rel. 1649, p. 5, 2 col.*; *Ducreux, Hist. Can. p. 516*), F. Bressani returned from Quebec with four new missionaries FF. Gabriel Lalemant, [Jacques

Bonin], Adrien Greslon, Adrien Daran, and a lay brother Nicolas Noirclair (*Rel. 1648, p. 14, 1 col.*; *Journ. des Jés., p. 113*). "Petit Louis," aged 16, afterwards known on the missions as Bro. Louis Le Boesme (*Journ. pp. 143, 239, 321, 355, 356*; *Relations—Thwaites, Cleveland edit., note 38, p. 399, Vol. 71*; *Rel. Queb. edit., 1656, pp. 40, 41*; *Rel. 1657, p. 54, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1668, p. 21, 2 col.*), was of the party, leaving Quebec July 24, 1648. The whole Huron flotilla, consisting of fifty or sixty canoes finally set out for the west from Three Rivers on August 6th. Besides those mentioned, there were twenty-six Frenchmen, two boys, nine labourers and eight soldiers, and four more of the latter were picked up at Montreal (*Journ. p. 113, 114*).

F. Bonin's name, mentioned in Relation 1648 (*p. 14, 1 col.*), is not given on page 113 of the Journal. He joined the others at Three Rivers, having gone there August 6 of the preceding year (1647) (*Journ. p. 94*).

F. Paul Ragueneau's letter to the General, dated from Ste. Marie I., March 1, 1649, gives the following particulars concerning the number of the Fathers present and the number of missions (*P.M. p. 233*).

As the letter was written in March, 1649, the report of course covers also the closing months of 1648.

There were 18 Fathers, 4 Coadjutor or lay Brothers, 23 *donnés*, 7 hired men, 4 boys, and 8 soldiers (*pp. 233, 234*). "The Frenchmen," he adds, "who are with us take care of our Residence of Ste. Marie, otherwise our fort, if you prefer so to call it, while our Fathers sally forth far and wide and are scattered among the Huron towns, and through the Algonquin tribes far distant from us. Each one watches over his own mission, and is intent only on the ministry of the word, leaving all worldly cares to those who remain at home" (*Id. p. 235*).

There were eleven missions, i.e. eight Huron and three Algonquin, in charge of as many, that is eleven, of the older missionaries. The new arrivals, to the number of four, devoted their time to the study of the language, and also acted as assistants to the chief missionaries. Only three fathers remained at the Residence of Ste. Marie I., the spiritual director, the procurator who was at the same time minister, and a third who looked after the Christian Indians coming from every quarter, who visited the Fathers at Ste. Marie I. (*Id. pp. 236, 237*).

The number of Fathers had been increased to eighteen. Fifteen were scattered through eleven missions; the greater part without an assistant. The four new missionaries were assigned as helpers in the more laborious missions, where at the same time

they had an opportunity of learning the language. Eight of the eleven missions were carried on in the Huron language, the three others in Algonquin (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*).

"We have not heard yet what success has attended the new mission (that of St. Pierre, *see Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*) which we set on foot last autumn [1648] for an Algonquin tribe about sixty leagues distant. One of our Fathers [Joseph Antoine Poncet] who has been pleading with us for some years back to go and instruct them, was sent to winter there with them. We have failed to receive any word from him since he left us eight months ago (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*). This tribe inhabits an Island [Manitoulin] about sixty leagues in circuit, lying towards the west in our Great Lake or "*Mer Douce.*" This island is called *Ekaentoton*, whence the name of the people who inhabit it. We have given it the name of Island of Ste. Marie." (*Id. p. 6, 2 col.*).

Father Joseph Antoine Poncet, in fact, left Huronia a little after October 17, 1648, remained seven months alone on Manitoulin Island with the Algonquins of the St. Pierre Mission, and returned to Huronia May 17, 1649 (*Letter to his brother, May 18, 1649*; *MS. copy in St. Mary's College Archives*). The date of the letter is sixteen days subsequent to the date of the Relation (*See Rel. 1649, p. 2, 1 col.*).

CATALOGUS PERSONARUM ET OFFICIORUM

R. P. Paulus Ragueneau, Sup.
P. Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., oper., præf. eccl. et sanitis.
P. Adrianus Daran, oper.
P. Adrianus Greslon, oper.
(P. Antonius Daniel, trucidatus 4 Julii, 1648).
P. Carolus Garnier, cons., oper.
P. Claudius Pijart, cons., oper.
P. Franciscus Du Peron, oper.
P. Franciscus Josephus Bressani, oper.
P. Gabriel Lalemant, oper.
P. Jacobus Bonin, oper.
P. Joannes de Brébeuf, conf. NN., cons., oper.
P. Josephus Antonius Poncet, oper.
P. Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
P. Leonardus Garreau, oper.
P. Natalis Chabanel, oper.
P. Petrus Chastelain, adm., Conf. NN., cons., præf. spir. donator.
P. Renatus Ménard, oper.
P. Simon Le Moyne, oper.

Frater Ambrosius Brouet, desperatæ valetudinis.
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, faber ferr.
Frater Nicolaus Noirclair (aut Noircler)
Frater Petrus Masson, sart., ædit., hortulan.

Donati:

Ægidius Bacon,
Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Carolus Panic,
Christophorus Regnaut, sutor,
Claudius Boucher,
Daniel Cartron (aut Carteron),
Franciscus Dornais,
Franciscus Malherbe (æt 16. *vid. Obitu. et Menolog.*)
Gulielmus Lozier (aut Loisier ou Lausier),
Jacobus Douart, trucidatus 28 Aprilis, 1648 (*Rel. 1648, p. 77, 2 col.*; *p. 78, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1649, p. 28, 2 col.*; *Jer. Lalemant's Letter, Aug. 17, 1648, Extr-Lar. p. 66*).
Jacobus Levrier,
Joannes Caron,
Joannes Guérin,
Joannes Guiet, fab. lign.
Joannes Le Mercier,
——— Bernard (*Journ. des Jés., p. 143*),
——— Rolland (*Journ. des. Jés., p. 143*),
Josephus Boursier dit Desforges,
Josephus Molère, pharmac.
Ludovicus Pinar,
Marinus Lefevre,
Nicolaus Montreuil,
Petrus Tourmente, cœment.*
Robertus Le Coq.

Pueri:

Ludovicus Le Boesme (æt. 16)
(Three names wanting)

Domestici:

Jacobus Caulmont (*?Journ. des Jés. p. 82*)
——— Desfosses (*brother of the Soldier, Journ. p. 129*)
(Five names wanting)

* He went down to Quebec in 1648, since the "*Journal des Jésuites*," (*p. 128*), says that, with the soldiers and hired men, "Tourmente, Roger, Oliveau and Raison" made a start for the Huron country on August 12, 1649. The expedition down, in 1649, started from Huronia only after that date, arriving at Quebec, September 19 (*Journal, p. 129*).

Milites:

— —— Chastillon (*Journ. des Jés., p. 100*)
———— Desfosses (*Journ. des. Jés., p. 129*)
(Six names wanting)

Missions:

HURON

I. Ste. Marie I.

(Residence, *P.M. p. 237*)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier, min. proc.
F. Pierre Chastelain, præf. spirit.

(Mission)

F. Jacques Bonin (*Ducreux, Hist. Can. pp. 542, 544, 545*)

II. La Conception, at Ossossanë.

F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot

La Conception, in 1648, is said to be "his mission" (*MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 166*; *Cop. p. 69*). He remained there till March 19, 1649, when the village was abandoned (*Autob. p. 93*). With the panic-stricken inhabitants he then went to the Petuns, remaining there until May 1, 1649, and finally accompanied them to AhSendoë Island (*Id. ib.*; *Rel. 1649, p. 29, 1 col.*; *p. 30, 1 col.*)

III. St. Michel, at Scanonaenrat.

F ..... (no data available)

IV. St. Ignace II. (*Rel. 1649, p. 11, 1 col.*)

F. Jean de Brébeuf, (*Id. ib.*)
F. Noel Chabanel, till February, 1649
F. Gabriel Lalemant, after February, 1649

(*Rel. 1650, p. 18, 2 col.*; *Rel. 1649, p. 11, 1 col.*).

V. Ste. Madeleine, or Arenta. (*Rel. 1648, p. 60, 2 col.*; *p. 61, 1 col.*)

F. ..... (no data found.)

PETUN.

(*Rel. 1649, p. 26.*; *C.G.-LL. Apr. 25, 1649, Contemp. cop. p. 103*; *Rec. cop. p. 88*)

VI. St. Jean, at Etharita.

F. Charles Garnier (*C.G.-LL. ib.*)

VII. St. Mathias, at Ekarenniondi.

F. Léonard Garreau (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 100*; *Rec cop. p. 85*; *MS Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 247*)

VIII. St. Matthieu (*Cf. Rel. 1650, p. 19, 2 col.*)

F. Noël Chabanel (from February 16, 1649; *Rel. 1650, p. 18, 2 col.*)

ALGONQUIN.

(There were three missions, *Rel 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*)

IX. St. Esprit (*Rel.* 1648, *p.* 63, 1 *col.*)

F. Claude Pijart (See notes on *Status*, 1649)

X. St. Pierre (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*)

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet (See notes on *Status*, 1649)

XI. St. Charles (*Rel. 1650, p. 21, 1 col.*)

F. René Ménard (See notes on *Status*, 1649)

1649

St. Ignace II. and St. Louis Destroyed by the Iroquois—Death of Fathers Jean De Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.

At early dawn March 16, 1649, an army of about one thousand Iroquois stealthily approached St. Ignace II., assaulted and carried it by surprise. The bulk of its defenders was absent either on hunting or other expeditions; the few remining braves were off their guard and buried in sleep. Three Hurons only escaped massacre or captivity, and, making their way half-clad through the snow, hurried to St. Louis, about one league distant, and gave the alarm. The women, the children, and the decrepit had barely time to seek saftey in flight when, yet before sunrise, so expeditious had been their work of carnage, the Iroquois bands appeared before the palisade of St. Louis. There was but a handful of Hurons to defend it; all told about eighty warriors. Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant happened to be at St. Louis on their apostolic rounds; they had been urged and repeatedly, as non-combatants, to betake themselves to Ste. Marie. This they refused to do, alleging that theirs was the post of danger, that there they should remain to baptize, shrive and console the wound-

Rev. Jean de Brébeuf, S.J , Missionary to the Hurons.

Rev. Gabriel Lalemant, S.J., Missionary to the Hurons.

ed and the dying. The defence was stubborn, but numbers told in the end, while the attacking forces, amply supplied by the Dutch with firearms, had a great advantage and finally overcame the most heroic resistance. The Fathers, in bonds, together with the few surviving Hurons, were hurried back to St. Ignace (Rel. *1649, pp. 10, 12*) there to endure inconceivable tortures which it is not my province here to describe. Brébeuf's agony was ended about four the same afternoon, Lalemant's was more protracted, he expired on the following morning about nine (*Id. p. 15, 1 col.*).

Beginning of the Exodus.

St. Louis and St. Ignace II. had fallen on March 16, 1649 (*Rel. 1649, p. 10, 1 col.*). On the morning of the 17th a party of 300 warriors, hastily gathered together from La Conception (*Ossossanë*) and St. Madeleine (*Arentet*), while awaiting reinforcements, posted themselves in ambush in the neighborhood of the stricken villages. Their advance party, however, fell in unexpectedly with some 200 of the enemy, who were reconnoitering in force in view of an attack on Ste. Marie I. A skirmish followed in which the Huron detachment met with severe loss, and was driven back to within sight of the French Fort (*Rel. 1649. p. 12, 1 col.*).

Meanwhile the main body of Hurons had succeeded in intercepting a strong force of Iroquois, whom they drove to shelter within the palisade of St. Louis, left intact when the village was destroyed. After an obstinate struggle the Hurons forced an entrance, and captured about thirty warriors. They scarcely had time to congratulate themselves upon their success, when they were warned by runners that the whole bulk of the Iroquois army (*Id. p. 12, 1, 2 col.*) amounting yet to nearly 1000 braves (*Id. p. 10, 1 col.*), was upon them, and they in turn soon found themselves beleagured within St. Louis, whose defences taken and retaken within the space of a few hours could now afford but slight protection (*Id. p. 12, 2 col.*).

Though reduced to about 150 fighting men the courage of the little band was not shaken. The battle raged not only throughout the remainder of the day, but as frequent sorties were made and as renewed assaults followed each repulse, the uneven contest was prolonged far into the night.

By sheer weight of numbers, and owing more than all else to the great advantage the Iroquois had in being equipped with firearms (*Id. p. 10, 1 col.*), the little garrison was finally overcome. The inrushing horde of Iroquois found barely twenty Hurons alive within the enclosure, most of them wounded and helpless. This

victory cost the invaders 100 of their best men, and their leader, though he still lived, had been stricken down (*Id. p. 12, 2 col.*).

On March 19, a sudden dread, humanly speaking, wholly inexplicable, seized upon the Iroquois, and they beat a hurried retreat from the Huron country (*Id. ib.*).

An old woman who had escaped from the burning village of St. Ignace II. tardily brought to St. Michel (*Scanonaenrat*) the news both of the disaster and of the precipitous withdrawal of the victorious Iroquois. Thereupon 700 warriors set out from St. Michel in pursuit. It was a half-hearted undertaking and abandoned after two days of vain search through the forests (*Rel. 1648, p. 13, 1 col.*).

Ossossanë, or La Conception Evacuated.

Forty-eight hours elapsed before La Conception (*Ossossanë*) heard of the annihilation of its contingent. The news reached the inhabitants at midnight on March 19. A cry went up that the enemy were upon them. The panic spread from lodge to lodge. Leaving most of their belongings behind them, old men, women and children, a terror-stricken throng, streamed out upon the icy shores of Lake Huron (Nottawasaga Bay).

F. Chaumonot followed his flock, and after trudging eleven long leagues through ice and snow they reached the Nation of the Petun (*Autobiog. p. 93*). He remained there until May 1, when he and many of his dispersed flock sought refuge on *Ahouendoë* Island (*Rel. 1649, p. 29, 1 col.; date Id. p. 30, 1 col.*).

La Conception (*Ossossanë*) was thus abandoned forever at midnight on March 19. About the same time, that is, on the return of its war party from their vain pursuit of the Iroquois, St. Michel (*Scanonaenrat*) was also deserted. F. Ragueneau thus outlines the state of Huronia at this date: "Part of the Huron country, as a consequence of the losses sustained, now lies desolate. Fifteen villages have been abandoned, their inhabitants scattering where they could, in the thickets and forests, on the lakes and rivers, in the islands, the most unknown to the enemy. Others have betaken themselves to the neighbouring nations better able to bear the stress of war. In less than a fortnight our House of Ste. Marie [I.] has found itself stripped bare on every side. It is the only one left standing in the terror-stricken region, the most exposed to the incursions of the enemy. Those who have forsaken their former dwellings, have set fire to them themselves lest they should serve as a shelter and stronghold to the Iroquois" (*Rel. 1649, p. 25, 1 col.*).

Ste. Marie I. Abandoned and Destroyed.

On account of the complete isolation of Ste. Marie I. in the midst of a devastated country, and one now lying desolate, it was resolved to transfer the mission Centre to some safer and more advantageous site. *Ekaentoton* was first considered as most promising (*Rel. 1649, p. 26, 2 col*; *p. 27, 1 col.*). This was the "Ile Ste. Marie," now Manitoulin Island. However the Island of St. Joseph, or *Ahouendoë*, was finally determined on (*Id. p. 27, 2 col.*), whither 300 families had already migrated (*Id. p. 30, 2 col.*), and where Father Chaumonot, about the first of May (1649), had settled with some of his Indians who at first had sought refuge among the Petuns (*Rel. 1649, p. 30, 1 col.*).

On May 15, 1649, the whole establishment of Ste. Marie I. was given over to the flames by the missionaries themselves (*Id. p. 30, 2 col.*).

On the evening of June 14 the final migration was effected on rafts and on a small vessel built for the purpose. In a few days the hegira was accomplished, and none to soon, as some stragglers were intercepted by the Iroquois, and either massacred or dragged off into captivity (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 1 col.*).

Founding of Ste. Marie II. on Ahouendoë Isd.

Fort Ste. Marie II. was commenced without delay (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 2 col.*) and was completed by November, 1649 (*Letters of M. de l' Incar. Vol. I., p. 416*). It was situated not far from the shore-line on the great bay on the eastern coast of St. Joseph, now Christian Island, where its ruins are still to be seen, as are those of Ste. Marie I. on the River Wye.

Departure.

Father Bressani, who had headed a previous expedition to Quebec, and who had returned with it in September, 1648, was chosen again to go down about the end of the summer of 1649 (*Rel. 1650, p. 21, 1 col.*) with the Huron flotilla on business of the Mission. As the party reached Quebec on September 19 (*1649, Journ. p. 129*), the departure from Huronia must have taken place towards the middle of August. A clue is given us of the more precise date of the setting out from Ste. Marie II. by Father Garnier, for he closes his letter written from there to his brother Henri, under date of August 12, 1649, by these words: "Je brise ici, car les canots partent" (*C.G.-LL., Contemp. cop. p. 109*; *Rec. cop. p. 92*). Robert Le Coq was certainly one of the party, for he wintered at Sillery, 1649-1650, helping Brother Fauté at the Smithy (*Journ. des Jés., p. 131*).

CATALOGUS PERSONARUM ET OFFICIORUM

R. Pater Paulus Ragueneau, Sup.
Pater Franciscus Le Mercier, min., proc., cons., præf. eccl. et sanit.
Pater Adrianus Daran, stud. ling. (*P.M. p. 237*)
Pater Adrianus Greslon, stud. ling. (*P.M. p. 237*)
Pater Carolus Garnier, trucidatus 7 Dec. 1649.
Pater Claudius Pijart, cons. oper.
Pater Franciscus Du Peron, oper.
Pater (Franciscus Joseph Bressani, oper. abs. at Quebec).
Pater Jacobus Bonin, stud. ling (*P.M. p. 237*)
Pater Josephus Antonius Poncet, oper.
Pater Josephus Maria Chaumonot, oper.
Pater Léonardus Garreau, oper.
Pater Natalis Chabanel, trucidatus 8 Dec. 1649.
Pater Petrus Chastelain, adm., Conf. NN., cons., præf, spir. donat.
Pater Renatus Ménard, oper.
Pater Simon Le Moyne
Frater Ambrosius Brouet, desperatæ valet. (*Extr-Lar. p. 14*)
Frater Ludovicus Gauber, fab. fer.
Frater Nicolaus Noirclair.
Frater Petrus Masson, sart. ædit. hortulan.
Donati: Ægidius Bacon
Carolus Boivin, præf. ædif.
Carolus Panic
Christophorus Regnaut
Claudius Boucher
Daniel Carteron
Franciscus Dornais
Franciscus Malherbe
Gulielmus Losier
Jacobus Caulmont
Jacobus Lévrier
Joannes Caron
Joannes Guérin
Joannes Guiet, fab. lign.
Joannes Le Mercier
———— Bernard
———— Rolland
Josephus Boursier dit Desforges
Josephus Molère, pharmac.
Ludovicus Pinar

Marinus Lefevre
Nicolaus Montreuil

Pueri: Ludovicus Le Boesme
_____
_____ } Three names wanting.
_____

Domestici: 11.

Milites: 6.

STATUS OF THE VARIOUS MISSIONS AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF ST. IGNACE II. AND ST. LOUIS AND PREVIOUS TO THE FALL OF ETHARITA, OR THE ST. JEAN OF THE PETUNS.

Not being able to quote authorities in every instance for the placing of the above listed missionaries, at this particular point of time, since so many necessary data are wanting, it is quite in the order of things that certain explanations should be given so as to convince those interested in the matter that their distribution at stated points is not entirely arbitrary.

Ste. Marie I. and II. The central Residence and its adjoining Mission continued as before to be the headquarters of the Superior, the Procter who was at the same time Procurator, the Spiritual Director and one other Father in charge of the Indians; in all four Fathers (*Rag. Lett., March 1, 1649, P.M. p. 237*). The names of these are certain. They were in the order mentioned, R. F. Ragueneau, François Le Mercier, Pierre Chastelain and Adrien Bonin.

Moreover, as St. Jean-Baptiste had been abandoned by its inhabitants (before April 26, 1648, see *Rel. 1648, p. 49, 1 col.* and for date *Id. p. 45, 1 col.*), St. Joseph II. taken and destroyed (July 4, 1648, see *Rel. 1649, pp. 3 et ss.*; *P.M. pp. 238 et ss.*), St. Ignace II. and St. Louis reduced to ashes (March 16-18, 1649, see *Rel. 1649, pp. 10-12*), *Ossossanë* or La Conception precipitately evacuated (March 19, at midnight, see *Autob. p. 93*) after the extermination of its braves and those of Ste. Madeleine or *Arenta*, necessitating the abandonment of all the other villages of Huronia dependent on these centres, those of their pastors who had escaped massacre gathered at Ste. Marie I. This led to an increase in the missionary staff of Ste. Marie I., before it was sacrificed and later of Ste. Marie II. This was urgently needed owing to the ever increasing numbers of fugitives seeking the protection of the Fort. As will be seen a little further on, the process of elimination fixes on Fathers Simon Le Moyne and François Du Peron as the two supernumerary missionaries at headquarters.

Father Adrien Bonin was certainly attached to the Residence of Ste. Marie I. Marie de l'Incarnation speaks of him as the "fidèle témoin des souffrances de nos saints Martyrs" (*I. p. 435*). Not of course as a bystander, but because, like all those stationed at Ste. Marie I. he saw their burnt and mutilated remains. In Relation 1649 (*p. 13, 1 col.*) it is said that on "the twentieth of the same month" [March], (while the *MS. 1652* (*p. 169*) has 'Dès le lendemain Matin')......"we sent one of our Fathers and seven other Frenchmen to the spot where they were put to death to recover their bodies." In a footnote in pencil in the *MS. 1652*, I find "P. Bonin," in the handwriting of Father Felix Martin, given as the name of the Father sent, and in his Life of Father de Brébeuf (*p. 284*) Father Martin says expressly: "Father Bonin, followed by seven Frenchmen repaired on the morrow to St. Ignace, etc." He may have seen some document, to me unknown; but the only authority, bearing even remotely on the subject, I have any knowledge of is Ducreux. The latter historian, treating of Brébeuf and Lalemant's martyrdom, mentions a long letter of Bonin, which I have never been able to place, and which does not agree, as he says, with the author of the Relation as to whether the one suffered death in the presence of the other: "Non convenit satis inter Auctorem Relationis editae et Joannem Boninium in prolixa Epistola, quam de hoc ipso argumento dedit, num alter alterius in conspectu obierit" (*Hist. Canad. p. 542*).

There is a second passage further on (*pp. 544, 545*) and far more to the point: "In Lalemantio narrat Boninius idem, se horas ipsas duas posuisse, intimæ quondam familiaritati, cuius vinculo colligatus arctissime viro fuerat, satisfacientem: sed desistendum ipsi quoque tandem fuit, etc." But this affectionate contemplation of the wounds which covered every part of his martyred friend's body, and which lasted all of two hours, could have taken place, and with far greater probability may be said to have taken place at Ste. Marie I. and not on the spot where the bodies were found.

Though there is no explicit statement that Father Bonin headed the search party, there is a strong presumption left in the mind that such was the case. But what concerns us most, the citation is all but an apodictic proof that he was one of the household of Ste. Marie I., and not a mere casual visitor especially when we consider the season of the year when the martyrdom took place. And if so, there is no reason apparent why he should not have remained so after the Residence was transferred to St. Joseph or Christian Island.

The Petun Mission: Etharita and Ekarenniondi. The ruin of St. Ignace II. and of St. Louis did not entail the abandoning

of the Petun Missions. Father Garnier, in a letter to his brother Henri, from Ste. Marie I., dated April 25, 1649, speaking of the dispersion of the Hurons of Huronia Proper, says: "A number of them sought refuge in the country of the Petuns, of whom two Fathers [Léonard Garreau and Noël Chabanel] and myself have the care" (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 103*; *Rec. cop. p. 88*), and adds that he has to start on the morrow to go in quest of these scattered and afflicted members of the flock.

From this two things may be inferred. First, that he had gone, or probably been recalled to Ste. Marie I., after the disaster which had overtaken the two ill-fated villages, to consult with the Superior as to what was best to do in this most critical condition of the mission; and secondly, that in April, 1649, three Fathers only were employed among the Petuns. These we are sure were Garnier himself (*loc. cit.*), Léonard Garreau (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 101*; *Rec. cop. p. 86*) and Noël Chabanel.

The latter lets us know that he had been stationed at St. Ignace II. until one month before the death of Gabriel Lalemant, consequently during the winter of 1648-1649, at which time the latter had taken his place, while he himself was sent to a more distant and more difficult mission, being of a stronger constitution (*Rel. 1650, p. 18, 2 col.*). It goes without saying that this was among the Petuns.

Ragueneau agrees with Garnier (*Rel. 1649, p. 26, 2 col.*) in saying that three Fathers, in three separate mission centres, had charge of the Petuns during the winter of 1648, and the early summer of 1649, for his Relation is dated June 1 of the latter year (*Id. p. 30, 1 col.*).

It follows from this that Adrien Greslon had not, at least until later in June, taken up his post on the Petun Mission. As Charles Garnier wrote again on August 12, 1649 to his brother Henri, this time from Ste. Marie II., on St. Joseph's Island, it betokens his presence at headquarters on a second visit. This was surely not a mere pleasure trip, but in all likelihood it was to ask for additional help. This is a mere suggestion, but it seems to me more than probable that Adrien Greslon accompanied him back, on that occasion to the Petun Mission.

The Algonquin Missions: St. Charles, St. Esprit, and St. Pierre. With the exception of one paragraph on page 6, beginning at the foot of the first and continuing on the second column, of Relation 1649, there is nothing in it entirely concerning the Algonquin Missions. But in that of 1650 (*p. 21, 1 col.*), under the heading: "*De la Mission de Sainct Charles*" we read: "Deux de nos Missionnaires, l'vn de la langue Algenquine et l'autre qui par-

le le Huron, ayans parcouru tout l'Esté les costes de nostre mer douce, pour le secours spirituel, tant des Hurons, qui alors y estoient dispersez, que des peuples Algonquins, etc." This passage, of which translation will be found a little further on under the heading "St. Charles," relates to the summer of 1649, and finds its place here. But, as usual, Father Ragueneau is careful to mention no names, so we are left to our own devices to discover who these two Fathers were.

That their missionary cruise ended before October is implied in what follows in the context. That there is question of the Mission of St. Charles, is to be seen in the title of the chapter. This is about all we can be certain of so far. To make any further headway we must do a little clearing.

On March 1, 1649, there were eighteen Fathers on the mission in Huronia (*P.M. p. 233*). Since then two had been killed by the Iroquois, Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. Father Bressani went to Quebec about August 13 (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 109*; *Rec. cop. p. 92*), so that we have to account for fifteen Fathers only. Ragueneau, Le Mercier and Chastelain, on account of the official positions they held, could not absent themselves for any length of time from headquarters. Bonin, as we have seen, was also stationed at the central mission. Charles Garnier, Garreau and Chabanel were with the Petuns. Greslon joined them there eventually (*MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 247, cop. p. 85*), but, as we have seen, did not go before June 1. Poncet, as we shall see presently, had his mission of St. Pierre. Chaumonot's every move is accounted for. Nor can there be any doubt about Pijart's being occupied with the Nipissings of the St. Esprit Mission. Of four Fathers only, out of the fifteen can there be any uncertainty. These are René Menard, François Du Perou, Simon Le Moyne and Adrien Daran.

Among these the only *new* Father on the Mission was Adrien Daran. New-comers, we are expressly told, were sent with the more experienced as companions and helpers (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*) or, to quote the words of Ragueneau's letter of March 1, 1649: "Nous avons onze Missions: huit chez les Hurons, trois chez les Algonquins; autant de Peres, choisis parmi les anciens, se partagent le travail. Quatre autres apprennent la langue; ce sont ceux qu'on nous a envoyés l'année dernière; nous les avons donnés, comme compagnons, à ceux des missionnaires dont le travail est plus étendu" (*P.M. p. 237*). On the other hand, we know beyond all manner of doubt from the Relations, as we shall see presently, that there was but one missionary allotted to the Indians of the St. Pierre Mission from the autumn of 1647 until

1650 (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.; Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1, 2 col.; Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*). Daran, therefore was not on this mission. That more than one Father at a time had been in charge of the Mission of St. Esprit is made manifest by the phrase "C'est à dire que nos Peres qui ont eu le soin de cette Mission, y ont mené vne vie errante, etc." (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 2 col.*). But it is not less obvious that at the time this portion of the Relation was being written there was but one Father acting as missionary in that quarter, for Ragueneau adds almost immediately: "Voicy ce que m'en escriuoit le Pere qui cét Hyuer [1649-1650] auoit le soin de cette Mission." We are by this left in doubt as to whether there were two Fathers or not engaged on it during the summer, the time which we are now considering.

But we have no such doubt as to the *Mission of St. Charles*. We have seen that two Fathers during this summer of 1649 had paddled all along the shores of Lake Huron contiguous to this mission (*Rel. 1650, p. 21, 1 col.*), and that but one was sent there in October to pass the winter (*Id. ib.*). Now as Father Daran was the only new-comer disengaged, I am led to infer that he was the one who on this summer reconnoitring expedition acted as companion and helper under one of the older missionaries. He certainly, during his comparatively short stay in Huronia, had undergone many hardships, if what Marie de l'Incarnation says of him (*I. p. 424*) is taken into consideration.

We must now endeavour to ascertain which of the only three remaining Fathers of the fifteen, Fathers René Ménard; François Du Peron and Simon Le Moyne was the *head missionary of St. Charles* during the summer of 1649.

I think the question may be answered without hesitation that it was Father René Ménard.

To avoid confusion it will be well to state here that this *new Mission of St. Charles*, spoken of for the first time in Relation 1650 (*pp. 21, 22*), had nothing in common with the St. Charles marked on Ducreux's inset map in the peninsula formed by the Midland and Penetanguishene Bays, and probably situated on lot 113, concession I. of Tay Township (*cf. Tiny Township by Mr. A. F. Hunter, p. 27, No. 19*); unless it was there that the Algonquins, coming from the region where the band of Hurons had sought refuge, took up their winter-quarters when visiting Huronia. This Algonquin Mission was "six long days' journey" from Huronia, and the Father made his way back on the ice of the frozen Lake (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*).

The reason now for thinking that Ménard held this mission may be thus briefly stated. He reached Huronia August 14, 1641,

and was assigned to the Algonquin Missions that year (*Rel. 1642, p. 98, 1 col.*; *p. 99, 2 col.*). So also in 1642 and 1643 (*Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*). In 1645 he was for a time at St. Joseph II., and in 1646 at St. Ignace I. (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 80, 88*; *Rec. cop. pp. 70, 75*). He was thoroughly versed in both languages (*Extr-Lar. p. 13*), which could not be said either of Simon Le Moyne or of François Du Peron. The *Mission of St. Charles* was made up of both Hurons and Algonquins, so it is quite reasonable to suppose that Father René Ménard was chosen for the post.

There seems less difficulty in determining what Father had the care of the *Mission of St. Esprit*, which comprised the Algonquins living along the eastern shores of Lake Huron and those of Lake Nipissing (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*). Father Claude Pijart was sent up from Three Rivers expressly to take charge of the Nipissings (*Rel. 1641, p. 58, 1 col.*), arriving in Huronia in the early autumn of 1640 (*Id. p. 62, 1 col.*; *p. 82, 1 col.*). He began his mission in their country on May 8, 1641 (*Id. ib. 2 col.*), and was their devoted missionary for years (*Rel. 1644, p. 102, 2 col.*; *p. 104, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1645, p. 51, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1646, p. 80, 2 col.*; *p. 81, 2 col.*; *p. 84, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*). Nowhere do I find the slightest indication that would lead one to suppose that he ever had any other tribe of Indians under his spiritual supervision. The conclusion is not absolutely sure but morally so.

Coming now to the *Mission of St. Pierre* we are back again into untroubled waters, not because Father Ragueneau is more communicative in giving the name of its missionary, but on account of the circumstances of time and place which are dwelt upon in his narrative, and which tally perfectly with those contained in a letter written by Father Joseph Antoine Poncet from "Sainte Marie aux Hurons, ce 18 Mai, 1649."

The mission was begun in 1648 ("la seconde [mission] que nous commençons cette année a pris le nom de Saint Pierre"—*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*—and the Relation is dated April 16, 1648—*See p. 45, 1 col.*). It was intended at its inception for those of the Algonquins who dwelt along the north shore of Lake Huron (*Id. p. 63, 1 col.*), but soon took in also those who made their home in Manitoulin Island (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1, 2 col.*).

Here is what Ragueneau has to say of it in Relation 1649: "We do not yet know what success has attended the new mission which we began last Autumn among an Algonquin Nation about sixty leagues distant. One of our Fathers who for some years had been urgent in his request to go and instruct them was sent to winter among them.

"Eight months have passed since he left us and we have not succeeded yet in getting any tidings of him.....These Indians

inhabit an Island some sixty leagues in circuit, lying in a westerly direction from us in our great lake or Fresh-Water-Sea. This island is called *Ekaentoton*, whence the name of the tribes who live there, but we have named it the Island of *Saincte Marie*" (*Id. ib.*). The Relation is dated from Ste. Marie [I.] of the Hurons, May 1, 1649 (*p. 2, 1 col.*).

Father Joseph Antoine Poncet's letter to one of his brothers, a secular, written also from Ste. Marie [I.], bears the date of May 18, 1649. He says he was not in Huronia when Father de Brébeuf and his own cousin Father Gabriel Lalemant were martyred, but that he saw their remains. He says that he returned two months after the event from his mission where he had spent nearly seven months alone with the Indians; but it will be better to quote his own words: "I got back two months after the martyrdom; no news had reached me of these Reverend Fathers. I was alone in that island spoken of in the Relation, with an Algonquin tribe. It was God's will to make me do penance for my sins during nigh on to seven months among these savages, companions of the life I was leading, and to grant me the consolation of sending some of them to heaven" (*Notice sur le P. Gabriel Lalemant—F. Martin S. J. p. 178*; *MS. in St. Mary's College Archives*).

The two months after the martyrdom of March 17 would lapse on May 17, the day previous to the date of his letter. Counting back from May 17, October 17 would make exactly seven months; but as he says "près de Sept. mois," his departure in the autumn of 1648 must have taken place a little later in October.

What is ascertained beyond doubt is that it was Poncet who spent the winter 1648-1649 on *Ekaentoton* Island and that he returned from his mission about May 17. The slight discrepancy between what he knew best was the length of his absence and Ragueneau's estimate of it, must be set down to the anxiety of the latter at Poncet's forced silence.

Two Fathers out of the fifteen present in Huronia still remain unaccounted for, they are Fathers Simon Le Moyne and François Du Peron. As all the outlying missions have been filled in accordance with the data supplied by the Relations, they naturally must find their places at Ste. Marie I. until its voluntary destruction, and after the migration to St. Joseph's Island at Ste. Marie II. There was a call for them there, and a wide field for their zeal among the wretched survivors of the Hurons Proper, stricken at the same time by war, pestilence and famine.

I much regret that it had become neccessary, owing to Father Ragueneau's studied reticence, to inflict on even the most patient reader this tiresome dissertation concerning the several stations occupied by the Fathers in Huronia during the summer and aut-

umn months of 1649. It is now with no little satisfaction that I present in tabulated form, as has been done for the preceding years, the result of this lengthy investigation.

Missions Summer and Autumn of 1649:

HURON

Ste. Marie I. Destroyed May 15 (*Rel. 1649, p. 30, 2 col.*) and completely abandoned June 14, 1649 (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 1 col.*)

(Residence)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier, min. proc.
F. Pierre Chastelain, præf. spir.

(Mission)

F. Jacques Bonin (*Ducreux, Hist. Canad. pp. 544, 545*)
F. Simon Le Moyne
F. François Du Peron
F. Adrien Greslon
(See preceding notes on the Status of the Missions)
Brother Ambroise Brouet, invalid
Brother Louis Gauber
Brother Nicolas Noirclair
Brother Pierre Masson

Ste. Marie II. On St. Joseph's Island. Occupied June 15 (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 1 col.*)

(*Residence*)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier, proc. min.
F. Pierre Chastelain, Præf. spirit.

(Mission)

F. Jacques Bonin (*Ducreux, Hist. Canad. pp. 544, 545*)
F. François Du Peron
F. Simon Le Moyne
(*as above, notes on the Status*)
F. Adrien Greslon (*Left for his Petun Mission probably after August 12, but certainly not before June 1; see notes on Status*)
F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot (*On St. Joseph's Island since May 1 (Rel. 1649, p. 29, 1 col.; Cf. p. 30, 1 col.; Autob. p. 93*)

At this period of transition it is not possible to determine which of the Brothers, *donnés* and hired men went first, probably

weeks before, to prepare Ste. Marie II. for the reception of the community on St. Joseph's Island, and which remained at Ste. Marie I., felling trees, constructing rafts, building the boat and loading them with the household goods, etc. (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 1 col.*). The passage to the Island, of at least the first party to land, lasted throughout the night; but it would seem that it took several days to complete the transfer of all (*Id. ib.*). And when they landed they were encouraged at the sight of the fields of corn sown by Father Chaumonot's Indians.

PETUN

St. Jean, at Etiarita (*Rel. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*) Destroyed by the Iroquois December 7, 1649 (*Id. p. 8, 2 col.*)

F. Charles Garnier — (*Rel. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*; *P.M. p 248*) Killed by the Iroquois December 7 (*Id. p. 10, 2 col.*)

F. Noël Chabanel — (*Rel. 1650, p. 16, 1 col.*; *P.M. p. 248*) Killed by a renegade Huron, Dec. 8, 1649. Had been on the mission since February 17, 1649 (*Rel., 1650, p. 18, 2 col.*)

It will be well to note here an error in the date of his death as given in the Relation 1650 (*p. 18, 2 col.*): "Lors qu'il partit de la Mission de sainct Mathias (*or rather passed through it*), le iour mesme de sa mort, parlant au Pere, etc." This is not correct, nor is it in keeping with what is said elsewhere in the same Relation (*p. 16, 1 col.*): "Ce bon Pere (Father Chabanel) reuenant donc où l'obeïssance le rappelloit, auoit passé par la Mission de sainct Mathias, où estoient deux autres de nos Peres et les auoit quittez le matin du septiesme iour de Decembre." Consequently, the morning he took leave of the two Fathers stationed at St. Mathias was December 7. The Relation proceeds to inform us that he travelled six long leagues that day, camped in the forest when darkness overtook his party, and at midnight was startled by the victorious shouts of the Iroquois. It was then and there that his escort forsook him. The narrative continues: "Sur l'aube du iour [of December 8], le Pere ayant changé de route, voulant venir nous trouuer en l'Isle où nous estions, se vit arresté au bord d'vne riuiere, qui luy trauersoit son chemin" (*Id. ib. 2 col.*). It was here the renegade Huron met him, murdered him and cast his body into the stream. But, it is obvious, this took place not on the day he left St. Mathias but the day after, that is December 8.

ALGONQUIN

St. Charles (On or near the shores of Lake Huron, from 160 to 180 miles distant from Huronia—*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*)

F. René Ménard spoke both languages fluently (*Extr-Lar. 1648, p. 13*).

F. Adrien Daran, during the summer (*See notes on Status*)

There was one Father only during the winter on this mission, he went there in October, 1649 (*Rel. 1650, p. 21, 1 col.*). He returned to Ste. Marie II. towards the end of the winter 1649-1650 (*Id. p. 22, 1 col.*). For identity, see preceding notes on the *Status* of the missions.

St. Pierre (Manitoulin Island and Northern shores of Lake Huron—*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.; Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1, 2 col.; p. 26, 2 col.; p. 27, 1 col.* farther away than St. Charles (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*).

F. Jospeh Antoine Poncet. (*His letter, May 18, 1649*)

He went in October, 1648 (*His letter*), and returned May 17, 1649 (*Id.*); but wintered again there, 1649-1650 (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*).

St. Esprit (Nipissing Indians and east shore of Lake Huron—*Relation 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*)

F. Claude Pijart (*see preceding notes on Status of the Missions*).

Destruction of St. Jean or Etharita of the Petun Nation—Massacre of Fathers Garnier and Chabanel.

St. Jean or *Etharita* (*C.G.-LL Contemp. cop. pp. 98, 99*; *Rec. cop. pp. 83, 84*) in the mountains of the Petun Nation, and lying nearest to the frontier the most exposed to the enemy, sheltered five or six hundred families (*Rel. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*). It was four leagues from St. Mathias (*C.G.-LL. Contemp. cop. p. 99*; *Rec. cop. 84*), otherwi e Ekarenniondi (*Id. Contemp. cop. p. 98*; *Rec. cop. p. 84*).

Fathers Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel were fellow-missionaries at St. Jean in the early winter 1649-1650 (Rel. *1650, p. 16, 1 col*), when two escaped Huron captives assured the Superior, Father Ragueneau, then at Ste. Marie II., that the Iroquois were on the point of attacking either St. Joseph's Island or the villages of the Petun Nation (*Rel. 1650, p. 8, 1 col.*). There-

upon the Superior sent word to Father Chabanel to return to Ste. Marie II., so as to leave as few missionaries as possible exposed to danger (*Rel. 1650, p. 16, 1 col.*).

Father Chabanel, conformably to orders, left St. Jean on December 5, accompanied by seven or eight Petun Hurons (*Id. p. 16, 1 col.*). On his way he stopped at St .Mathias where Fathers Léonard Garreau and Adrien Greslon were stationed (*MS. Authent. 1652, Orig., p. 247*), and on the morning of December 7, leaving St. Mathias, he continued his journey (*Rel. 1650, p. 16, 1 col.*).

Meanwhile the Iroquois, eluding the Petun warriors who had set out from St. Jean to meet them, fell upon the defenceless village at three in the afternoon of the very day, December 7 (*Id. p. 8, 1 and 2 col.*) that F. Chabanel had taken leave of the two missionaries at St. Mathias (*Id. p. 16, 1 col.*). The inhabitants were slaughtered or captured, and the town reduced to ashes; Father Garnier falling a victim to the fury of the victors while ministering to the spiritual wants of the dying (*Id. p. 9, 1, 2 col.*).

After leaving St. Mathias, Father Chabanel and his companions had covered six good leagues before nightfall, when they camped in the forest. At midnight the exulting war-whoops of the enemy, who were passing very near them on their return eastward, filled the Hurons with consternation. Unperceived by the foe and by a circuitous course they doubled back towards the Petun country. So precipitous was the flight that Father Chabanel could not keep up with them, and he was left alone to his fate (*Id. p. 16, 1 and 2 col.*).

The sole witness, as to what happened after Father Chabanel was abandoned in the forest, was an apostate Huron by name Louis Honareennhak (*MS. Authent. 1652, Orig. p. 276, in margin*). His first story was the one given in the Relation by F. Ragueneau, to the effect, that at early dawn (on December 8) the Father who had vainly endeavoured to follow his Huron companions on their way back to the Petun country, resumed his journey in the direction of St. Joseph's Island. He had reached a deep stream [Nottawasaga River] which barred his further progress. Then it was that he, Louis Honare'ennhak, ferried the Father over the river. He declared that the latter had thrown aside his hat, his blanket and the satchel wherein he kept his manuscripts so as to be less hampered in his flight (*Rel. 1650, p. 16, 2 col.*). The witness was in possession of his apparel (Bressani *p. 276*).

Such was the account given also in the MS. of 1652, sent to France to be engrossed by a court scribe, and now preserved in St. Mary's College Archives. When it was returned to F. Ragueneau

at Quebec, he corrected in it several particulars, affixing his signature, and adding his own attestation at the end of chapters. In this instance he modifies the above statement. He affirms that the renegade had openly boasted that he had killed Father Chabanel out of hatred to the faith, seeing that since he himself and his family had embraced Christianity every misfortune had befallen them. (*MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 276*). A photo-engraving of this affidavit has been given in Part First of this volume.

After the Destruction of St. Jean (*Etharita.*)
(*Dec. 7, 1649*)

Missions:

HURON.

St. Marie II. on St. Joseph's Island.

(Residence)

R. F. Paul Ragueneau, Sup.
F. François Le Mercier
F. Pierre Chastelain

Mission on the Island

F. Adrien Daran
F. François Du Peron
F. Jacques Bonin
F. Joseph Marie Chaumonot
F. Simon Le Moyne

F. Adrien Greslon, invalid — Recalled from the Petuns towards the end of December, 1649, or the beginning of January, 1650 (*Rel. 1650, p. 19, 1 col.*).

Brother Ambroise Brouet, invalid, had been cook previously.
Brother Louis Gauber, Blacksmith
Brother Nicolas Noirclair
Brother Pierre Masson, tailor, sacriston, gardener.
Donné Gilles Bacon
Donné Charles Boivin, foreman builder
Donné Charles Panic, house work
Donné Christophe Regnaut, shoemaker
Donné Claude Boucher
Donné Daniel Carteron (*or Cartron*)
Donné François Dornais
Donné François Malherbe

Donné Guillaume Losier (or Lozier, or Lausier)
Donné Jacques Caulmont
Donné Jacques Levrier, shoemaker
Donné Jean Caron
Donné Jean Guérin, house work
Donné Jean Guiet, carpenter
Donné Jean Le Mercier
Donné ——— Bernard
Donné ——— Rolland
Donné Joseph Boursier dit Desforges
Donné Joseph Molère, apothecary, laundryman
Donné Louis Pinar
Donné Marin Lefevre
Donné Nicolas Montreuil
Boy Louis Le Boesme
Boy ——————— ?
Boy ——————— ?
Boy ——————— ?

Hired men. There were eleven, whose names I have not discovered.

Soldiers. Six, whose names are also unknown.

This made up the full complement of Frenchmen who were attached to the Residence and Mission of Ste. Marie II., on Ste. Joseph or Christian Island during the Winter of 1649-1650. Most of them were engaged, together with the Indians as helpers, on the fort and other works of defence, from the end of May, 1649, and through the summer and autumn months. It was not until November that the stone walls of the fort were completed (*Lettres de Marie de l'Incarnation, I. p. 416*). "En sorte que Dieu mercy," says Father Ragueneau, "nous nous vismes en estat de très-bonne deffense, ayant basty vn petit fort si regulierement, qu'il se deffendoit facilement soy-mesme, et qui ne craignoit point ny le feu, ny la sappe, ny l'escalade des Iroquois. De plus nous mismes la main pour fortifier le bourg des Hurons qui ioignoit à nostre habitation: nous leur dressasmes des bastions qui en deffendoient les approches, etc." (*Rel. 1650, p. 3, 2 col.*).

ALGONQUIN.

St. Charles (*Rel. 1650, pp. 21, 22*)

F. René Ménard, from October, 1649 till the end of winter (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*).

This year this mission, as we have seen, was for a band of Hurons who through dread of the Iroquois had left Huronia the

previous year, and had settled in a secluded place in the wilderness six long days' journey from their former homes, that is to say, some 150 or 180 miles distant. The Relation says: "Two of our missionaries, one speaking Algonquin and the other Huron, having throughout the summer [1649], scoured the coasts of our fresh-water Sea [Lake Huron], to minister to the spiritual wants both of the Hurons, who were then dispersed, as well as of the Algonquin tribes, represented to us, on their return, that it would be for God's glory if some one of us should pass the winter at that place where the Indians were to gather in greater numbers. For this purpose we named one of our Huron-speaking Fathers, who left in the month of October" (*Rel. 1650, pp. 21, 22*). There are no further data, but as Father René Ménard spoke both languages fluently ("Huron et Algonquin. ling. peritus:" *Extr-Lar. p. 13*), it is all but certain that he was the one sent. The only others available, as already noted in discussing the *Status* of the Missions, were François Du Peron, Simon Le Moyne and Adrien Daran, of whom the last, according to Marie de l'Incarnation's letter of August 30, 1650 (*I. p. 424*), had undergone extraordinary sufferings and trials, such as the Father on this mission had had to endure for the space of fifty days (*Rel. 1650, p. 23, 1 col.*). But, on the other hand, being one of the last who had come to Huronia, and seeing that it was the settled policy of the Fathers not to send out new-comers alone but as companions and helpers of those already well seasoned to hardship (*Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*), he was not the one to be chosen, though most probably he had accompanied Ménard during the summer.

Towards the end of the winter (1649-1650) these Indians of the St. Charles Mission broke up camp, scattering here and there, and a party of them, reduced to the direst straits by famine, after travelling six days on the frozen lake, reached St. Joseph's Island accompanied by their missionary (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*).

Saint Esprit (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*). Nipissings and other Algonquins on the east shore of Lake Huron (*Cf. Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col*).

F. Claude Pijart, who from the outset had charge of the Nipissings.

These Indians had no permanent abode, but haunted the shores of the great Lake [Nipissing] their home, so that the Fathers had to be constantly on the move to keep in touch with them in their wanderings (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1, 2 col.*). I infer from the phrase which follows that during the winter 1649-1650 there was

but *one* Father on this mission: "Voicy ce que m'en escriuoit *le Pere* qui cét Hyuer [1649-1650] auoit le soin de cette Mission" (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 2 col.*).

Though Father Ragueneau, with most provoking consisteney, and an impartiality not to be called in question throughout his Relations suppresses all names, save those of the dead, one runs little risk of going astray by setting down Father Claude Pijart as the missionary alluded to. He, in fact, from the very first, and all along, had pastoral charge of the Nipissings.

In the spring many of these Indians fell into the hands of the Iroquois, who came upon them unawares in what was looked upon as a safe retreat. "Ils [the Iroquois] entraisnerent dans la Captiuité hommes, femmes et enfans, sans pardonner à cét aage innocent, qu'ils brusloient au milieu des flammes auec des cruautez inconceuables" (*Id. ib.*).

St. Pierre (*Rel. 1650, p. 22, 1 col.*). Manitoulin Island and North Shore of L. Huron. (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.; Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1 col.*).

F. Joseph Antoine Poncet

From Father Poncet's own letter, May 18, 1649, (*MS. copy St. Mary's College Archives*), extracts from which have already been given, we know that he had returned the day previous to its date from his winter mission among the Algonquins, 1648-1649, and by a comparison with Ragueneau's statements, that this mission was that of St. Pierre (*Rel. 1648, p. 63, 1 col.*; *Rel. 1649, p. 6, 1, 2 col.*). But the last paragraph which closes Chapter VI. of the Huron Relation of 1650 (*p. 22, 1 col.*) leaves no doubt as to the Father's wintering a second time in the St. Pierre Mission.

PETUN NATION.

Ekarenniondi, or St. Mathias, and St. Matthieu. (*Rel. 1650, p. 19, 1 col.*).

F. Léonard Garreau, until the spring of 1650.
F. Adrien Greslon, until January, 1650, at the latest, when he returned to Ste. Marie II. (*Rel. 1650, p. 19, 1 col.*).

} *MS. Authent, 1652, Orig. p. 247.*)

"Since the death of the two Fathers [Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel] of whom we have spoken, the want of labourers has forced us to maintain but one mission throughout these moun-

tains [the Blue Hills], burdening over measure the other two surviving Fathers [Garreau and Greslon—*MS. Authen. 1652, Orig. p. 247, cop. p. 85*] with the care of the poor afflicted Churches which had just lost their Pastors; and then, only a short time after, we found ourselves constrained to leave but one of the two to look after all the Christians in that region; for sickness had overtaken the other [Greslon] and we had to recall him that he might receive here a little better nursing" (*Rel. 1650, p. 19, 1 col.*).

To make it perfectly clear that it was Father Garreau who was left alone among the Petuns and not Father Greslon, I shall cull a few passages from a rather long letter of Father Ragueneau to Father Garreau's brother. It bears no date but was written shortly after the death of our missionary which occurred at Montreal on September 2, 1656. A musket ball had broken his spine on August 30, when a band of Iroquois, lying in wait at the lake of Two Mountains had fired a volley at a party of Hurons and Algonquins who, with two missionaries, were bound upward for the country of the Ottawas (*Rel. 1656, pp. 38-41*):

"One of our Fathers, his intimate friend, and companion in his toils, Reverend Father Charles Garnier, having been put to death by these wretches [the Iroquois] on December 7, 1649, Father Léonard remained alone in the country, exposed to all the ills which nature most abhors (*p. 3*).....

"Having recalled him from this mission [*Ekarenniondi in the* spring of the following year [1650], he embarked in a canoe to cross about ten leagues over a lake [i.e. Nottawasaga Bay, a part of Lake Huron], which lay between him and us. The Christian Indians who were piloting him lost their bearings in a dense impenetrating fog which came up suddenly accompanied by so furious a storm that, after having completely worn themselves out plying their paddles much longer than their strength could endure through daylight and darkness, they lost all hope and all desire of prolonging their lives, and abandoned themselves to the mercy of wind and waves" (*p. 4*).

Father Ragueneau proceeds to show how Father Garreau prepared the party, which was made up of Christian Indians and Frenchmen, for death which seemed inevitable, how they accepted their lot not only with resignation but with contentment, then adds: "God quieted the tempest and dispelled the sullen clouds, and all at once they found themselves close to shore in a blissful calm not different from that which all along had reigned in their hearts" (*MS. copy from the "Histoire des Saints du diocèse de Limoges par Jean Collins, 1673," St. Mary's College Archives*) (*Cf. Ducreux, Hist. Canad. p. 807*).

Thus Father Léonard Garreau was the last to be called in from a missionary outpost so dangerously exposed to any sudden attack of the enemy. He escaped then with his life, but only to fall six years later before the treacherous Iroquois, who at that time were supposed to be at peace with the French (*Rel. 1656, p. 40, 2 col.*).

1650

The Final Exodus.

To intensify the sufferings of the Hurons, already unbearable, famine supervened and added its horrors to the ever recurring butcheries and tortures. The Iroquois held the Island of St. Joseph so closely invested that any party setting foot on the mainland for the purpose either of hunting or of renewing their exhausted supply of roots and acorns (for they had been reduced to such fare and worse) were set upon by the prowling bands of the enemy. Nor were the fishing parties less exposed to inevitable disaster. The Iroquois was ubiquitous and his onslaught irresistible (*Rel. 1650, p. 23, et ss.*).

Two veteran chiefs, foreseeing the complete extinction of their Nation, sought out F. Ragueneau in secret, and pleaded long and earnestly for the abandoning of St. Joseph's Island and for a speedy departure for the sheltering walls of Quebec (*Rel. 1650, pp. 26, 27*). The measure after protracted deliberation was resolved upon, for the situation had become desperate (*Id. p. 26, 1 col.*).

On June 10, 1650 (*Rel. 1650, pp. 1, 2*) when all was in readiness, the long convoy pushed off from the landing of Ste. Marie II, and Huronia was abandoned forever.

The party consisted of 13 Fathers, 4 lay brothers, 22 *donnés*, 11 hired men, 4 boys and 6 soldiers. These are the figures given by F. Ragueneau as being present in Huronia after the death of Fathers Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel (*Rag. Letter, March 13, 1650, P.M. p. 249*) [See list given above]. The number of Hurons, who on this occassion abandoned their country to settle near Quebec, did not much exceed three hundred (*Rel. 1650, p. 26, 1 col.*; *Rag. Lett. Oct. 8, 1650, LL. ad Gen. p. 35*).

When half-way on their journey down they met F. Bressani's party of forty Frenchmen and a few Hurons (*Rel. 1650, p. 26, 2 col.*), which had left Three Rivers June 7, and Montreal June 15, with supplies and additional help for the mission (*Journ. des Jés., p. 139*). F. Bressani was bringing with him the lay brothers Jean Feuville (or Fréville), two hired men, Jean Boyer and Charles Amyot and Robert Le Coq, the donné (*Id. ib.*); the latter had gone down in the summer of 1649, and had spent the winter at Sillery (*Id. p. 131*).

Informed of the appalling events of the last twelve-month, and of the abandonment of the Huron country, F. Bressani and his party had but to turn their canoes back towards Quebec, and the two flotillas proceeded together on their way eastward (*Rel. 1650, p. 27, 1 and 2 col.*). They reached Montreal safely, where they rested two days, and finally arrived at Quebec, July 28, 1650, after a tedious journey of nearly fifty days. (*Rel. 1650, p. 28, 1 col.*; *Journ. des. Jés., p. 142*).

And thus ended the long drawn out conflict between two savage nations of kindred origin, the Iroquois and the Huron; the latter abandoning their home forever, and dispersing over a wide extent of the eastern half of the continent, mingling gradually with other tribes; and even, where they had gathered in any considerable number, and set up an abode in common, losing their very language and adopting little by little that of their former allies.

Nor did the victorious Iroquois ever attempt to occupy permanently the old haunts of the banished Huron. These remained a wilderness, trodden only by the Indian hunter, until, in our own times, their forests fell before the European woodsman and their fields were upturned by the modern ploughshare. Huronia had seen its day. And when in after years it was ever alluded to in classic Huron, it was as of Troy of old, the "*Fuit Ilium*" being echoed in savage language by the "*Sendake Ehen,*" "Fuit Huronia," or as Potier freely renders it "*Defunct Huronia.*"

SYNOPTICAL TABLES

. II. III.*

These Tables are a synopsis of the whole of PART SECOND of this volume.

TABLE I. gives in alphabetical order the names of all the missionary priests who laboured in Huronia, the date of their arrival there and of their departure or death. The numbers before each name on the list refer to Tables II. and III. Thus "16, 23," in the column headed 1642-43, of Table III., are the numbers of Father Charles Garnier and Simon LeMoyne, and mean that both these Fathers were stationed at St. Joseph II., or *Teanaostaiaë* during the season 1642-43, or during part of it as the case may be.

TABLE II. gives the names of the villages, etc., of the Huron Mission as they were known during the period which preceded the first taking of Quebec by the English in 1629.

TABLE III. gives the names of residential missionary villages, or missionary centres, for the term of years extending from 1634 to June 10, 1650, the date of the final exodus.

One point of interrogation in lieu of a number indicates that one missionary was in charge of the mission but that his identity is uncertain. Two such points mean that the mission was in charge of two Fathers whose names so far have not been ascertained. When a number, corresponding to the name of some missionary is repeated in any one column it is intended to show that part of the season was spent in one of the missions indicated and part in the other.

* NOTE—See footnote, page 269.

TABLE I.

Missionaries.	Sojourn.	
	Arrival.	Departure.
Recollets.		
1. LaRoche D'Aillon, Joseph de.	August 1626	Summer of.....1628
2. Le Caron, Joseph	Summer of..... 1615	May 20 1616
	" 1623	June.....1624
3. Poulain, Guillaume	" 1622	Autumn of.....1622
4. Sagard*, Gabriel Théodat.....	August 20.....1623	June.....1624
5. Viel, Nicolas.....	August.....1623	Summer of... ...1625
Jesuits.		
6. Bonin, Jacques.....	Early in Sept.....1648	June 10.....1650
7. Brébeuf, Jean de.....	August.....1626	End of June 1629
	August 5.....1634	Early Summer ...1641
	September 7.....1644	Slain March 16...1649
8. Bressani, François Joseph ..	Early Autumn....1645	End of June.....1648
	September 1648	August 1649
9. Chabanel, Noël.....	September 7.....1644	Slain December 8.1649
10. Chastellain, Pierre	August 12.....1636	June 10.. 1650
11. Chaumonot, Joseph Marie....	September 10.....1639	" 1650
12. Daniel, Antoine.....	After August 5...1634	July 22 1636
	August.....1638	Slain July 4.....1648
13. Daran, Adrien	Early in Sept.....1648	June 10..... ...1650
14. Davost, Ambroise	August 23.....1634	July 27.....1636
15. Du Peron, François	September 29.....1638	Early Summer....1641
	Autumn 1641	June 10.....1650
16. Garnier, Charles	August 13.....1636	Slain December 7.1649
17. Garreau, Léonard.....	September 7.....1644	June 10.....1650
18. Greslon, Adrien.....	Early in Sept.....1648	" 1650
19. Jogues, Isaac	September 11.....1636	June 13.....1642
20. Lalemant, Gabriel.....	Early in Sept.....1648	Slain March 17...1649
21. Lalemant, Jérôme.....	August 26.....1638	August.....1645
22. Le Mercier, François	" 13.....1635	June 10.....1650
23. Le Moyne, Simon.....	September 29.....1638	" 1650
24. Ménard, René.....	August 14.....1641	" 1650
25. Nouë, Anne de.....	August.....1626	Early Summer ...1627
26. Pijart, Claude	Early Autumn ...1640	June 10.....1650
27. Pijart, Pierre	August 17.....1635	End of June 1637
	September.....1637	Early in June....1638
	Early in Sept.....1639	Summer of.....1644
28. Poncet de la Rivière, Jos. A.	September 12.....1639	August.....1640
	Autumn of.....1645	June 10.....1650
29 Ragueneau, Paul.....	September 1.....1637	August.....1640
	August 14.....1641	June 10.....1650
30. Raymbault, Charles.....	Early Autumn ...1640	June 13.....1642

* Gabriel Sagard, the Recollet historian, was a lay brother and not in Holy Orders.

TABLE II.

STATIONS OF THE MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA FROM 1615 TO 1629.

The numbers in the columns refer to the Alphabetical List of Missionaries.

Missions.	1615	1616	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626-27	1627-28	1629‡
Carhagouha,* S. Joseph	2	2	....	2	2,4,5	5	1		
Neutral Nation	....	....	....	....	....	....	1		
Nipissirinians, *A.*	....	....	3						
Ounontisaston, *N.*	....	....	....	....	....	....	1		
Petun Nation	....	2	....	....	....	....	1		
S. Gabriel,† La Rochelle	....	....	....	4					
Toanché I., S. Nicolas	....	....	....	5	....	....	1, 7, 25	1, 7, 25	7

* *Carhagouha* was the *Arontaen* of the Relations. It must not be confounded with any of the Huron villages which bore the name of St. Joseph at the time when the Jesuits alone had charge of the Huron Missions.

† La Rochelle, the French name for St. Gabriel, identifies it with the *Ossossanë* or La Conception of a later period.

A. stands for Algonquins and *N.* for the Neutral Nation.

‡ From the capitulation of Quebec to the English, July 19, 1629, until the retrocession of Canada to the French by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, the Huron Missions were necessarily suspended, as the Fathers had been sent back to France. In 1634, however, the missionaries returned to Huronia and resumed their work of evangelization.

TABLE III.

STATIONS OF THE MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA—FROM 1634 TO 1650.

Missions.	1634-35.	1635-36.	1636-37.	1637-38.	1638-39.	1639-40.	1640-41.	1641-42.	1642-43.
Algonquins							26,30	26,30,24,19	26,24
Andach khroeh....N.							7,11		
Endarahy....A.									
Ihonatiria, S. Joseph I	7,12,14	7, 12, 14 22, 27	7,12,14,22 27,10-16,19	7,22,27 10,16,19	27, 10, 19				
Neutrals, SS. Anges							7,11		
Ossossanë, La Conception or La Rochelle				7,22,16 29,19	21,22,12,10 16,15,23	29,15,11,23	21,22	22,29	21,29
Petun Nation, Les Apôtres	7			7		16,19	16,27	16,27	
Sault Ste. Marie....A.								19,30	
S. Charles....A.									
Se. Elizabeth....A.									24
S. Esprit....A.							26,30	26,30,24,19	26
S. Ignace I., Taenhatentaron									
S. Ignace II									
S. Jean, Etharita....P.									
S Jean Baptiste, Cahiagué						12,23,11	12,23,11, 7	12,11,21	12,24
S. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaë					7,19,29,23	7,10		16,23, 7	16,23
Se. Madeleine, Arenta									
Se. Marie I., S. Joseph III						21,22,27,28	19,15	19,15 10,27, 7	22,10 27,26
Se. Marie II., S. Joseph's Island									
S. Mathias, Ekarenniondi....P.									
S. Mathieu....P.									
S. Michel, Scanonaenrat									11,15,21
S. Pierre....A.									
Tangouaen....A.									
Teotongniaton, S. Guillaume....N.							7,11		

?, Uncertain, A, Algonquin. N, Neutrals. P, Petun Nation. I, The First. II, The Second. III, The Third.

TABLE III.—*Continued.*

STATIONS OF THE MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA—FROM 1634 TO 1650.

Missions.	1643-44.	1644-45.	1945-46.	1640-47.	1647-48.	1648-49.	1649-50.	1650.*
Algonqnins	26,24	26,17, 9	9,26,17	28,26	26,28	26,24,28	24,26,13,28	24,26,28
Andach khroeh....N.								
Endarahy....A.	.....	26,17						
Ihonatiria, S. Joseph I								
Neutrals, SS. Anges								
Ossossanë, La Conception or La Rochelle	29	29	29 ?, ?	23, 9	11	11		
Petun Nation, Les Apôtres	.....	.....	.....	16,17	16,17	16,17, 9	16, 9,17,18	17
Sault Ste. Marie....A.								
S. Charles....A.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	24,13	24
Se. Elizabeth....A.	24							
S. Esprit....A.	26	26,17	26,17	26,28	26	26	26	26
S. Ignace I. Taenhatentaron	.....	?	?, ?	11,24	11			
S. Ignace II	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7, 9,20		
S. Jean, Etharita....P.	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	16	16, 9	
S. Jean Baptiste. Cahiagué	12	12,23, ?	12, ?	12				
S. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaë	16,23	16,24	16,15	12,15,16	12			
Se. Madeleine, Arenta	.....	.....	.....	.....	?	?		
Se. Marie I., S. Joseph III	21,22 10,27	21,22,29 10, 7, 9	29,22,10 7,17	29,22,10 8,17	29,22,10 7, 9	29,22 10, 6	29,22.10, 6 23,15,18	
Se. Marie II., S. Joseph's Island	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	as in 1850	22,29,10 11,23,15 6,18,13
S. Mathias, Ekarenniondi....P.	.....	.....	.....	16,17	17	17 9	17,18	17
S. Mathieu....P.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
S. Michel, Scanonaenrat	11,15	11,15	?	?	?	?		
S. Pierre....A.	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	28	28	28
Tangouaen....A.	.....	.....	7					
Teotongniaton, S. Guillaume....N.								

?, Uncertain. A, Algonquins. N, Neutrals. P, Petun Nation. I, The First. II, The Second. III, The Third. * Final Exodus, June 10, 1650.

TABLE

Showing Volumes, Chapters and Pages of The Quebec Edition of The Relations and The Corresponding Volumes, Chapters and Pages of The Cleveland Edition.

Quebec.			Cleveland.		Quebec.			Cleveland.	
Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.	Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.
1611	I.	1	3	39	1632	.....	7	4	35
Vol. I.	II.	3	"	47	Vol. I.	.....	8	"	41
"	III.	6	"	63	"	.....	9	"	45
"	IV.	8	"	73	"	.....	10	"	49
"	V.	11	"	87	"	.....	11	"	55
"	VI.	13	"	99	"	.....	12	"	59
"	VII.	16	"	115	"	.....	13	"	65
"	VIII.	18	"	127	"	.....	14	"	69
"	IX.	20	"	137	"	.....	15	"	73
"	X.	21	"	141	1633	.....	1	5	83
"	XI.	24	"	157	"	.....	4	"	95
"	XII.	27	"	171	"	.....	8	"	113
"	XIII.	28	"	179	"	.....	12	"	133
"	XIV.	29	"	185	"	.....	16	"	153
"	XV.	30	"	193	"	.....	21	"	177
"	XVI.	32	"	199	"	.....	25	"	197
"	XVII.	33	"	209	"	.....	30	"	221
"	XVIII.	35	"	219	"	.....	35	"	243
"	XIX.	38	"	231	"	.....	39	"	263
"	XX.	39	"	239	"	.....	39	6	7
"	XXI.	40	"	245	"	.....	44	"	29
"	XXII.	42	"	255	1634	.....	1	"	99
"	XXIII.	43	"	261	"	I.	2	"	103
"	XXIV.	44	"	267	"	II.	3	"	109
"	XXV.	46	"	275	"	III.	10	"	145
"	XXVI.	48	4	9	"	IV.	12	"	157
"	XXVII.	50	"	21	"	V.	27	"	229
"	XXVIII.	52	"	31	"	VI.	30	"	243
"	XXIX.	53	"	39	"	VII.	36	"	271
"	XXX.	56	"	51	"	VIII.	37	"	279
"	XXXI.	58	"	63	"	IX.	41	"	295
"	XXXII.	59	"	69	"	X.	45	7	7
"	XXXIII.	60	"	77	"	XI.	48	"	21
"	XXXIV.	61	"	81	"	XII.	51	"	35
"	XXXV.	63	"	91	"	XIII.	57	"	67
"	XXXVI.	64	"	99	"	.....	92	"	233
"	XXXVII	67	"	111	1635	.....	1	"	255
1626	.....	1	"	191	"	I.	3	"	263
"	.....	2	"	193	"	II.	5	"	275
"	.....	3	"	197	"	III.	11	8	9
"	.....	4	"	201	"	IV.	13	"	17
"	.....	5	"	207	"	Hur.	23	"	69
"	.....	6	"	211	"	.....	42	"	157
"	.....	7	"	215	"	.....	45	"	169
"	.....	8	"	221	1636	.....	1	"	215
"	.....	9	"	225	"	I.	3	"	223
1632	.....	1	5	11	"	II.	7	"	245
"	.....	2	"	13	"	III.	15	9	7
"	.....	3	"	17	"	IV.	21	"	37
"	.....	4	"	21	"	V.	27	"	69
"	.....	5	"	27	"	VI.	31	"	87
"	.....	8	"	31	"	VII.	36	"	111

TABLE SHEWING VOLUMES, ETC.—*Continued.*

Quebec.			Cleveland.		Quebec.			Cleveland.	
Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.	Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.
1636	VIII.	40	9	133	1638	XI.	28	14	261
Vol. I	IX.	44	"	151	Vol. I.	Hur.	32	15	13
"	X.	51	"	185	"	I.	33	"	17
"	XI.	53	"	193	"	II.	37	"	37
"	Hur.	76	10	7	"	III.	41	"	53
"	Part I.	.....	"	.....	"	IV.	44	"	69
"	I.	77	"	11	"	V.	46	"	77
"	II.	82	"	35	"	VI.	48	"	87
"	III.	92	"	87	"	VII.	51	"	101
"	IV.	99	"	117	"	VIII	52	"	111
"	Part II.	.....	"	.....	"	IX.	56	"	129
"	I.	100	"	125	"	X.	57	"	135
"	II.	104	"	141	1639	.....	1	"	217
"	III.	107	"	159	"	I.	2	"	219
"	IV.	110	"	175	"	II.	6	16	9
"	V.	111	"	193	"	III.	12	"	37
"	VI.	117	"	211	"	IV.	16	"	59
"	VII.	126	"	251	"	V.	19	"	75
"	VIII.	128	"	265	"	VI.	27	"	113
"	IX.	131	"	279	"	VII.	32	"	135
"	.....	139	"	317	"	VIII.	34	"	149
1637	.....	1	11	39	"	IX.	38	"	169
"	I.	2	"	45	"	X.	43	"	191
"	II.	6	"	63	"	XI.	46	"	209
"	III.	10	"	81	"	Hur.	49	"	223
"	IV.	24	"	149	"	I.	50	"	225
"	V.	28	"	167	"	II.	52	"	239
"	VI.	32	"	185	"	III.	56	17	9
"	VII.	39	"	221	"	IV.	59	"	25
"	VIII.	42	"	239	"	V.	66	"	59
"	IX.	47	"	263	"	VI.	72	"	87
"	X.	49	12	7	"	VII.	77	"	113
"	XI.	52	"	25	"	VIII.	83	"	145
"	XII.	55	"	39	"	.....	98	"	215
"	XIII.	59	"	61	1640	.....	1	18	61
"	XIV.	64	"	85	"	I.	2	"	65
"	XV.	73	"	125	"	II.	5	"	83
"	.....	96	"	235	"	III.	7	"	91
"	.....	103	"	267	"	IV.	12	"	119
"	Hur.	.....	.....	.....	"	V.	16	"	137
"	I.	103	13	7	"	VI.	19	"	155
"	II.	109	"	37	"	VII.	24	"	179
"	III.	119	"	85	"	VIII.	28	"	197
"	IV.	125	"	113	"	IX.	31	"	213
"	V.	131	"	145	"	X.	34	"	227
"	VI.	168	14	57	"	XI.	38	19	9
"	VII.	171	"	77	"	XII.	44	"	37
1638	I.	1	"	125	"	XIII.	49	"	61
"	II.	3	"	131	"	Hur.	52	"	77
"	III.	7	"	151	"	I.	53	"	81
"	IV.	8	"	161	"	II.	55	"	91
"	V.	10	"	171	"	III.	60	"	121
"	VI.	14	"	191	"	IV.	63	"	133
"	VII.	17	"	205	"	V.	70	"	167
"	VIII.	20	"	219	"	VI.	73	"	183
"	IX.	23	"	231	"	VII.	78	"	209
"	X.	25	"	243	"	VIII.	83	"	233

TABLE SHEWING VOLUMES, ETC.—*Continued.*

Quebec.			Cleveland.		Quebec.			Cleveland.	
Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.	Year.	Chapter.	Page.	Vol.	Page.
1640	IX.	90	20	19	1643	IV.	12	24	21
Vol. I.	X.	95	"	43	Vol. II.	V.	16	"	45
"	.....	102	"	77	"	VI.	20	"	67
1641	.....	1	"	119	"	VII.	28	"	103
"	I.	2	"	125	"	VIII.	32	"	123
"	II.	5	"	143	"	IX.	38	"	157
"	III.	10	"	165	"	X.	45	"	191
"	IV.	14	"	185	"	XI.	51	"	221
"	V.	20	"	215	"	XII.	61	"	271
"	VI.	21	"	233	"	XIII.	69	25	19
"	VII.	29	"	259	"	XIV.	74	"	43
"	VIII.	34	"	281	"	.....	82	"	75
"	IX.	37	21	21	1644	.....	1	"	95
"	X.	42	"	43	"	I.	2	"	105
"	XI.	46	"	61	"	II.	4	"	117
"	XII.	49	"	81	"	III.	7	"	135
"	XIII.	55	"	107	"	IV.	13	"	161
"	Hur.	59	"	129	"	V.	16	"	175
"	I.	60	"	131	"	VI.	19	"	193
"	II.	62	"	141	"	VII.	26	"	223
"	III.	63	"	147	"	VIII.	31	"	247
"	IV.	67	"	169	"	IX.	38	26	19
"	V.	69	"	177	"	X.	45	"	53
"	VI.	71	"	187	"	XI.	49	"	75
"	VII.	81	"	239	"	XII.	55	"	103
"	.....	84	"	251	"	XIII.	60	"	129
1642	....	1	22	31	"	XIV.	66	"	155
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"	V.	18	"	115	"	IV.	86	"	259
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"	X.	39	"	219	"	IX.	102	"	47
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"	VIII.	76	"	117	"	IX.	23	"	247
"	IX.	79	"	133	"	X.	29	"	275
"	X.	82	"	151	"	XI.	32	"	293
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"	II.	56	"	257	"	IV.	13	"	139
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"	VIII.	84	"	127	"	II.	3	"	87
1647	.....	1	"	219	"	III.	8	"	107
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"	V.	18	"	213	1652	I	1	"	135
"	VI	23	"	239	"	II.	3	"	147
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"	V.	51	"	91	"	I.	2	"	79
"	VI.	53	"	103	"	II.	3	"	85
"	VII.	55	"	117	"	III.	5	"	97
"	VIII.	58	"	129	"	IV.	9	"	119
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"	V.	14	"	93	"	I.	2	"	201
"	VI.	15	"	101	"	II.	6	"	223
"	VII.	18	"	115	"	III.	11	"	247
"	VIII.	20	"	127	"	IV.	22	47	23
"	IX.	24	"	145	"	V.	24	"	35
"	X.	29	"	171	"	VI.	27	"	49
"	XI.	30	"	177	"	VII.	30	"	67
"	XII.	32	"	185	1662	I.	1	"	139
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"	IV.	7	"	127	"	II.	3	"	41
"	V.	13	"	157	"	III.	7	"	59
"	VI.	19	"	187	"	IV.	10	"	75
"	VII.	22	"	199	"	V.	12	"	85
"	VIII.	23	"	209	"	VI.	14	"	99
"	IX.	26	"	221	"	VII.	16	"	107
"	X.	28	"	237	"	VIII.	17	"	115
"	XI.	33	"	257	"	IX.	25	"	153
"	XII.	34	"	263	1664	.....	1	"	249
"	XIII.	36	"	275	"	I.	2	"	257
"	XIV.	38	"	283	"	II.	6	"	279
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"	XVIII.	46	"	29	"	VI.	26	"	103
"	XIX.	47	"	35	"	VII.	29	"	119
"	XX.	49	"	45	"	VIII.	32	"	137
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"	XI.	25	"	81	"	XI.	82	"	149
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"	II.	4	"	249	"	IV.	7	"	287
"	III.	9	"	273	"	V.	10	55	21
"	IV.	10	"	279	"	VI.	12	"	33
"	V.	11	"	285	"	Part II.	13	"	39
"	VI.	13	"	297	"	I.	14	"	41
"	VII.	15	"	307	"	II.	14	"	45
"	VIII.	17	51	21	"	III.	16	"	55
"	IX.	18	"	27	"	IV.	18	"	67
"	X.	21	"	43	"	V.	20	"	75
"	XI.	21	"	47	"	Part III.	24	"	95
"	XII.	23	"	53	"	I.	28	"	117
"	XIII.	23	"	57	"	II.	31	"	133
"	XIV.	24	"	61	"	III.	36	"	157
"	XV.	24	"	63	"	IV.	39	"	169
"	XVI.	26	"	71	"	V.	41	"	183
"	XVII.	27	"	75	"	.....	42	"	185
"	XVIII.	28	"	81	"	.....	43	"	191
"	XIX.	29	"	87	"	.....	45	"	199
1668	.....	1	"	159	"	.....	47	"	207
"	I.	2	"	167	"	.....	49	"	219
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"	III.	13	"	221	"	Part I.	2	"	249
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"	VI	21	"	259	"	III.	18	"	27
"	VII.	22	"	267	"	IV.	18	"	31
"	VIII.	24	"	277	"	V.	20	"	39
"	IX.	25	52	19	"	VI.	22	"	49
"	.....	30	"	43	"	VII.	24	"	59
"	X.	32	"	53	"	Part II.	27	"	71
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"	IV.	12	"	173	"	III.	34	"	107
"	V.	16	"	195	"	IV.	35	"	115
"	VI.	17	"	199	"	V.	37	"	121
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Addenda

Supplementary Chapter

THE HURON INDIANS

NOTE.

While the manuscript of this volume was in the printers' hands, the Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S.J., prepared a short sketch of the Huron Indians for the Catholic Encyclopædia, which, with permission, is here given as a fitting accompaniment to the foregoing work.

The marginal references (not included in the Encyclopædia to the same extent as here) will be of value to any one seriously intent on historical research in this field, as the time required to find the corresponding passages in the Quebec edition and in the Cleveland edition of the *Relations* is very considerable.

THE HURON INDIANS

Part First—The Hurons before their Dispersion.

I. Their place in the Huron-Iroquois Family—II. Their Name—III. The Huron Country—IV. Population — V. Government — VI. Their Religion — VII. Their History—VIII. Missionaries in Huronia, and their various Stations.

Part Second—The Hurons after their Dispersion.

I. Extinction of the Attiwandaronk or Neutral Hurons—II. Migration to Quebec of the Hurons Proper. At Quebec; on the Island of Orleans; back to Quebec; at Beauport; at Notre Dame de Foy; at Vieille Lorette; final removal to La Jeune Lorette—Chronologieal list of Jesuit missionaries with the Hurons at Quebec, 1650-1790—Chronological list of Secular Priests with the Hurons at Quebec, 1794-1909—List of the Grand Chiefs or Captians of the Quebec Hurons.

PART FIRST

THE HURON INDIANS BEFORE THEIR DISPERSION

I. THEIR PLACE IN THE HURON-IROQUOIS FAMILY

At some unknown date all the Iroquois and Huron tribes formed but one single people. This fact noted more than two hundred and fifty years ago by Father Jérôme Lalemant* has since been acknowledged by every modern Indian philologist as fully established. If language may be taken as a fair criterion to go by, the Hurons proper were the original stock from which sprang all the branches of the great Iroquoian family, whether included in the primitive confederation of the Five Nations, or standing apart territorially, within historic times, as did the Tuskaroras, the Cherokees and the Andastes. Father Chaumonot, who was thoroughly versed in the Huron and Iroquois tongues, and who had lived as missionary among both nations, says in his autobiography * that "as this language (the Huron) is, so to speak, the mother of many others, particularly of the five spoken by the Iroquois, when I was sent among the latter, though at the time I could not understand their language, it took me but a month to master it; and later, after having studied the Onondaga dialect only, when present at the councils of the Five Nations assembled, I found that by a special help of God I could understand them all." It was for this reason that Father de Carheil, the Indian philologist, who had laboured among the Onondagas and Cayugas, chose the Huron idiom as the subject matter of his standard work. He compiled his *Radices* Huronicæ,* comprising some nine hundred and seventy verbal roots, as a text-book as well for future Iroquois missionaries as for Huron. A more modern authority, Horatio Hale, had no hesitation in saying that the Wyandots of the Anderdon Reserve used the most archaic form of the Huron-Iroquois speech that had yet been discovered.* These Wyandots were for the most part descendants of the Petun Indians, the nearest neighbours of the Hurons proper, who spoke a dialect but slightly different from that of the latter.

*Jesuit Relations, 1641: Quebec edition, 72, 2 col.; Cleveland edition XXI. 193-195.

*Paris edition, 1885, p. 81.

*Two MS. vols. in St. Mary's College Archives, transcribed by Fr. Pierre Potier, 1743, 1744.

*Journal of American Folk Lore I. 178, cited in Clev. edition VIII., 304.

II. THEIR NAME.

Father Pierre Potier, whose works, still in manuscript, are appealed to as the weightiest authority in Huron linguistics, at the end of his *Elementa Grammaticæ Huronicæ*, 1,745, gives a list of the names of thirty-two North American tribes with their Huron equivalents, and in this list the term 8endat, otherwise Ouendat, stands for Huron.* It is the correct appellation, and was used as such by the Hurons themselves. The proper English pronunciation is Wendot, but the modified form of Wyandot has prevailed.

*Cf. Rel. 1639: Queb. ed. 50, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XVI. 227.

As for the etymology of the word, it may be said to derive from one of two roots, either *ah8ênda*, meaning an extent or streteh of land that lies apart, or is in some way isolated, and particularly an island;* or *a8enda*, a voice, command, language, idiom, promise, or the text of a discourse.* That these two terms were all but identical may be inferred from the fact that the compound word, *ska8endat*, has the twofold signification of *one only voice* and *one only island*.* *Ska8endat* is composed of the irregular verb *at*, to be standing, to be ereet, and of one or other of the above mentioned nouns, thus, *a8enda at*, eontracted (*Elem. Gramm. Hur. p. 66*) *a8endat*. But the verb *at* when it enters into composition does so with a modified meaning, or as Potier puts it *"At..... cum particula reiterationis significat unitatem unius rei."* The first example given is *Skat*, with the meaning of *one only thing* (*Rad. Hur. 1751, 197*); and, among several other examples which follow, the word *Sk8endat* occurs. Dropping the first syllable, formed with the partiele of reiteration, *8endat* remains, with the meaning *The One Language* or *The One Land apart* or *The One Island*. But which of the two substantives was combined in *8endat*, probably, in the course of time had lapsed from the memory of the Hurons themselves. Plausible reasons, however, may be alleged which militate in favour of both one and the other.

*Rad. Huron. 1751, 288, 1 col.

*Id. 292, 1 col.

*Id. 197.

That the tribe should have styled themselves the nation speaking *the* one language, would be quite in keeping with the fashion they had of laying stress on the similarity or dissimilarity of speech when designating other nations. Thus with them the Neutrals, a kindred race, went by the name of Atti8andaronk, that is a people of almost the same tongue: while other nations were known as Ak8anake, or peoples of an unknown tongue.* On the other hand the probability of 8endat deriving from ah8ênda, an island or a land by itself, seems equally strong. In the French-Huron dictionary, the property of the Reverend Prosper Vincent Sa8atannen, a member of the tribe, under the vocable *île* the term *atih8endo* or *atih8endarack* is given with the meaning "les Hurons" with the explanatory note: "quia in insula habitabant." From this, one might be led to eonclude that the appellation was given to them as a nation, only

*Rel. 1641: Queb. ed. 72, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXI. 193.

after their forced migration to Gahoendoë, St. Joseph's or Christian Island, or after their sojourn in the Island of Orleans. Nevertheless it is certain that long before either of these occurrences they were wont to speak of their country Huronia as an island. One instance of this is to be found in Relation 1638 (Quebec edition p. 34; Cleveland edition XV, 21), and a second in Relation 1648 (Q.e. p. 74; Clev. e. XXXIII., 237, 239). Nor is this at all singular as the term *ahSenda* might aptly be applied to Huronia, since it signified not only an island strictly speaking, but also an isolated tract, and Huronia was all but cut off from adjoining territory by Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching on the south and east, the Severn River and Matchedash Bay on the north, the waters of Georgian Bay on the west and by the then marshy lands contiguous to what are now called Cranberry and Orr's Lake on the south-west.

Corresponding to Sendat, as applied to the members of the tribe and to their language, the name Sendake denoted the region in which they dwelt. Potier in his *Elementa*, page 28, while explaining the use of the perfect of the verb *en*, to be, that is to say *ç̣hen*, adds that it takes the place of the French word *feu* joined to the name of a person or a thing, as in English the word *late*, v.g. *Hechon ç̣hen*, the late *Echon*, which was de Brébeuf's and later Chaumonot's Huron name. Then, among the other examples he gives *Sendake ç̣hen*, "La défunte Huronie," literally "Huronia has been," recalling singularly enough the well known "Fuit Ilium."

If Wendat, or the slightly modified English form Wyandot, is the correct appellation of these Indians they were, notwithstanding, universally known by the French as Hurons. This term originated in a nickname given to a party of them who had come down to Quebec to barter. Though no hard and fast rule obtained in the tribe as to their head dress,* each adopting the mode which appealed for the nonce to his individual whim, this particular band wore their hair in stiff ridges extending from forehead to occiput, and separated by closely shaven furrows, suggestive of bristles on a boar's head, in French *hure*. The French sailors viewed them with amused wonderment, and gave expression to their surprise by exclaiming "Quelle hure!" *Thereupon the name Huron was coined, and was later applied indiscriminately to all the nation. It has stood the test of time and is now in general and reputable use. Other names are to be met with which at various historical periods were used to designate the Hurons. They may be said without exception to be misnomers. Some are but the names of individual chiefs, others the names of particular clans applied erroneously to the whole tribe, as Ochasteguis, Attignaouantans, etc.

*Rel. 1633: Queb. ed. 34-35; Clev. ed. V. 243.

*Rel. 1639: Queb. ed. 51, 1 col.; Bressani, Transl. p. 71; Clev. ed. XVI. 229.

III. THE HURON COUNTRY.

Many theories have been devised to solve the problem as to what part of North America was originally occupied by the great Huron-Iroquois Family; much speculation has been indulged in to determine, at least approximately, the date of their dismemberment, when a dominant, homogeneous race, one in blood and language, was broken up and scattered over a wide expanse; surmises to no end have been hazarded relative to the cause of the disruption, and especially that of the fierce antagonism which existed between the Iroquois and the Hurons at the time Europeans first came in contact with these tribes; in spite of all which, the solution is as far off as ever. For, unfortunately, the thoroughly unreliable folk-lore stories and traditions of the natives have but served to perplex more and more even discriminating minds. It would seem that the truth is to be sought not in the dimmed recollections of the natives themselves but in the traces they have left after them in their prehistoric peregrinations. Such, for instance, as those found in the early sixties of the last century in Montreal between Mansfield and Metcalfe streets below Sherbrooke. The potsherds and tobacco pipes, unearthed there, are unmistakably of Huron-Iroquois make, as their form and style of ornamentation attest. While the quantity of ashes, containing many other Indian relics and such objects as usually abound in kitchen-middens, mark the site as a permanent one.* A discovery of this nature places within the realm of things certain the conclusion that at some period a Huron or Iroquois village stood on the spot. As for the unwritten traditions among the Red Men, a few decades are enough to distort them to such an extent that but little semblance to truth remains, and when it is possible to confront them with authenticated written annals they are found to be at variance with well ascertained historical events.

* Cf. "Quelques sépultures d'anciens indigénes" par le Principal Dawson. Traduction; Sénecal, Montréal, 1861.

In 1870, Peter Dooyentate Clarke, an educated Wendat, gave to the public a small volume * entitled "Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandots." "The lapse of ages," he says in the preface, "has rendered it difficult to trace the origin of the Wyandots. Nothing now remains to tell whence they came, but a tradition that lives only in the memory of a few among the remnant of this tribe. Of this I will endeavour to give a sketch as I had it from the lips of such, and from some of the tribe who have since passed away. My sketch reaches back about three centuries and a half, etc." From the following passage, which is to be found on page 7, a judgment may be formed as to how much reliance may be placed on such traditions even when received from intelligent Indians, under most favourable circumstances, and pieced together by one of themselves.

* 12°, 158 pp. Hunter Rose & Co., Toronto, 1870.

"About the middle of the 17th century, the Wyandotts on the Island of St. Joseph were suddenly attacked by a large party of Senecas with their allies and massacred [by] them to a fearful extent. It was at this time, probably, that a Catholic priest named Daniels, a missionary among the Wyandotts, was slain by the relentless savages. During this massacre, a portion of the Wyandotts fled from the Island to Michilimackinac. From there a portion of the refugees journeyed westward to parts unknown, the balance returned to River Swaba." This meagre, confused and inaccurate account seems to be all that has been handed down in the oral traditions of the Wyandotts in the west concerning the laying waste of their country two centuries and a half ago, and of the events, all-important for them at least, which preceded and accompanied their own final dispersion. As these occurrences were fully chronicled at the time they took place, by comparison the student of Indian history may draw his own conclusions as to the accuracy of Dooyentate's summary, and at the same time determine what credence is to be given to Indian traditions of other events all certainly of minor importance.

With the opening years of the 17th century reliable Huron history begins, and the geographical position of their country becomes known when French traders and missionaries, at that epoch penetrate the wilderness for the first time as far as what was termed the Fresh Water Sea.

The region then inhabited by the three great groups, the Hurons proper, the Petuns and the Neutrals, lay entirely within the confines of the present Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, with the exception of three or four Neutral villages which stood as outposts beyond the Niagara River * in New York State, but which eventually were forced to withdraw, not being backed by the rest of the nation against the Senecas in their efforts to resist the encroachments of the latter. Huronia Proper occupied but a portion of Simcoe county, or to be more precise, the present townships of Tiny, Tay, Flos, Medonte, Orillia and Oro, a very restricted territory and, roughly speaking, comprised between 44 deg. 20 min. and 44 deg. 53 min. north latitude, and from east to west between 79 deg. 20 min. and 80 deg. 10 min. longitude west of Greenwich. The villages of the Petun or Tobacco Nation were scattered over the counties of Grey and Bruce, but the shore line of their country was at all times chosen as camping ground by bands of the erratic Algonquins, a friendly race, who were oftentimes welcomed even to the Petun villages of the interior. After the year 1639, owing to defeats and losses sustained at the hands of the Atsistaeronnons or Fire Nation the Petuns withdrew towards the east and concentrated their clans almost entirely within the confines of the Blue Hills in Grey county, overlapping, however, parts of Nottawasaga and Mulmur townships in Simcoe. As for the Neutral

*Rel. 1641: Queb. ed. 71, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXI., 191.

Nation, its territory extended from the Niagara River on the east to the present international boundary at the Lake and River St. Clair on the west, while the shore of Lake Erie was the southern frontier. To the north no one of the Neutral villages occupied a site much beyond an imaginary line drawn from the modern town of Oakville, Halton county, to Hillsboro, county Lambton.

These geographical notions are not of recent acquisition, they have nearly all been in possession of authors who have dealt seriously with Huron history. But what is wholly new is the systematic reconstruction of the maps of Huronia Proper and of a small portion of the Petun country, an achievement which may be further perfected but which as it stands imparts new interest to Sagard's works and the Jesuit Relations, the only contemporaneous chronicles of those tribes from the first decades to the middle of the 17th century.

In the Neutral country there were about forty villages, * but all that Ducreux has set down on his maps are the following: St. Michael, which seems to have stood near the shore of Lake St. Clair not far from where Sandwich and Windsor now stand; Ongiara, near Niagara Falls; St. Francis, in Lambton county, east of Sarnia; Our Lady of the Angels, west of the Grand River, between Cayuga, in Haldimand county, and Paris, in Brant; St. Joseph, in Essex or Kent; St. Alexis, in Elgin, east of St. Thomas; and the canton of Otontaron, a little inland from the shore line in Halton county. Beyond the Niagara River, and seemingly between the present site of Buffalo and the Genesee he marks the Ondieronon and their villages, which Neutral tribe seems to have comprised the Ouenrôhronon, who took refuge in Huronia in 1638 (R. 1639: Queb. ed. 59, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XVII. 25).

*R. 1641, 71, 2. Cleve. ed. XXI 189, Charles Garnier's Letter, MS. 15.

When de Brébeuf and Chaumonot sojourned with the Neutrals in 1640-1641, they visited eighteen villages to each of which they gave a Christian name, (R. 1641: Queb. ed. 78, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXI. 223), but the only ones mentioned are Kandoucho or All Saints, the nearest to the Hurons Proper, (Id. 75, 1: 78, 2; Clev. ed. Id. 207, 225); Onguiaahra, on the Niagara River, (Id. 75, 2; Clev. ed. 209); Teotongniaton or St. William, situated about in the centre of the country, (Id. 78, 2 col.; clev. ed. Id. 225); and Khioctoa, or St. Michael, already enumerated above.

Add to this list the two villages mentioned by the Recollet, Father Joseph de la Roche de Daillon, though it is quite possible that they may be already included in the list under a somewhat different appellation. The first, Oüaroronon, was located the furthest towards the east, and but one day's journey from the Iroquois; * and the second, Oünontisaston, which was the sixth in order journeying from the Petun country. * With this all is said that can be said of the documentary data concerning the towns of the Neutral Nation and of their respective positions.

*Leclercq, I. 356, Sagard Hist. III., 801.

*Leclercq, I. 350, Sagard Hist. III. 801.

IV. POPULATION.

Father Jean de Brébeuf, writing from Ihonatiria, July 16, 1636, says: "I made mention last year of twelve nations*, all being sedentary and populous, and who understand the language of our Hurons; and our Hurons make, in twenty villages, about thirty thousand souls. If the remainder is in proportion there are more than three hundred thousand of the Huron tongue alone," (R. 1636: Queb. ed. 138, 2 col.; Clev. ed. X. 313). This, no doubt is a very rough estimate, and included the Iroquois and all others who spoke some one of the Huron dialects.

*R. 1635, Queb. ed. 33, 2 col.; Clev. ed. VIII. 115.

In his Relation of 1672, Father Claude Dablon includes an eulogium of Madam de la Peltrie. In it there is a statement for which he is responsible, to the effect that in the country of the Hurons the population was reckoned at more than eighty thousand souls including the Neutral and Petun nations, (Rel. 1672: Queb. 66, 1 col.; Clev. LVI. 267). No man had a more perfect knowledge of the Canada missions than Dablon, and as this was written fully a score of years after the dispersion of the Hurons he made the statement with all the contemporaneous documents at hand upon which a safe estimate could be based.

The highest figure given for the population of Huronia Proper was thirty-five thousand,* but the more generally accepted computation gave thirty thousand as the approximate number, occupying about twenty villages.* The method adopted in computing the population was that of counting the cabins in each village. The following quotations will give a clear idea of the process followed: "As for the Huron country it is tolerably level, with much meadow land, many lakes and many villages. Of the two where we are stationed, one contains eighty cabins, the other forty. In each cabin there are five fires and two families to each. Their cabins are made of long sheets of bark in the shape of an arbour, long, wide and high in porportion. Some of them are seventy feet long." * The dimensions of the lodges or cabins as given by Champlain * and Sagard * are, for length, twenty-five to thirty toises, more or less, and six in width. In many cabins there were, according to them, twelve fires, which meant twenty-four families.

*Rel. 1653: Queb. ed. 30, 1 col. Clev. XL. 223. Queb. R. 1658, 22, 1 col.; Clev. XLIV., 249.
*Carayon *Première Mission*, 137. Clev. VI., 59; Queb. R. 1635, 35, 2 col.; Queb. R. 1656, 39, 2 col., Clev. XLII. 221; Clev. LXX., 205.

*Carayon *Première Mission*, 170. Clev XV., 153.
* *Voyages*: Laverdière's ed. Queb. p. 562.
*Hist. I., 235, Tross. ed.

As to the number of persons in a family, it may be inferred from a passage in the Relation of 1640 relating to the four missions then in operation among the Hurons and the one among the Petuns: "In consequence (of the round the Fathers made throughout all the villages) we were enabled to take the census not only of the villages and scattered settlements but also of the cabins, the fires and even approximately of the dwellers in the whole country, there being no other way to preach the Gospel in these regions than at each family hearth, and we tried not to omit a single one. In these five missions [including the

Petuns] there are thirty-two villages and settlements which comprise in all about seven hundred cabins, two thousand fires, and about twelve thousand persons." * The average here, consequently, was six persons to a fire, or three to a family, which seems a low estimate; but what the Relation immediately adds must be taken into account: "These villages and cabins were far more densely thronged formerly," which goes on to ascribe the great decrease to unprecedented contagions and wars during a few preceding years.

*R. 1640, Quеb. ed., 62, 1 col. Clev. XIX 125-127.

In a similar strain Father Jérôme Lalemant wrote from Huronia to Cardinal Richelieu,* March 28, 1640, deploring this depletion, attributing it principally to war. He states that in less than ten years the Huron population had been reduced from thirty thousand to ten thousand. But famine and contagion were also active agents in depopulating Huron homes as the writers of the Relations uniformly declare, and this decimation went on at an increasing ratio until the final exodus.

*Clev. ed. XVII. 223.

The same writer, under date of May 15, 1645, seems to modify his statement somewhat when he says: "If we had but the Hurons to convert one might still think that ten and twenty thousand souls are not so great a conquest that so many hazards should be faced and so many perils encountered to win them to God.*" But evidently Father Jérôme Lalemant did not here pretend to give the exact figures, while the French expression may very well be rendered into English by "that ten and *even* twenty thousand souls, etc."

*Rel. 1645; Queb. ed., 41, 2 col. Cleve. XXVIII., 67.

But if, at the inception of the missions, the Hurons Petuns and Neutrals numbered all together eighty thousand souls, and the Hurons alone thirty thousand, in what proportion, it may be asked, are the remaining fifty thousand to be allotted to the Neutrals and Petuns?

To answer this question satisfactorily other statements in the Relations must be considered. On August 7th, 1634, Father Paul Le Jeune writes: "I learn that in twenty-five or thirty leagues of country which the Hurons occupy—others estimate it at much less—there are more than thirty thousands souls. The Neutral Nation is much more populous, etc." * Again in Relation 1641 it is said: This nation (the Neutral) is very populous, about forty villages and hamlets are counted therein." * If Huronia had twenty villages and a population of thirty thousand, other conditions being alike, the Neutral country with forty villages should have had a population of sixty thousand. This conclusion might have held good in 1634 but it is at variance with facts in 1641: "According to the estimate of the Fathers who have been there (in the Neutral country), there are at least twelve thousand souls in the whole extent of the country which claims even yet to be able to place four thousand warriors in the field, notwithstanding the wars, famine and sickness which for three years have pre-

*R. 1634: Queb. ed. 90, 2 col. Clev. VII. 223-225.
*R. 1641: Queb. ed. 71, 2 col.: Clev. XXI. 187.

vailed there in an extraordinary degree;'' * and in the following paragraph the writer explains why previous estimates were higher.

*Id. ib. Queb. 72. – Clev. 191.

In the country of the Petun or Tobacco Nation, contemporaneous records leave no doubt as to the existence of at least ten villages,* and very probably there were more. This, in the proportion just given, supposes a population of at least fifteen thousand.

*Rel. 1640: Queb. ed. 95, 1 col. Rel. 1648: 61, 1 col. Clev. XX., 43, XXXIII. 143.

However, all things considered, it would be no exaggeration to say that the Hurons proper, when the missionaries went first among them, numbered upwards of twenty-five thousand, the Petuns twenty thousand and the Neutrals thirty-five thousand. This would be in keeping with Dablon's estimate of the sum total.

V. GOVERNMENT.

The form of government among the Hurons was essentially that of a republic. All important questions were decided in their deliberative assemblies, and the chiefs promulgated these decisions. But the most striking feature in their system of administration was that, strictly speaking, there was no constraining power provided in their unwritten constitution to uphold these enactments or to enforce the will of their chiefs. ''These people (the Hurons),'' says Bressani, ''have neither king nor absolute prince, but certain chiefs, like the heads of a republic, whom we call captains, different, however, from those in war. They hold office commonly by succession on the side of the women, but sometimes by election. They assume office at the death of a predecessor, who, they say, are resuscitated in them..... These captains have no coercitive power.....and obtain obedience by their eloquence, exhortation and entreaties.'' * And it might be added by remonstrance and objurgation, expressed publicly without naming the offenders, when there was question of amends to be made for some wrong or injustice done or crime perpetrated.

*Orig. Macerata, 1653, 12. Clev. XXXVIII., 265.

That their powers of persuasion were great, may be gathered from the words a chief addressed to de Brébeuf, reproduced by the Father in full in Relation 1636 (*Queb. ed.* 123; *Clev.* X., 237). That their eloquence was not less incisive and telling when, in denouncing a criminal action, they heaped confusion on the head of the unnamed culprit, is evinced by a harangue recorded verbatim in Relation 1648 (*Queb. ed. 79; Clev.* XXXVIII., *277*).

The intolerance of the Huron of all restraint is corroborated by Father Jérôme Lalemant: ''I do not believe that there is any people on earth freer than they, and less able to allow the subjection of their wills to any power whatever; so much so that fathers here have no control over their children, or captains over their subjects, or the laws of the country over any of them, except in so far as each

is pleased to submit to them. There is no punishment which is inflicted on the guilty, and no criminal who is not sure that his life and property are in no danger even if he were convicted of three or four murders, or being suborned by the enemy to betray his country..... It is not that laws or penalties proportioned to the crime are wanting, but the guilty are not the ones who undergo punishment, it is the community that has to atone for the misdeeds of individuals, etc." *

*R. 1645, Queb. ed. 49, 2 col.; Clev. XXVIII., 49.

Their legislative bodies consisted of their village councils and what might be called their states-general. The former were of almost daily occurrence. Then the elders had control, and the outcome of the deliberations depended on their judgment; yet every one who wished might be present and every one had a right to express his opinion. When a matter had been thoroughly debated the speakers, in asking for a decision, addressed the elders, saying: "See to it now, you are the masters." *

*Rel. 1636; Queb. 78, 1 col., 118, 1 col.; 126, 2 col. Clev. X. 15, 213, 251.

Their general councils, or assemblies of all the clans of which the nation was made up, were the states-general of the country, and were convened only as often as necessity required. They were held usually in the village of the principal captain of all the country, and the council chamber was his cabin. This custom, however, did not preclude the holding of their assemblies in the open within the village, or at times also in the deep recesses of the forest when their deliberations demanded secrecy.*

*Rel. 1636: Queb. 126, 1 col. Clev. X 251.

Their administration of public affairs was, as de Brébeuf explains at some length, * and as one would naturally suppose, twofold. First, there was the administration of the internal affairs of the country. Under this head came all that concerned either citizen or strangers, the public or the individual interests in each village, festivals, dances, athletic games, lacrosse in particular, and funereal ceremonies;* and generally there were as many captains as there were kinds of affairs. The second branch of their administration was composed of war chiefs. They carried out the decisions of the general assembly. "As for their wars," says Champlain, "two or three of the elders or the bravest chiefs raised the levies. They repaired to the neighbouring villages and carried presents to force a following." * Of course other incentives were also employed to excite the enthusiasm of the braves.

*Rel. 1636: Queb. 121-122. Clev. X. 229.

*Cf. Rel. 1642: Queb. 89, 2 col. Clev. XXIII. 185.

*Voyages. Laverdière ed. 95 or 583.

In the larger villages there were captains for times both of peace and war, each with a well defined jurisdiction, that is, a certain number of families came under their control. Occasionally all departments of government were entrusted to one leader. But by mere right of election none held a higher grade than others. Pre-eminence was reached only by intellectual superiority, clearsightedness, eloquence, munificence and bravery. In this latter case one only leader bore for all, the burdens of the state. In his

name the treaties of peace were made with other nations. His relations were like so many lieutenants and councillors. At his demise it was not one of his own children who succeeded him, but a nephew or a grandson, provided there was one to be found possessing the qualifications required, who was willing to accept the office, and who in turn was acceptable to the nation.

VI. THEIR RELIGION.

The first Europeans who had occasion to sojourn any considerable time among the Hurons seem to have held but one opinion concerning their belief in a Supreme Being. Champlain says that they acknowledged no diety, that they adored and believed in no God. They lived like brute beasts, holding in awe, to some extent, the Devil, or beings bearing the somewhat equivalent name of "Oqui." Still, they gave this same name to any extraordinary personage; one endowed, as they believed, with preternatural powers like their medicine-men.* Sagard is at one with Champlain in his deductions, though he adds that they recognized a good and a bad "Oki," and that they looked upon one Youskeha as the first principle and the Creator of the universe, together with Eataentsic, but they made no sacrifice to him as one would to God. To their minds the rocks, and rivers, and trees, and lakes, and, in fine, all things in nature were associated with a good or bad Oki, and to these in their journeyings they made offerings.*

*Voyages. Laverdière ed. 86—574.

*Hist. II. Tross ed. 455—491 et S.S.

Father Jérôme Lalemant incidentally states "They have no notion of a Diety who created the world or gives heed to its governing." *

*R. 1645; Queb. 40, 2 col.; Clev. XXVIII. 48.

Father Jean de Brébeuf, who, during his long stay among the Hurons, had leisure and every opportunity to study their beliefs, customs and codes, and consequently may be quoted as by far the best authority on all such matters, has this to say, which seems to put the question in its true light: "It is so clear and manifest that there is a Diety who created heaven and earth that our Hurons are not able wholly to disregard it; and though their mental vision is densely obscured by the shadows of a long-enduring ignorance, by their vices and sins, yet have they a faint glimmering of the divine. But they misapprehend it grossly, and, having a knowledge of God, they yield Him no honour, nor love, nor dutiful service; for they have no temples, nor priests, nor festivals, nor any ceremonies." This passage is to be found in the Relation of 1635 (*Queb. ed. 34, 1 col.; Clev. ed. VIII., 117*). He proceeds immediately to explain briefly their belief in the supernatural character of one Eataentsic or Aataentsic and that of her grandson Iouskeha. But this myth with its several variants is developed at much greater length in the Relation of 1636 (*Queb. ed. 101; Clev.*

ed. N., 127), where many more particulars are added illustrative of their belief in some Diety.*

*Queb. ed. 107-110; Clev. ed. 159-173.

From a perusal of these two accounts, it may be gathered that the myth of Aataentsic and Iouskeha was accepted by the Hurons as accounting satisfactorily for their origin; that the former, who had the care of souls, and whose prerogative it was to cut short the earthly career of man, was reputed malevolent, while Iouskeha, presiding over the living and all that concerned life, was regarded as beneficent. They believed in the survival of the soul, and in its prolonged existence in the world to come, that is to say, in a vague manner in its immortality; but their concept of it was that of something corporeal. Most of what might be called their religious observances hinged on this tenet of an after-life. Strictly speaking, they counted neither on reward nor punishment in the place where the souls went after death, and between the good and the bad, the virtuous and the vicious, they made no distinction, granting like honours in burial to both.

De Brébeuf detected in their myths, especially that of Aataentsie and Iouskeha, some faint traces of the story of Adam and Eve much distorted and all but faded from memory in the handing down through countless generations; so also that of Cain and Abel, in the murder of Ta8iscaron by his brother Iouskeha, who, in one variant, figures as the son of Aataentsie.*

*R. 1636; Queb. ed. 101, 1 col.; 103, 1 col.; Clev. X. 127, 129, 137.

In the apotheosis of Aataentsie and Iouskeha, the former was considered and honoured as the moon, the latter as the sun.* In fact all the heavenly bodies were revered as something divine;* but in the sun, above all, was recognized a powerful and benign influence over all animate creation. As for the great Oki in heaven—and it is not clear if he were regarded or not as a personality distinct from Iouskeha—the Hurons acknowledged a power, regulated the seasons of the year, held the winds in leash, stilled the boisterous waves, made navigation favourable, in fine, helped them in their every need. They dreaded his wrath, and it was on him they called to witness their plighted word. In so doing, as de Brébeuf infers, they honoured God unwittingly.*

*Queb. ed. 102, 2 col.; Clev. X. 133.

*Queb. ed. 1d. 107, 2 col.; Clev. X. 159-161.

Since the object (objectum materiale) of the theological virtue of religion is God, the claim that the reverential observances of the Hurons, as described by de Brébeuf, should be deemed sufficient to constitute religion properly speaking, must be set aside, as there was a great admixture of error in their concept of a Supreme Being. But as the object (objectum materiale) of the moral virtue of religion is the complex of acts by which God is worshipped, and as these tend to the reverence of God who, in relation to the virtue of religion, thus stands as it ends,* such acts, if practised among the Hurons, should be considered. Devotion, adoration, sacrifices, oblations, vows, oaths, the utter-

*R. 1636 Queb. ed. 107-108. Clev. X. 161.

*S. Th. 2-2 q. 81 a. 5.

ing of the divine name as in adjuration or invocation, through prayer or praise, are acts pertaining to the virtue of religion.* It is not necessary for the present purpose to insist on each particular act of the series, but only on the most important, and such as fell under de Brébeuf's observation, and are recorded by him.

*S. Th. 1. c. a. 4.

Arŏnhia was the word used by them for heaven, the heavens, sky;* and from the very beginning was used by the missionaries in Christian prayers to designate Heaven, as may be seen in the Huron or Seneca Our Father by de Carheil. Now, de Brébeuf writes: "Here are the ceremonies they observe in these sacrifices (of impetration, expiation, propitiation, etc.). They throw petun (tobacco) into the fire, and if, for example, they are addressing Heaven, they say: '*Aronhiaté onné aonstai8as taitnr,*' 'Heaven, here is what I offer you in sacrifice, have mercy on me, help me!' or if it be to ask for health '*tacnguiaens,*' 'cure me.' They have recourse to Heaven in almost all their wants, etc." *

*Potier, Rad. Hur. 1751,293, 1 col.

When they meant to bind themselves by vow or by most solemn promise to fulfil an agreement, or observe a treaty, they wound up with this formula: "Heaven is listening to or heeding what we are now doing," and they are convinced after that, says de Brébeuf, that if they break their word or agreement Heaven will indubitably punish them.*

*R. 1636: Queb. 107, 2 col.; Clev. X. 159.

Were some one accidentally drowned, or frozen to death, the occurrence is looked upon as a visitation of the anger of Heaven, and a sacrifice must be offered to appease its wrath. It is the flesh of the victim which is used in the offering. The neighbouring villages flock to the banquet which is held and the usual presents are made, for the well-being of the country is at stake. The body is borne to the burial place and stretched on a mat on one side of the grave, and on the other a fire is kindled. Young men, chosen by the relatives of the victim, armed with knives, are ranged around. The chief mourner marks with a coal the divisions to be made, and these parts are severed from the trunk and thrown into the fire. Then, amidst the chants and lamentations of the women, especially of the near relatives, the remains are buried, and Heaven, it is thought, is pacified.*

*R. 1636: Queb. 108, 1 col.; Clev. X. 161.

Thus far, among the oblations to a supernatural being, no mention has been made of bloody sacrifices. Sacrifice, at least on account of the significance which is attached to it by usage among all nations, the acknowledging of the supreme dominion over life and death residing in the one for whom it is intended, may be offered to no creature, but only to the One Being to whom adoration (*cultus latriae*) in its strictest sense is due.* Such sacrifices of living animals were also in vogue among the Hurons. There was no day nor season of the year fixed for their celebration, but was ordered by the sorcerer or magician for special

*R. 1636: Queb. 108: Clev. X. 163-165

*S. Th. 22, Q. 84, a, 1.

purposes, as to satisfy *ondinonc* or dreams, and were manifestly offered up to some evil spirit. These sacrifices are expressly mentioned in the Relation of 1639 (*Quеb. ed. 94, 1-2 col.; 97, 2 col.; Clev. ed.* XVII., 195, 197, 211) and in that of 1640 (Queb. ed. 93, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XX., 35). Nor were burnt offerings wanting, as may be seen recorded in the Relation of 1637 (Queb. ed. 108, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XIII., 31) and that of 1642 (Queb. ed. 84, 1 col.; 87, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXIII., 159, 173).

The foregoing presentment of the religion of the Hurons, though by no means exhaustive, forcibly suggests two inferences, especially if taken together with the beliefs and observances of the other branches of the same parent stock, and those of the neighbouring tribes of North American Indians. The first is, that they were a decadent race fallen from a state of civilization more or less advanced, and which at some remote period was grounded on a clearer perception of a Supreme Being, evinced by the not yet extinct sense of an obligation to recognize Him as their first beginning and last end. This would imply also a revelation vouchsafed in centuries gone by, shreds of which could still be discerned in their beliefs, of which several supposed some knowledge of the biblical history of the human race though all but obliterated.

The second conclusion tends to confirm Father de Brébeuf's judgment, previously cited, that, while still retaining, as they did, a knowledge of God, however imperfect, the Hurons were the victims of all kinds of superstitions and delusions, which tinged the most serious as well as the most indifferent acts of their everyday life. But above all else, their dreams, interpreted by their soothsayers and sorcerers, and their mysterious ailments with the accompanying divinations of their medicine-men, had brought them so low, and had so perverted their better natures that the most vile and degrading forms of devil worship were held in honour.

VII. THEIR HISTORY.

Nothing is known of the history of the Hurons before the visit of Jacques Cartier to the shores of the St Lawrence in 1535. It is at this date that conjecture begins to take the shape of history. The two principal villages which this explorer found, occupying respectively the actual sites of Quebec and Montreal, were Stadacona and Hochelaga. By far the most probable opinion is that these were inhabited by some branch of the Huron-Iroquois race. M. L'Abbé Étienne Michel Faillon, P.SS. may be said to have transformed that theory into an almost absolute certainty.* His proofs, to this effect, are based on the customs, traditions of both Algonquins and Hurons, and, what is most conclusive, on the two vocabularies compiled by Cartier, contained in his first and second relation, and which comprise

*Hist. de la Colonie Française en Canada, I. note xviii. p. 524. Villemarie, 1865.

about one hundred and sixty words. The Abbé states fairly and dispassionately rival theories and, to all appearances, refutes them successfully. L'Abbé J. A. Cuoq, P. SS., in his *Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise*, * follows in the wake of Faillon, develops at greater length the argument based on the similarity of the words in Cartier's lists to the Huron-Iroquois dialects, and their utter incompatibility with any form of the Algonquin tongue. Strongly corroborating this contention is the fact, to which reference has already been made, of the finding in 1860 of shards of Huron-Iroquois pottery and other relics within the present limits of Montreal, and which at the time formed the subject-matter of Principal (later Sir William) Dawson's monograph.

*Montréal, J. Chapleau et Fils, 1882, 183

An interval of over sixty years elapsed between Jacques Cartier's expeditions and Champlain's first coming in 1603. A great change had taken place. Stadacona and Hochelaga had disappeared, and the tribes along the shores of the St. Lawrence were no longer those of Huron-Iroquois stock, but Algonquin. The various details of how this transformation was effected are a matter of mere surmise, and the theories advanced as to the cause are too uncertain, too conflicting and too lengthy to find place here. What is certain is that meanwhile a deadly feud had sundered the Hurons and the Iroquois. The Hurons Proper were now found occupying the northern part of what is at present Simcoe county in Ontario, with the neighbouring Petun or Tobacco Nation to the west, and the Neutrals to the south-west. The hostile tribes of the Iroquois held possession of that part of New York State bordering on the Mohawk River and extending westward to the Genesee, if not farther. The Algonquins, who now inhabited the country abandoned by the Huron-Iroquois, along the lower St. Lawrence, were in alliance with the Hurons Proper.

Champlain, with a view of cementing the already existing friendship between the French and their nearest neighbours, the Algonquins and Hurons, was led to espouse their cause. Nor was this the only object of his so doing. Bands of Iroquois infested the St Lawrence, and were a serious hindrance to the trade which had sprung up between the Hurons and the French.* In 1609, he, with two Frenchmen, headed a party of Algonquins and Hurons, ascended the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain, named after him by right of discovery, met the enemy near what is now Crown Point, where, thanks to the execution wrought by his fire-arms, to which the Iroquois were unaccustomed, won on July the 30th an easy victory.* A second successful encounter with the Iroquois took place, on June 19th 1610, at Cap du Massacre, three or four miles above the modern town of Sorel.*

*Faillon, I. 136, 137.

*Champlain, Voyages, Laverdière ed. 1870: III. 178 (326), to 196 (344).
*Id. ib. 210 (358)-217 (365).

Though this intervention of Champlain was bitterly resented by the Iroquois, and rankled in their breasts, their

thirst for vengeance and their hatred for both French and Huron were intensified beyond measure by the expedition of 1615. This was set on foot in Huronia itself, and, headed by Champlain, penetrated into the very heart of the Iroquois country. There the invading band on October 11th attacked a stronghold lying to the south of what is now Oneida Lake, or, to be precise, situated on Nichol's Pond, three miles east of Perryville, in New York State.*

*See Clark's map. See also Beauchamp's; Rel. Clev. ed. LI., 293, 294. Cf. Slafter, Id. V. 288, n. 50.

The time of this raid, so barren in good results for the Hurons, coincided with the coming of the first missionary to Huronia, the Recollet Father Joseph Le Caron. He and Champlain had set out from the lower country almost together, the former between the 6th and 8th of July, the latter on the 9th. In the beginning of August, Champlain, before starting on his long march to the Iroquois, visited him at Carhagouha; and on the 12th of that month (1615) piously assisted at the first mass ever celebrated in the present Province of Ontario. This event took place within the limits of what is now the parish of Lafontaine, in the diocese of Toronto.

Champlain, Voyages, Laverdière ed. IV. $\frac{28}{516}$ to $\frac{29}{517}$

The history of the Hurons from this date until their forced migration from Huronia in 1649 and 1650 may be summarized as one continuous and fierce struggle with the Iroquois. The latter harassed them in their yearly bartering expeditions to Three Rivers and Quebec, endeavouring as skilful strategists, to cut them off from their base of supplies. They lay in ambush for them at every vantage-point along the difficult waterways of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence. When the Hurons were the weaker party they were attacked, and either massacred on the spot or reserved for torture at the stake; and when they were the stronger, the wily Iroquois hung upon their trail and cut off every straggler. At times the Hurons scored a triumph, but these were few and far between. Thus things went on from year to year, the Hurons gradually growing weaker in numbers and resources. Meanwhile they received but little help from their French allies, for the colonists, sadly neglected by the mother country, had all they could do to see to their own safety. But a time came when the Iroquois found their adversaries sufficiently reduced in strength to attack them in their homes. In truth, they had all along kept war parties on foot, who prowled through the forests in or near Huronia if not to attack, save some isolated bands, at least to spy out the condition of the country, and report when the Huron villages were all but defenceless through the absence of the braves away on hunting expeditions or purposes of traffic.

The first telling blow fell on Contarea (var. Kontarea, Kontareia) in June, 1642. This was a populous village of the Arendarrhonons or Rock clan lying to the extreme east, and one of the strongest frontier posts of the whole country (Rel. 1642: Queb. ed. 74, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXIII., 105. Rel.

1644: Queb. ed. 69; Clev. ed. XXVI., 175. Rel. 1656: Queb. ed. 10, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XLII., 73. Rel. 1636: Queb. ed. 94, 2 col.; Clev. ed. X., 95. Cfr. Ib. Queb. ed. 92. 2 col.; Clev. ed. Ib. 83). Neither age nor sex was spared, and those who survived the conflict were led off into captivity, or held for torture by slow fire. No particulars as to the mode of attack or defence are known as there was no resident missionary, its inhabitants never having allowed one within its pale. It had even more than once openly defied the Christian God to do his worst. Contarea stood about five miles south-west of the present town of Orillia.

It may be of interest to note here that all the great inroads of the Iroquois seem to have proceeded from some temporary strategic base established in the region east of lakes Couchiching and Simcoe, and to have crossed into Huronia at the "Narrows" so accurately described by Champlain.

The next village of the Rock Clan which lay nearest to Orillia, close by the Narrows, was St. Jean Baptiste. Its braves had sustained many losses after the fall of Contarea, but the outlook became so threatening in 1647 that its inhabitants abandoned early in 1648 what they now considered an untenable position, and betook themselves to other Huron villages which promised greater security.

By this move, St. Joseph II. or Teanaostaiaë, a village of the Attinquengnahac or Cord Clan, was left exposed to attacks from the east; nor were they slow in coming. At early dawn, on July 4th of the same year 1648, the Iroquois bands surprised and carried it by assault. Once masters of the place they massacred or captured all whom they found within the palisade. Many however by timely flight had reached a place of safety. The intrepid Father Antoine Daniel had just finished Mass when the first alarm rang out. Robed in surplice and stole, for the administration of the sacraments of baptism and penance, he presented himself unexpectedly before the stream of inrushing savages. His sudden appearance and fearless bearing over-awed them for an instant and they stood rooted to the ground. But it was but for an instant. Recovering themselves they vented their fury on the faithful missionary who was offering his life for the safety of the fugitives. Shot down mercilessly, every savage had a hand in the mutilation of his body, which at last was thrown into the now blazing chapel. This diversion, the shepherd's death, meant the escape of many of his flock.* The neighbouring village of Ekhiondastsaan, which was situated a little farther towards the west, shared at the same time the fate of Teanaostaiaë.*

*Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 8-5; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 86 et ss.

On March 16th of the following year St. Ignace II. and St. Louis, two villages attended from Ste. Marie I., the local centre of the mission of the Ataronchronons (Rel. 1640: Queb. ed. 61, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XIX., 129, but with faulty translation), (i.e. The People beyond the Fens), were in

*Id. Ib. Cf. Rel. 1637; Queb. ed. 162, 1 col. Clev. ed. XIV. 27.

turn destroyed (Rel. 1649, iii; Queb. ed. 10; Clev. ed. 123). The former, lying about six miles to the south-east of Fort Ste. Marie I., was attacked before daybreak. Its defenders were nearly all abroad on divers expeditions, never dreaming that their enemy would hazard an attack before the summer months. Bressani says that the site of this village was so well chosen and its fortifications so admirably planned that, with ordinary vigilance, it was impregnable for savages. But the approach was made so stealthily that an entrance was effected before the careless and unwatchful inhabitants were roused from their slumber. Two villagers only escaped butchery or capture, and half-clad made their way through the snow to St. Louis, three miles nearer to Fort Ste. Marie I. and there gave the alarm. The missionaries Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, then present in the village, refused to seek safety in flight with the other non-combatants pleading that it was their duty to remain to baptize, shrive, and comfort the dying. After a desperate resistance on the part of the mere handful of defenders when compared with the thousand attacking savages, this second village was taken and destroyed, while the captives were hurried back to St. Ignace to be tortured.

What the two captive missionaries endured is simply indescribable, and appears to be unparalleled in the long catalogue of martyrdoms, undergone for the Faith, in the annals of God's Church. The Iroquois were adepts in the diabolical art of inflicting the most excruciating tortures by fire ever devised, and still of so nursing the victim as to prolong to the utmost his hours of agony. Their hatred of the teachings of Christianity was evinced on this occasion by the boiling water thrice showered on the mutilated missionaries in derision of Holy Baptism, and by their jeering words to the sufferers to be beholden to their tormentors for baptizing them so well, and for affording them greater occasion to merit more and more, through their sufferings, the joys of heaven according to the doctrine preached, for, it must be remembered that many apostate Hurons were mingled with the Iroquois invaders.

Father de Brébeuf, a man of powerful build, long inured to suffering, and who by his unconquerable zeal even in the midst of the flames had drawn upon himself the fiercest resentment of the heathen, succumbed after four hours of torture on the evening of March 16th. Father Gabriel Lalemant, of a frail constitution, in spite of all his suffering, survived until the following day.

As they dwelt further west and north-west no attack thus far had been made on the One-White-Lodge* Clan at St. Michel (Scanonaenrat), nor on the Bear Clan (Attignaonantan,* var. Atinniaoenten*), who occupied the region now forming Tiny Township, and whose principal stronghold was Ossossanë or La Conception. At that time this village was almost wholly peopled by fervent Christians.

*"gendake Ehen" MS. cop. p. 226.
*Rel. 1639: Queb. ed. 50, 2 col.; Clev. ed XIV. 227.
*Rel. 1649, Queb. ed. 12, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 130.

When the news reached them of the disasters befalling their country they immediately took action. On the morning of March 17th a party of three hundred warriors, hastily gathered from Ossossanë and Arenta (Ste. Madeleine), posted themselves in ambush in the neighbourhood of the stricken villages while awaiting reinforcements. Their advance party, however, fell in unexpectedly with some two hundred of the enemy who were reconnoitring in force in view of an attack on Fort Ste. Marie I. A skirmish followed in which the Huron detachment suffered severe loss and was driven back to within sight of the French Fort.*

*R. 1649: Queb. ed. 10, 1 col.; 12, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 131-133.

Meanwhile the main body of the Bear Clan had succeeded in intercepting a strong force of Iroquois, whom they compelled to seek shelter within the palisades of St. Louis, left intact when the village was destroyed. After an obstinate struggle the Hurons forced an entrance and, not counting the slain, captured about thirty warriors. Scarcely had they time to congratulate themselves on their success when the whole bulk of the Iroquois army,* amounting yet to nearly a thousand braves,* was upon them, and they in turn found themselves beleaguered within St. Louis, whose defences taken and retaken within a few hours could now offer but slight protection.*

*Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 12; Clev. ed. 1b. 133.

*Id. ib.

*Id. ib.

Though reduced to about one hundred and fifty fighting men the courage of the little band of Christians was not shaken. The battle raged not only throughout the remainder of the day, but, as frequent sorties were made, and as renewed assaults followed each repulse, the uneven contest was prolonged far into the night. By sheer weight of numbers, and owing more than all else to the great advantage the Iroquois had in being equipped by the Dutch with firearms,* the little garrison was finally overcome. The inrushing horde of Iroquois found barely twenty Hurons alive within the ramparts, most of them wounded and helpless. This victory cost the invaders one hundred of their best men, and their leader, though he still lived, had been stricken down.* On the other hand, the loss was an irreparable one for the Christian braves of Ossossanë and Ste. Madeleine who perished to a man.

*Id. ib.

*Id. ib.

On March 19th a sudden dread, wholly inexplicable, seized upon the Iroquois and they beat a hurried retreat from the Huron country.* An old Indian woman, who escaped from the burning village of St. Ignace II., tardily brought to St. Michel (Scanonaenrat) the news both of the disaster and of the precipitous withdrawal of the victorious Iroquois. It seems inconceivable that no inkling of the formidable events, which were being enacted less than six miles from their village, should have reached this Clan sooner, unless it be attributed to the measures to intercept all communication taken by the astute invaders, who in this particular, as in all others showed themselves consummate tacticians.

*R. 1649: Queb. ed. 12, 2 col. Clev. ed. XXXIV. 135.

No sooner were they apprized of the situation than seven hundred braves of the One-White-Lodge set out from Scanonaenrat in hot pursuit of the retiring enemy. For two days they followed the trail, but whether it was that the rapidity of the retreat outstripped the eagerness of the pursuit, or that the much heralded avenging expedition was but a half-hearted undertaking from the very outset, the Iroquois were not overtaken.* On their return to Huronia the braves of Scanonaenrat found their country one wide expanse of smouldering ruins. Every village had been abandoned and given over to the flames, lest it should serve some future day as a repair for the dreaded Iroquois,* for other events had taken place since their departure.

*R. 1649: Queb. ed. 13, 1 col., Clev. ed. Ib. 137

*Id. ib. Queb. ed. 25, 2 col., Clev. ed. Ib. 197.

Forty-eight hours elapsed before Ossossanë the erstwhile centre of the flourshing mission of La Conception, heard of the annihilation of its contingent. The news reached its inhabitants at mid-night, March 19th. It lay but ten miles further west than St. Louis, and a cry went up that the enemy were at their doors. The panic spread from lodge to lodge, and the old men, women and children, a terror-stricken throng, streamed out upon the shores of Lake Huron. The bay (Nottawasaga) was still ice-bound, across it the fugitives made their way, and after eleven long leagues of weary march reached the Nation of the Petun.*

*Chaum. Autob. (Martin) 93.

"A part of the country of the Hurons," writes Father Ragueneau at this date,* "lies desolate. Fifteen towns have been abandoned, their inhabitants scattering whither they could, to thickets and forests, to the lakes and rivers, to the islands most unknown to the enemy. Others have betaken themselves to the neighbouring nations better able to bear the stress of war. In less than a fortnight our Residence of Ste. Marie [I.] has seen itself stripped bare on every side. It is the only dwelling left standing in this dismal region. It is most exposed now to the incursions of the enemy, for those who have fled from their former homes set fire to them themselves to prevent their being used as shelters or fastnesses by the Iroquois."

*Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 25, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 197.

Reduced to these straits the missionaries resolved to transfer Ste. Marie I., the principal centre of the whole Huron mission, to some other place more out of reach of the Iroquois. Their attention was at first directed to the Island of Ste. Marie, now Manitoulin,* but a deputation of twelve chiefs, on the part of the remnants of the nation, pleaded so long and eloquently in favour of the Island of St. Joseph (Ahouendoë), promising to make it the *Christian Island*, that in the end it was chosen (Id. ib. Queb. ed. 27, 2 col. Cf. Rel. 1650, 3, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV., 82). Already a mission had been begun there in 1648 (Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 26, 2 col., 27, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXIV., 205), and Father Chaumonot had just succeeded in leading back to its shores many who had sought refuge among the Petuns (Id. ib. 29, 1 col.; Clev. ed. Ib. 214).

*Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 26, 27; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 205-207.

On may 15, 1649, the whole establishment of Ste. Marie I., with its residence, fortress and chapel, was given over to the flames by the missionaries, who, with an overpowering feeling of sadness and regret, stood by and witnessed the destruction in one short hour of what had cost ten years of labour to effect; while the promise of a year's rich harvest was also destroyed.*

*Rel. 1649: Queb. ed. 30, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXIV. 223-225. Rel. 1650: Queb. ed 3,1 col.; Clev. ed XXXV. 81 83.

On the evening of June 14th the migration to St. Joseph's Island was begun on rafts and on a small vessel built for that purpose. In a few days the transfer was completed, and none too soon, for a few belated stragglers were intercepted by lurking bands of Iroquois.*

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 3, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV. 83.

Fort Ste. Marie II., was commenced* without delay and was completed by November 1649.* It was situated not far from the shores of the great bay on the eastern coast of the island, where the little that modern Vandals have spared of its ruins is still to be seen, as are the foundations of Ste. Marie I. on the River Wye.

*Id. ib. 2 col.; Clev. ed. 85.

*Lettres de Marie de l'Incarnation I. 416.

But the year was not to end without further calamities. Two Hurons, who had made good their escape from the hands of the enemy brought word that the Iroquois were on the point of striking a blow either at Ste. Marie II. or at the Petun villages in the Blue Hills, then called the Mountains of St. Jean. The Petuns were elated at the announcement, for they were confident in their strength. After waiting patiently a few days for the onslaught at Etharita or the village of St. Jean, their strongest bulwark on the frontier nearest to the enemy, they sallied forth in a southernly direction, a quarter from which they expected their foes to advance. Coming, as was their wont, from the east, the Iroquois found a defenceless town at their mercy. What followed was not a conflict but a butchery. Scarcely a soul escaped, and Father Charles Garnier, who had begged his Superior as a favour to leave him at his post, was shot down while ministering to his flock. Etharita was taken and destroyed on the afternoon of December the 7th.* Father Noël Chabanel had been ordered to return to Ste. Marie II., so as not to expose to danger more than one missionary at the post. He had left the ill-fated village a day or so before its fall; but on his way to St. Joseph's Island, near the mouth of the Nottawasaga River was struck down by an apostate Huron, who afterwards openly boasted that he had done the deed out of hatred for the Christian Faith.* The mission of St. Mathias or Ekarenniondi, the second principal town of the Petun Nation, was carried on unmolested until the spring or early summer of 1650*

*Rel. 1650, iii: Queb. ed. 8: Clev. ed. XXXV. 106.

*Rel. 1650, iv: Queb. ed. 16; Clev. ed. XXXV. 146.

Meanwhile the condition of the Hurons on St. Joseph's or Christian Island was deplorable in the extreme. If the bastions of Ste. Marie., built of solid masonry seventeen feet high, were unassailable for the Iroquois, these nevertheless held the Island so closely invested that any party of Hurons setting foot on the mainland for the purpose either of

*Ragueneau's letter, 1656.

hunting or renewing their exhausted supply of roots or acorns, for they had been reduced to such fare and worse, were set upon and massacred. Nor were the fishing parties less exposed to inevitable destruction. The Iroquois were ubiquitous and their attack irresistible. Hundreds of Hurons were, in these endeavours to find food, cut off by their implacable foes, and perished at their hands in the midst of tortures. Finally, so unbearable had become the pangs of hunger that offal and carrion were sought with avidity, and mothers were driven, in their struggle to prolong life, to eat even the flesh of their offspring.*

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 23-24; Clev. ed. XXXV. 183-189.

With one accord both the missionaries and what survived of their wretched flock, convinced that such a frightful state of things was no longer endurable, came to a final determination* to withdraw forever, the ones from the soil endeared to them by so many sacrifices and watered with their sweat and very blood: the others from the land of their sires, which they had, not through any want of bravery but rather through lack of vigilance, unity of purpose and preconcerted action, shown themselves incapable of defending.

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 24-26; Clev. ed. 191-197.

The last missionaries had been called in from their posts, and on June 10th the pilgrim convoy pushed off from the landing of Ste. Marie II., and Huronia became a wilderness, adopted by no tribe as a permanent home, but destined to lie fallow until the ploughman, more than a century and a half later, unread in the history of his adopted land, should muse in wonderment over the upturned relics of a departed nation.

The exile party was made up of sixty Frenchmen,* in detail: of thirteen Fathers, four lay-brothers, twenty-two *donnés*, eleven hired men, four boys and six soldiers. The number of Hurons in this first exodus did not much exceed three hundred,* and their purpose was to pass the remainder of their days under the sheltering walls of Quebec. Midway on their downward journey they met Father Bressani's party of forty Frenchmen and a few Hurons.* These had set out from Three Rivers on June 7th,* reaching Montreal on the 15th, and were hastening, with supplies and additional help, to the relief of the Mission. It was already too late. Informed of the appalling events of the preceding twelve-month, and of the utter ruin of the Huron country, they turned back and both flotillas in company proceeded eastward. They reached Montreal safely, and on July the 28th, 1650, landed at Quebec after a journey of nearly fifty days.*

*Première Miss. Carayon, 249.

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 26, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV. 199, LL ad Gen. 35.

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 26, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV. 201.

*Journ des Jés. 139.

*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 28, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV. 207; Journal des Jés. 142.

The Neutral Nation or Atti8andaronk (var. Atti8Sandarons, Atiraguenek, Atirhangenrets, Attinoindarons, etc.; modern: Attiwandarons), the third great branch of the Huron family, whose country, as has been said, extended from the Niagara peninsula to the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, had remained passive witnesses of the final struggle between the Iroquois on the one hand and the Hurons Proper and

Petun Nation on the other. In this they were but conforming to their traditional policy which had earned them their name.

Mr. William R. Harris has advanced a plausible theory to account for this neutrality prolonged for years. Along the east end of Lake Erie, which was included within their territory, lay immense quantities of flint. Spear and arrowheads of flint were a necessity for both Huron and Iroquois, so that neither could afford to make the Neutrals its enemy (Publications, Buffalo Hist. Soc. IV. (1896) 239). At all events, towards the middle of the seventeenth century the Iroquois stood no longer in need of such implements of war. Thanks especially to the Dutch they were fully provided with firearms, and this may be the reason of their readiness to pick a quarrel with the Neutrals as early as 1647. The Senecas had even gone so far as treacherously to massacre or take captive nearly all the inhabitants of the principal Aondironnon town, which, though situated beyond the Niagara River (see Ducreux's Maps) then formed part of the Neutral Nation.*

*Rel 1648:Queb. ed. 49, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVIII. 81.

A Seneca Indian, who the previous winter had struck out alone on the war-path, as frequently happened in Indian warfare, had succeeded in slaying several of his enemies. Hotly pursued by a band of Hurons he was overtaken and made prisoner within the limits of the Neutral Nation, but before he could seek sanctuary on the mat of any Neutral lodge. This according to accepted usage was deemed a lawful prize. Three hundred Senecas dissimulating their resentment, repaired to the Aondironnon town, and as it was in time of peace were given a friendly welcome. They adroitly managed to quarter themselves on different families, so that a feast was provided in every lodge. This had been planned beforehand in furtherance of their treacherous design. When rejoicing was at its height, at a given signal, they fell upon their unsuspecting hosts who were unarmed, so that before any serious resistance could be offered, the Senecas had brained all within reach and had made off with as many prisoners as they could handle. The rest of the Neutral Nation ill-advisedly overlooked this high-handed proceeding, and continued to live on friendly terms with the Senecas, as if nothing had happened in violation of the peace existing between the two nations.*

*R. 1648: Queb ed. 49; Clev. ed. XXXVIII. 81-83.

But this was not an isolated instance of a national wrong inflicted on the Neutrals. Similar happenings marked the autumn* of 1638. The Ouenrôhronons, who until then had been acknowledged by the Neutral Nation as constituting an integral part of their federation, occupied the frontier territory on the side near the Iroquois.* They may thus be presumed to have dwelt in one of the three or four vil-

*R. 1639: Queb. ed. 61, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XVII. 33.

*R. 1639: Queb. ed. 59, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XVII. 25.

lages beyond the Niagara River* in the region mapped by Ducreux as inhabited by the "Ondieronii," and having for chief town "Ondieronius Pagus."

*R. 1641: Queb. ed. 71, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXI. 191.

These Ouenrôhronons had been maltreated and threatened with extermination by their immediate Iroquois neighbours, the Senecas. As long, however, as they could count upon the support of the bulk of the Neutral Nation they managed to hold their own; but when disowned, and left to their own resources they had no choice but to forsake their homes and seek an asylum elsewhere.* Having beforehand assured themselves of a welcome, they, to the number of six hundred, set out on their journey to Huronia lying some eighty leagues towards the north. There they were adopted by the Hurons Proper and assigned to different villages, the greater number, however, accepting the hospitality of Ossossanë the principal town of the Bear Clan.*

*Rel. 1639: Queb. ed. 59, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XVII. 25.

*R. 1639 Queb. ed. 60, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XVII. 29

If ever a faint-hearted policy proved a short-sighted policy it was in the case of the Neutrals. They had basely sacrificed their outlying posts beyond the Niagara, and had entered into no compact for mutual defence with the Hurons and Petuns. There can be no doubt that with preconcerted action the three great Huron nations could not only have driven back the more astute Iroquois, but could have made their tribal territory unassailable, so admirably was it protected by the natural features of its geographical position, even had there been no thought of retaliation by carrying the war into the heart of the Iroquois cantons.

Their turn was now to come. The power of the Hurons Proper and the Petuns had been separately and effectually crushed, and the restless ambition of the Iroquois yearned for fresh conquests. What brought about the final clash with the Neutrals is not recorded, but the Relation (1651, Queb. ed. 4; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 177) informs us that the main body of the Iroquois forces invaded their territory. They carried by assault two of the frontier towns, Teotondiaton* and probably Kanduchо,* one of which too confidently relied on its sixteen hundred defenders. The first was taken towards the close of the autumn 1650, and the second in the early spring of 1651. Bloody as had been the conflict, the slaughter which followed this latest success of the Iroquois was something ghastly especially that of the aged and of the children who had not the strength to follow the enemy to their country. The number of captives was unusually large, consisting principally of young women chosen with a view of increasing the Iroquois population. The disaster to the Neutral Nation took on such proportions that it entailed the utter ruin and desolation of the country. Word of it soon reached the most remote towns and villages and struck terror into every breast. Hastily all abandoned their possessions and their very fatherland. Self condemned exiles, they fled in consternation far from the cruelty of their conquerors. Famine

*Journal des Jésuites, 1651, Sept. 22, p. 161; Clev. ed. XXXVI. 141.

*Cf. R. 1641: Queb. ed. 75, 1 col.; 78, 2 col. Clev. ed. XXI. 207, 225.

followed in the wake of war, and though they plunged into the densest forests, and scattered along the shores of far-distant lakes and unknown rivers, in their efforts to sustain life, for many the only respite to the misery which pursued them was death itself.*

*R 1651: Queb. ed. 4, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVI.177.

As for those of the Hurons Proper, who, when their own country was laid waste, had in a longing for quiet for the remainder of their days, chosen the Neutral country as their home, they were merged in the common ruin. Some met death on the spot, others were carried off into slavery, a few escaped to the Andastes, or directed their flight towards the remote west, while a certain number journeyed down to Quebec and joined the Huron colony already established there.*

*R. 1651: Queb. ed. 4, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVI. 179.

VIII. MISSIONARY PRIESTS WHO LABOURED IN HURONIA.

In the three following tables the names of priests only, and not of lay brothers, are given. The one exception is that of Gabriel Théodat Sagard, a Recollet lay brother who, as first historian of the Huronia of his time, could not well be omitted. The names of the Jesuit lay brothers, of *donnés*, and even of most of the hired men and boys, and of a few of the soldiers, may be found in the work on the Huron Indian Village sites issued by the Archives Department of the Provincial Government of Ontario.

Table I. gives the names of all the missionary priests in alphabetical order with dates of arrivals and departures. The numbers preceding the names refer to Table II. and III., and serve to show where each missionary was stationed in any given year.

Table II. is a list of missionary stations from 1615 to the first taking of Quebec in 1629. The numbers in the vertical columns refer to the list of Fathers in Table I., thus: number 5, placed in the column under 1623, means that Father Nicolas Viel was in that year, 1622, at Toanché I., otherwise St. Nicolas.

Table III. covers the interval between the return of the missionaries to Huronia in 1634 and the breaking up of the Mission of Huronia in 1650. Example: 7, placed in the column of 1640-1641, shows that Father Jean de Brébeuf was in the Neutral country at that time.

TABLE I.

Missionaries.	Sojourn.	
	Arrival.	Departure.
Recollets.		
1. La Roche de Daillon, Joseph de	August 1626	Summer of.....1628
2. Le Caron, Joseph	Summer of..... 1615	May 20 1616
	" 1623	June.....1624
3. Poulain*, Guillaume	" 1622	Autumn of.....1622
4. Sagard, Gabriel Théodat.....	August 20.....1623	June.....1624
5. Viel, Nicolas.....	August.....1623	Summer of... ...1625
Jesuits.		
6. Bonin, Jacques.....	Beginning of Sept. 1648	June 10.....1650
7. Brébeuf, Jean de.....	August.....1626	End of June 1629
	August 5.....1634	Begin'g of Sum'er 1641
	September 7.....1644	Slain March 16...1649
8. Bressani, François Joseph ..	Early Autumn....1645	End of June.....1648
	September 1648	August 1649
9. Chabanel, Noël.....	September 7.....1644	Slain December 8.1649
10. Chastellain, Pierre	August 12.....1636	June 10.. 1650
11. Chaumonot, Joseph Marie....	September 10.....1639	" 1650
12. Daniel, Antoine.....	After August 5...1634	July 22 1636
	August.....1638	Slain July 4.....1648
13. Daran, Adrien	Beginning of Sept. 1648	June 10..... ...1650
14. Davost, Ambroise.....	August 23.....1634	July 27.....1636
15. Du Peron, François	September 29.....1638	Early Summer....1641
	Autumn 1641	June 10.....1650
16. Garnier, Charles	August 13.....1636	Slain December 7.1649
17. Garreau, Léonard.....	September 7.....1644	June 10.....1650
18. Greslon, Adrien.....	Beginning of Sept. 1648	" 1650
19. Jogues, Isaac	September 11.....1636	June 13.....1642
20. Lalemant, Gabriel.....	Beginning of Sept. 1648	Slain March 17...1649
21. Lalemant, Jérôme.....	August 26.....1638	August.....1645
22. Le Mercier, François	" 13.....1635	June 10.....1650
23. Le Moyne, Simon.....	September 29.....1638	" 1650
24. Ménard, René.....	August 14.....1641	" 1650
25. Nouë, Anne de.....	August.....1626	June.....1627
26. Pijart, Claude	Begin'g of Aut'mn 1640	June 10.....1650
27. Pijart, Pierre	August 17.....1635	End of June 1637
	September 1637	Early in June....1638
	Early in Sept.....1639	Summer of.....1644
28. Poncet de la Rivière, Jos. A.	September 12.....1639	August.....1640
	Autumn of.....1645	June 10.....1650
29 Ragueneau, Paul.....	September 1.....1637	August.....1640
	August 14.....1641	June 10.....1650
30. Raymbault, Charles.....	Early Autumn ...1640	June 13.....1642

* Le Clercq (I. p. 345) says that Poulain spent some time in the Huron country but his assertion is borne out by no other author. At the time indicated above he was with the Nipissing Indians, as would seem from p. 219 et. SS. (Id.)

TABLE II.

MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA BEFORE THE FIRST TAKING OF QUEBEC BY THE ENGLISH, FROM 1615 TO 1629.

The figures refer to the Alphabetical List of Missionaries.

Missions.	1615	1616	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626-27	1627-28	1629
Carhagouha,* S. Joseph	2	2	....	2	2,4,5	5	1		
Neutral Nation	....	....	....	....	....	....	1		
Nipissirinians, (*A*)	....	....	3‡						
Onontisaston, (*N*)	....	....	....	....	....	....	1		
Petun Nation	....	2	....	....	....	....	1		
S. Gabriel, La Rochelle§	....	....	....	4					
Toanché I., S. Nicolas	....	....	....	5	....	....	1, 7, 25	1, 7, 25	7

* The *Arontaen* of the Relations. It must not be confounded with any of the Huron villages which bore the name of St. Joseph at the time of the Jesuit Missions.

‡ Father Guillaume Poulain never set foot in Huronia Proper, but remained with the Nipissing Indians.

§ Its French name La Rochelle, identifies it with the *Ossossanë* or La Conception of a later period.

(*A*) Algonquins. (*N*) Neutral Nation.

TABLE III.

MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA AFTER THE RECESSION OF QUEBEC TO THE FRENCH—FROM 1634 TO 1650.

Missions.	1634-35.	1635-36.	1636-37.	1637-38.	1638-39.	1639-40.	1640-41.	1641-42.	1642-43.
Algonquins							26,30	26,30,24,19	26,24
Andach khroeh....N.							7,11		
Endarahy....A.									
Ihonatiria, S. Joseph I	7,12,14	7, 12, 14 22, 27	7,12,14.22 27,10,16,19	7,22,27 10,16,19	27, 10, 19				
Neutral Nation, SS. Anges							7,11		
Ossossanë, La Conception or La Rochelle				7,22,16 29,19	21,22,12,10 16,15,23	29,15,11,23	21,22	22,29	21,29
Petun Nation, Les Apôtres	7			7		16,19	16,27	16,27	
Sault Ste. Marie....A.								19,30	
S. Charles....A.									
S. Elizabeth....A.									24
S. Esprit....A.							26,30	26,30,24,19	26
S. Ignace I., Taenhatentaron									
S. Ignace II									
S. Jean, Etharita....P.									
S. Jean Baptiste, Cahiagué						12,23,11 7,10	12,23,11, 7	12,11,21 16,23, 7	12,24 16,23
S. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaë					7,19,29,23				
S. Madeleine, Arenta									
S. Marie I., S. Joseph III						21,22,27,28	19,15	19,15 10,27, 7	22,10 27,26
S. Marie II., S. Joseph's Island									
S. Mathias, Ekarenniondi....P.									
S. Mathieu....P.									
S. Michel, Scanonaenrat									11,15,21
S. Pierre....A.									
Tangouaen....A.									
Teotongniaton, S. Guillaume....N.							7,11		

?, Uncertain. A. Algonquins. N. Neutral Nation. P. Petun Nation. I. The First. II. The Second. III. The Third.

TABLE III.—*Continued.*

MISSIONARIES IN HURONIA AFTER THE RECESSION OF QUEBEC TO THE FRENCH—FROM 1634 TO 1650.

Missions.	1643-44.	1644-45.	1945-46.	1646-47.	1647-48.	1648-49.	1649-50.	1650.*
Algonquins	26,24	26,17, 9	9,26,17	28,26	26,28	26,24,28	24,26,13,28	24,26,28
Andach khroeh....N.								
Endarahy....A.	.....	26,17						
Ihonatiria, S. Joseph I..								
Neutral Nation, SS. Anges								
Ossossanë, La Conception or La Rochelle..	29	29	29 ?, ?	23, 9	11	11		
Petun Nation, Les Apôtres	.....	.....	.....	16,17	16,17	16,17, 9	16, 9,17,18	17
Sault Ste. Marie....A.								
S. Charles....A.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	24,13	24
S. Elizabeth....A.	24							
S. Esprit....A.	26	26,17	26,17	26,28	26	26	26	26
S. Ignace I. Taenhatentaron	.....	?	?, ?	11,24	11			
S. Ignace II	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7, 9,20		
S. Jean, Etharita....P.	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	16	16, 9	
S. Jean Baptiste. Cahiagué	12	12,23, ?	12, ?	12				
S. Joseph II., Teanaostaiaë	16,23	16,24	16,15	12,15,16	12			
S. Madeleine, Arenta	.....	.....	.....	.....	?	?		
S. Marie I., S. Joseph III	21,22	22,29,21	29,22,10	29,22,10	29,22,10	29,22	29,22,10, 6	
	10,27	10, 7, 9	7,17	8,17	7, 9	10, 6	23,15,18	
S. Marie II., S. Joseph's Island	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,29,10	22,29,10
							11,23,15	11,23,15
							18,6,13	6,18,13
S. Mathias, Ekarenniondi....P.	.....	.....	.....	16,17	17	17	17,18	17
S. Mathieu....P.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9		
S. Michel, Scanonaenrat	11,15	11,15	?	?	?	?		
S. Pierre....A.	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	28	28	28
Tangouaen....A.	.....	.....	7					
Teotongniaton, S. Guillaume....N.								

?, Uncertain. A. Algonquins. N. Neutral Nation. P. Petun Nation. I. The First. II. The Second. III. The Third.

* Final Exodus, June 10, 1650.

PART SECOND

MIGRATIONS OF THE HURONS AFTER THEIR DISPERSION

At the present day there are but three groups of Indians of Huron stock extant. One at La Jeune Lorette, near Quebec, the second in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, Essex County, Ontario, and the third on the Wyandot Reservation in the State of Oklahoma, the late Indian Territory.

The Quebec group is made up principally of the descendants of the Cord Clan of Huronia Proper (*Rel. 1657: Queb. ed. 20, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XLIII. 191*), and of not a few Mohawks (*Rels. Inéds. I. 158; Clev. ed. LVII. 25, 52, LX., 69*). The Tohontaenrat, of the old village of Scanonaenrat or St. Michel, and a considerable part of the Roek Clan had as early as 1650 or 1651 gone over bodily to the Senecas (*Journ. des Jés. 161; Clev. ed. XXXVI. 141, 143; Rel. 1651: Queb. ed. 4-5; Clev. ed. XXXVI. 179*), while the remainder of the Rock Clan cast their lot in with the Onondagas, and the Bear Clan with the Mohawks (*Rel. 1657: Queb. ed. 20, 2 col.: Clev. ed. XLIII. 189-191*), immediately after the massacre by the Iroquois of a number of Hurons on the Island of Orleans, May 20, 1656 (Rel. 1657: Queb. ed. 5-6; Clev. ed. XLIII., 115-117). This accounts for all the clans of Huronia Proper save the Ataronchronons, who need not be considered as they were but a congeries of other clans, who, in the latter years of Huronia's existence, had, in small detachments, moved nearer to Fort Ste. Marie on the Wye, and had occupied the country mainly to the north-east of Mud Lake, whence they derived their name of "People who dwelt beyond the Fens."

The group now residing in the vicinity of Sandwich, Ontario, are the remnants of the Petun or Tobacco Nation, with possibly a slight intermixture of Neutrals, who, after many vicissitudes, had been induced to leave Michilimakinac when Detroit was founded.

The third group, now settled on the Wyandot Reservation, Oklahoma, are the descendants of that portion of the Detroit Petuns who, under the war-chief Nicolas, broke from those of the Assumption Mission between 1744 and 1747, and made Sandusky and other parts of Ohio and north-eastern Indiana their home.

The once powerful Neutrals no longer exist as a distinct tribe. They have been completely merged in other Indian tribes either Huron or Iroquois. The Relations

and other contemporaneous documents refer to them seldom and but briefly in the years following the great dispersion. Nor must this seem strange for the Relation 1660 (*Queb. ed. 14, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XLV., 241-243*) makes the sweeping assertion that the Iroquois, on a flimsy pretext, "seized upon the whole nation, and led it off in a body into dire captivity to their own country." Without taking this too literally we find in it an examination of the little said of them, and precisely on account of these rare references it seems advisable to deal with them first.

I. EXTINCTION OF THE ATTIWANDARONK OR NEUTRALS DURING THE GREAT DISPERSION.

John Gilmary Shea devoted a few pages to this vanished tribe in a paper contributed to Schoolcrafts' "History and Progress of the Indian Tribes" (*IV. 204*). Some of his references are not easily verified, while on the whole the paper is incomplete. What follows comprises nearly every reference to the nation in the records of the time.

1651.—The "Journal des Jésuites" (*150; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 118*), under the date of April 22, 1651, epitomizes the rumours afloat in Quebec relative to what was then happening in the west. It was said that 1,500 Iroquois had invaded the Neutral country and had captured a village. The Neutrals, headed by the Hurons of old St. Michel, had fallen upon the retiring Iroquois and had captured or slain two hundred; but that a second Iroquois force of 1,200 braves had re-entered the Neutral country to avenge this loss.

A second entry in the Journal of April 26, (*151; Clev. ed. Id. 120*) reduces the number given of the first Iroquois expedition to 600 warriors, who apparently had not been entirely successful since 100 had returned during the summer to seek revenge. The arrival of four Neutrals at Montreal on May 27th, with their budget of news was deemed of sufficient importance to find place in the Journal under date of July 30th (*157; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 133*). A still later entry of September 22nd (*161; Clev. ed. Id. 141, 143*) records the fall of the Neutral town of Teotondiaton, the Teotongniaton or St. Guillaume of the Relations, and the devastation of the Neutral territory; while it further modifies the previous announcement concerning the Hurons of St. Michel, stating that both they and the remnants of the Rock Clan had gone over bodily to the Senecas.

1652.—Rumours more or less conflicting continued to find their echo in Quebec. On April 19th, 1652, an entry in the Journal optimistically rehearses the news brought on March 10th by an escaped Huron captive, to the effect that the Neutrals had formed an alliance with the Ondastes against the Iroquois, that the Senecas, who had gone on the war-path against the Neutrals, had suffered so serious

a defeat that the families of the Senecas were constrained to flee from Sonnontouan, and betake themselves to Onionen, otherwise Goioguen, a Cayuga town (*Journ. des Jés. 166-167; Clev. ed. XXXVII. 97*).

The general dispersion of the Neutrals, following close on their disasters at the hands of the Iroquois, is described in Relation 1651 (*Queb. ed. 4, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 177*); but the direction of their flight is not indicated save by the words: "they fled still further from the rage and cruelty of the conquerors," which means, no doubt, that the general trend of their precipitous retreat was towards the west. The great number of prisoners carried off by the Iroquois is mentioned particularly, and especially of the young women led into captivity, and destined to become the wives of their captors.

1653.—There is mention made of a solitary Neutral boy, of fifteen or sixteen, captive among the Onondagas, baptized by Father Simon Le Moyne (*Rel. 1654: Queb. ed. 11, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XLI., 103*). But the Journal this year has a most important entry concerning the Neutrals, which would go to show that they were still as numerous as the remnants of the other tribes of Hurons. An independent band of Petuns had wintered, 1652-1653, at Teaontoŕai; while the Neutrals, numbering eight hundred, had passed the winter at Skenéhioę, in the direction of Teoéhanontian. They were forming a league with all the Upper Algonquins. Their combined forces were already one thousand strong, and all were to foregather in the autumn of 1653 at Aotonatendié, situated in a southerly direction three days' journey beyond the Sault Skiaé [i.e. Sault-Ste-Marie]. (*Journ. 183-184; Clev. ed. XXXVIII., 181*). As the Relations elsewhere state that a day's journey was between eight and ten leagues *Rel. 1641: Queb. ed. 71, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXI., 189*) the position of Aotonatendié might be determined pretty accurately were it not for the expressions "beyond the Sault Skiaé" and "in a southerly direction" which are at varianee. If "beyond the Sault," the direction must be west, and consequently on the shores of Lake Superior. If we take "beyond" as meaning at a greater distance and "towards the south," the spot indicated should be located on the western shore of Lake Michigan.

1657.—Among the Onondagas there were three sodalities, one for the Hurons Proper, one for the Neutrals and one for the Iroquois (*Rel. 1657; Queb. ed. 48-49; Clev. ed. XLIV., 41*).

1660.—In an estimate of the strength of the Five Nations at this date, the Mohawks are credited with not more than five hundred warriors, the Oneidas with less than one hundred, the Cayugas and Onondagas with three hundred each, and the Senecas with not more than one thousand, while the greater part of their fighting men were

a medley of many tribes, Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, Eries, etc., (*Rel. 1660: Queb. ed. 6-7; Clev. ed. XLV., 207*).

1669.—Father Frémin mentions the presence of Neutral Indians among the Senecas, and informs us that the village of Gandongaraé had no inhabitants other than Neutrals, Onnontiogas and Hurons Proper. (*Rel. 1670: Queb. ed. 69, 2 col.; Clev. ed. LIV. 81*).

1671.—In the village of Iroquois Christians, then called *St. Xavier des Prés,* and which stood at that time about three miles below the Lachine rapids on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, there were besides Iroquois, Hurons and Andastes a number of Neutrals (*Rel. 1671: Queb. ed. 12-13; Clev. ed. LV., 33-35*).

This seems to be the latest mention in the old records of the Attiwandaronk, once the most numerous of the three great Huron tribes, and occupying by far the most extensive and most fertile territory. Their name was obliterated, but their blood still courses in the veins of many a reputed Iroquois or Huron.

II. MIGRATION TO QUEBEC.

The writers of the Relations have left us more than one retrospect of the wanderings of the Hurons. These may be found, in order of time, in Relation 1656: Quebec edition, 41, 2 col.; Cleveland edition XLII., 235;—1660; Quebec 2, 2 col., 14, 1 col.; Cleveland XLV., 187, 243;—1672: Quebec 35-36; Cleveland LVI., 115;—Girault's Memoir of 1762; Cleveland LXX., 205. The most helpful in the matter of research are the two last mentioned, the retrospect of 1672 for the migrations in the west, and that of Father Girault for the Hurons of Lorette.

1640.—About ten years before the great dispersion a good number of Hurons Proper had, with Indians of other tribes, taken up their abode at Sillery near Quebec, which mission was established permanently in 1637 (*Girault, Clev. ed. LXX., 207*).

1649-51.—Years of the great dispersion.

1650.—On June 10th, upwards of three hundred Hurons Proper abandoned their country and in company with sixty Frenchmen, including the missionaries, set out for Quebec (*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 1, 2 col., 26, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV., 75, 197-199; Ragueneau to the General, Queb. Aug. 17th, 1650, MS. p. 35*). The French party was made up of thirteen priests, four lay brothers, twenty-two *donnés,* eleven hired men, four boys and six soldiers (*Carayon-Prem. Miss. 249; Clev. ed. XXXV., 23*). The entire party, save a certain number of Hurons who remained over at Three Rivers (*Rel. 1652: Queb. ed. 10, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVII., 180*), reached Quebec July 28th, 1650 (*Rel. 1650: Queb. ed. 28, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXV., 207; Journ. des Jés. 142; Clev. ed. Id. 50*). Four hundred Hurons camped under cover of the French

fort (*Rel. 1650*: *Queb. ed. 2, 1 col.; Clev. ed. Id. 77*), in the immediate vicinity of the Hôtel-Dieu hospital (*Rel. cit. Queb. ed. 51, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 59*).

1651.—*They remove to the Island of Orleans.* On March 29th, the Hurons moved from the town to the Island of Orleans, in sight of Quebec. The deed of the land to be occupied by them was signed by Eléonore de Grandmaison, the widow of François de Chavigny, on March 19th, and Father Chaumonot, their missionary took formal possession of it on the 25th (*Journ. des Jés. 149; Clev. ed. XXXVI; 117; Cf. Rel. 1652*: *Queb. ed. 8; Clev. ed. XXXVII., 168; Rel. 1654, 20 et ss.; Clev. ed. XLI., 137*). Thereupon all the Hurons, who had previously settled at Sillery joined those of Quebec and on March 29th, moved to the Island. Their sojourn there lasted until June the 4th, 1656 (*Girault's Mem. Clev. ed. LXX., 207*). Five or six hundred is the rough estimate given in a subsequent Relation (*1660*: *Queb. ed. 14, 1-2 col.; Clev. ed. XLV. 243*) of their number at that time.

On September 26th, news reached Quebec that thirty-six canoes of Hurons were on their way from the west to join the new settlement (*Journ. des Jés. 162; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 143*), and their safe arrival is recorded in Relation 1651, where they are described as Christian Indians, coming from Ekaentoton, now Manitoulin Island, and manning about forty canoes (*Queb. ed. 7, 1 col.; Clev. ed. XXXVI., 189*).

1654.—On April 26th, the greater part of the Hurons who had at different times settled at Three Rivers joined those at the Island of Orleans (*Girault, Clev ed. LXX., 205-207*).

1656.—On Saturday, May 20th, forty canoes of Mohawks land stealthily on the Island and surprise the Hurons who were at work in their fields. There were seventy-one either killed outright or taken prisoners, and among the latter many young women (*Rel. 1657*: *Queb. ed. 5-6; Clev. ed. XLIII., 117*).

The Hurons move back to Quebec. On July 4th, the Hurons abandon the Island of Orleans and again seek shelter at Quebec. Their sojourn on the island had lasted from March 29th, 1651 (*Girault, Clev. ed. LXX., 207*). After this fresh misfortune, the Hurons sue for peace which is promised by the Mohawks provided they consent to settle in the Mohawk country the following spring, there to live together as one people (*Rel. 1657*: *Queb. ed. 19, 2 col.; Clev. ed. XLIII., 187*).

1657.—One hundred Mohawk warriors set out from their country in the spring of 1657 to carry out the agreement, thirty of whom enter the town of Quebec, and in presence of the French Governor, summon the Hurons to follow them. A day and the following night were passed in consultation. The Clan of the Cord, former inhabitants

of the mission of Teanaostaiaé, or St. Joseph II., in old Huronia, positively refuse to leave Quebec and thus separate themselves from their French allies. The Rock Clan, or Arendarrhonons, the former mission of St Jean Baptiste, reluctantly choose the Onondaga country for their future home, while the Bear Clan half-heartedly resolve to throw in their lot with the Mohawks (*Rel. 1657*: *Queb. ed. 20*; *Clev. ed. XLIII., 187, 191*) these latter Father Simon Le Moyne, the "Ondesonk" of the Indians, volunteered to accompany.

On June 2nd, fourteen Huron women and many little children embarked in the canoes of the Mohawks and set out with them for their newly adopted country (*Journ. des Jés. 215*; *Clev. ed. XLIII., 49*).

About fifty Huron Christians of the Rock Clan leave Quebec on June 16th for Montreal, where they are to await the arrival of the Iroquois flotilla which was to transport them (*Rel. 1657*: *Queb. ed. 23, 2 col.*; *Clev. ed. XLIII., 207*).

July 26, this same party, with Father Ragueneau, set out with a band of fifteen or sixteen Senecas and thirty Onondagas for the country of the latter. On August 3rd, while on the way, seven Huron Christians were treacherously set upon and murdered, and the women and children were made captives (*Rel. 1657*: *Queb. ed. 54, 55*; *Clev. ed. XLIV., 69, 73*). Elsewhere it is said all were massacred, meaning, probably, all the men of the party (*Rel. 1658*: *Queb. ed. 15, 2 col.*; *Clev. ed. XLIV., 217*). For other mention of this treacherous act see *passim* the same Relation (*Queb. ed. 2, 2 col.*; *5, 1 col.*; *10*; *Clev. ed. Id. 155, 165, 191*).

August 21st, a party of Hurons, of the Bear Clan, left Quebec to join the Mohawks under the impression that they were to be adopted into the tribe (*Rel. 1658*: *Queb. ed. 9, 2 col.*; *Clev. ed. XLIV., 189*).

August 26th, Father Le Moyne followed with the second party of the Bear Clan (Id. ib.). Both these bands, in violation of the most solemn pledges, were reduced to the vilest and most oppressive slavery (*Id.*: *Queb. ed. 13, 1 col.*; *Clev. ed. 205*).

1660.—The Hurons continued to reside in Quebec under cover of Fort St. Louis, which the Sieur Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge had completed for their special protection. The position of this "*Fort des Hurons*" may be seen on the copy of a plan of Quebec, 1660, in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1905, Part V. facing page 4.

Towards the close of the winter 1659-1660, forty chosen Huron braves went on the war-path. At Montreal, they joined forces with Adam Desormeaux Dollard (*Notary Basset's records—four autograph signatures—beginning Oct. 12, 1658*), who, with his sixteen heroic companions, not only held in check for ten days at the foot of the Ottawa Long Sault, two hundred Onondagas and five hundred Mohawks, but also, as the sacrifice of his life saved the

colony from destruction (*Rel. 1660*: *Quеb. ed. 14 et ss.*; *Clev. ed. XLV., 245*; *Journ. des Jés. 284*; *Clev. ed. Id. 157*).

1668.—In the Relation 1658 (*Queb. ed. 25, 1 col.*; *Clev. ed. LII., 19*) it is affirmed that between the years 1665 and 1668 more than two hundred Iroquois came to the Huron mission at Quebec and received instruction, sixty of whom were baptized. It is not stated explicitly that they joined the colony. On the contrary, from the wording of the passage it would rather seem that they were transient visitors, remaining, however, long enough to be thoroughly instructed.

The Hurons remove from Quebec to Beauport.—Father Girault (*Clev. ed. LXX., 206*) speaks of this next removal thus: "When the Hurons left the Island of Orleans they came to live in Quebec. They remained there until the month of April 1668, when they removed to Beauport, where they stayed about a year." The Relations note that at this date their mission of the Annunciation, for so it was called, was greaty reduced in numbers, and that having become convinced that peace with the Iroquois was assured they left the fort, which occupied a large open space in Quebec, and withdrew to the woods a league and a half from the town. Their object in so doing was to cultivate the land so as to be self-supporting, to have their own village and, so to speak, start a new settlement (*Rel. 1669*: *Queb. ed. 23-24*; *Clev. ed. Id. 229*). This site, says Father Chaumonot, was known as *Notre Dame des Neiges*, and belonged to the Society of Jesus, and adds that it was between Quebec and Beauport a short league from the town. (*Chaumonot, Autobiographie*), *174*.

1669.—*They leave Beauport for Côte St. Michel, Notre Dame de Foy.*—Father Girault (loc. cit.) proceeds: "Afterward, towards the spring of 1669, they settled at the *Côte de St. Michel* where they remained.....until December 28th, 1673." This new station of their choice was distant one league from Quebec (*Rel. 1671, title of Ch. IV. Queb. ed. 7, 1 col.*; *Clev. ed. LIV., 287*), and was situated in the midst of a French Settlement (*Rel. 1672*: *Queb. ed. 2, 1-2 col.*; *Clev. ed. LV., 219*). Their numbers now stood at something over two hundred and ten (*Rels. Inéd. I. 296*; *Clev. ed. LVIII., 131*). It will not be out of place here to remark that, among the French population of Canada, the word *côte* does not necessarily imply a rise in the land or a hillside; much less a coast or water front, but simply the highway on which the farms of the settlers front, and on which their homesteads and outhouses are generally built. As for the origin of the name "Notre Dame de Foy," it is thus explained in the Relations. In 1669, a statue of the Madonna was sent from Europe to the Jesuit Superior. It was carved out of the self-same oak as the miraculous statue of Notre Dame at Foy, a hamlet near the town of Dinant, then the Liege country, now in the Province of Namur, Belgium. The understanding was that it should

be placed in the Huron chapel, though it was the Bishop's intention to have the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of the Annunciation (*Rel. 1670: Queb. ed. 22, 1 col.; Clev. ed. LIII., 131; Cf. Rel. 1671: Queb. ed. 7, 1 col.; Clev. ed. LIV., 287; Rels. Inéd. I. 149; and especially Autob. Chaumonot, 174-176*). The wish of the Bishop was carried out (*Rel. 1670: Queb. ed. 15, 1 col.; Clev. ed. LIII., 97*), the village, however, for a long time bore the name of Notre Dame de Foy, and was constituted the centre of the parish of that name by Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, September 18th, 1698. It now goes by the name of *Sainte-Foy,* the original appellation of M. de Puiseaux's fief.

1673.—*Abandoning Notre Dame de Foy, the Hurons go to (old) Lorette.*—As the Huron colony was at this time steadily expanding, owing both to the great influx of Iroquois Christians, especially from Tionnontoguen, the chief town of the Mohawks (*Clev. ed. LVII., 25*), and to natural increase, the missionaries determined to move from Notre Dame de Foy, where they were cramped for land and had little forest growth for fuel, to a more commodious site one league and a half further in the forest. There they planned to build a chapel modelled on that of Our Lady of Loreto, Italy (*Rels. Inéd. I. 295; Clev. ed. LVIII., 131, 149; Cf. Clev. ed. LX., 68-81*). The location was one league and a half from Notre Dame de Foy, and three leagues from Quebec *Rels. In. I. 305; Clev. ed. LVIII., 147*). However, for some time after the removal of the village the Indians continued to cultivate their fields at Notre Dame de Foy (*Rels. In. I. 296; Clev. ed. LVIII., 131*). Including the late accessions from the Iroquois, the population now reached three hundred (*Rels. In. II. 71; Clev. ed. LX., 26, 145*).

This last change of position is thus recorded in Father Girault's memoir: "They (the Hurons) remained there (at Côte St. Michel) from the spring of 1669 to the 28th (sic) of December of the year 1673. Thence they went to live at *Vieille Lorette*, where they remained.....until the autumn of 1697 (*Clev. ed. LXX., 207*).

1674.—The corner-stone of the Chapel was laid by the Superior of Quebec, July 16th, 1674, and the structure was blessed on November 4th, of the same year (*Rels. In. I. 309-310; Clev. ed. LVIII., 155, LX., 85*) under the title of Notre Dame de Lorette (*Rels. In. II. 14; Clev. ed. LIX., 81*).

1697.—*From Old Lorette they move to New Lorette—Their last Migration.*—"Finally" says Father Girault, "from the autumn of 1697 till the present year 1762 [date of his Memoir] the Hurons have lived at *Jeune Lorette.* Jeune Lorette has no dependencies. It is only a small piece of land in the *Côte Petit St. Antoine*, seigniory of St. Michel. On it the Jesuit Fathers, to whom the seigniory belongs, allowed the Hurons to settle, towards the close of 1697" (*Clev. ed. LXX., 207*). And there they have remained till the present day.

1711.—Under date of November 5th, 1711, Father Joseph Germain, writing from Quebec, sends this report, through the General of the Society, to the Propaganda concerning the Hurons of Jeune Lorette: "This mission is three leagues from Quebec and is made up of Hurons who are instructed by two of our Fathers, d'Avaugour and de Descouvert (sic). These Indians are very fervent Christians, who are exceedingly assiduous at public prayers in their church and at private prayers in their cabins; constant in attendance at Holy Mass and in frequenting the Sacraments, in which they participate often with a devotion both tender and solid; they strictly observe the commandments of God and of the Church, and lead most exemplary lives" (*Clev. ed. LXVI., 203-205*).

1794.—On October 10th, 1794, two days after the death of Father Etienne Thomas-de-Villeneuve Girault, the last Jesuit missionary of the Hurons near Quebec, Reverend Joseph Pâquet, a secular priest, was appointed as his successor. (*L'Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay, Notre Dame de la Jeune Lorette, 1900, 281*), and on November 15th, the Bishop of Quebec authorized the purchase of the land of Michael Bergeoin dit Langevin, for the site of the parish church (*Id. ib. 282*).

1795.—The Bishop, in April, 1795, gives his consent to the building of a presbytery with a chapel annexed, and on December 2nd, the work being completed the chapel was blessed (*Id. ib. 282, 283*).

1796.—On October 6th, the limits of the parish were determined, and a pastoral letter assigns as patron St. Ambrose. The dimensions of the parish were six miles square. This took in parts of the old fiefs of Gaudarville, St. Gabriel. L'Ancienne Lorette and Charlesbourg (*Id. ib. 282, 290*).

1815.—Bouchette in his *Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada*, has this to say of La Jeune Lorette and its population at this date: "The Indian village of La Jeune Lorette, between eight and nine miles from Quebec, is situated on the eastern side of the River St. Charles, upon an eminence that commands a most interesting, varied and extensive view..... The number of the houses is between forty and fifty, which on the exterior have something like an appearance of neatness; they are principally built of wood, although there are some of stone. The inhabitants are about two hundred and fifty, descendants of the tribe of the Hurons, once so formidable even to the powerful Iroquois, etc." (*409-410*).

1827.—The regular canonical erection of the parish of "*St. Ambroise de La Jeune Lorette*" took place on September 18th, 1827 (*Lindsay, Id. 290*).

1829.—Wenwadahronhé or Gabriel Vincent, third chief of the Hurons of Lorette died on March 29th, 1829, aged 57. He was the last full-blooded Huron, with absolutely no intermixture in his line, it is said, from the time of the exodus from

Huronia in 1650. He was also the only Indian at Lorette who had reared his family in the language of his forefathers, the younger inhabitants of the village, at that date, speaking the French language and not understanding their own (*Quebec Star, April 8, 1829, quoted by the Abbé Lindsay, op. cit. 269*).

1835.—Civil recognition of the St. Ambrose Parish, was granted on October 9th, 1835, under the administration of Lord Gosford (*Id. op. cit. 282*).

1845.—On May 21st of this year, there were among the Indians residing at Lorette sixty-one men, sixty-two women, and sixty-eight children who were rightful recipients of the "King's Gifts." Down to as late a date as 1854 it was customary to distribute such gifts among most of the families of the village. In this latter year this distribution of promiscuous articles was abolished, and a subsidy for the maintenance of the resident pastor and of the village school was substituted for it (*Lindsay, op. cit. 273-274*).

1861.—Father Julius Tailhan, S. J., who resided at Quebec at that time, states that in 1851 the Hurons of Lorette numbered two hundred and sixty-one (See his *Mémoire sur les moeurs, etc. par Nicolas Perrot, 1864, p. 311*).

1901.—The official census, May 1901, gives four hundred and forty-eight souls as the population of the Huron village of La Jeune Lorette. The tribe is still in possession of three reserves: the village itself which covers thirty acres, the "Quarante Arpents" reserve, which despite its name contains one thousand three hundred and fifty-two acres, and finally the Rocmont Reserve, in the county of Portneuf, which is nine thousand six hundred acres in extent (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, cited by Abbé Lindsay, op. cit. 275*).

JESUIT MISSIONARIES OF THE HURONS AT QUEBEC.

1650—1790.

Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot,	June 10, 1650 to Sept. 19, 1655; April 23, 1658 to June 2, 1662; September, 1663 to July 23, 1665; Oct. 3, 1665 to 1692.
Léonard Garreau	in 1652.
Pierre Raffeix	in 1663, and in 1699.
Martin Bouvart	1674 to 1676 inclusive.
François Vaillant de Gueslis	1675 to 1677 " "
Claude Chauchetière	in 1678.
Nicolas Potier	1679 to 1683.

JESUIT MISSIONARIES OF THE HURONS AT QUEBEC.—*Continued.*

Pierre Cholenec	1683 to 1688.
Philippe Pierson	in 1687.
Julien Garnier	in 1688 and from 1691 to 1695.
Jaeques de Lamberville	in 1689, 1690 and in 1698.
Michel Germain de Couvert	from 1691 to 1712.
Pierre Lagrené	in 1695, 1702 and 1703.
Pierre Millet	in 1696 and 1697.
Louis d'Avaugour	from 1706 to 1715 inclusive.
Pierre Daniel Richer	from 1715 to 1760 " "
Pierre de Lauzon	in 1716 and 1717.
Armand de La Richardie	from 1725 to 1727.
Nicolas de Gonnor	from 1735 to 1737 and from 1740 to 1742.
Pierre Potier	from Oct. 16, 1734, to June 24, 1744.
Jean Baptiste François de Salleneuve	from 1749 to 1754.
Etienne Thomas-de-Villeneuve Girault	from 1755 to 1790.

SECULAR PRIESTS WITH THE HURONS OF QUEBEC. 1794–1909.

Rev. Joseph Pâquet	from Oct. 10th, 1794 to Aug. 17, 1799.
" Michel Amyot	from 1799 to 1801.
" François Ignace Ranvoyzé	from Sept. 10, 1801 to 1805.
" Antoine Bédard	from 1805 to 1817, and from 1819 to 1824.
" François Germain Rivard Loranger	from 1817 to 1819.
" Thomas Cooke	from 1824 to 1833.
" Louis Théophile Fortier	from Sept. 29, 1833 to 1843.
" François Boucher	from 1843 to Dec. 4, 1880.
" Guillaume Giroux	from Feb. 1870 to December 1880 as Assistant. from Dec. 4, 1880 to Sept. 1881 in charge. from 1881 to Oct. 1904 as P. P.
" Cléophas Giroux	from Oct. 1904 and is still in charge.

CHIEFS OF THE HURONS OF QUEBEC.
1650—

1. Shastaretsi, who died when the Hurons lived at Old Lorette.
2. Ignace Tsawenhohi "The Vulture."
3. Paul Tsawenhohi, who died at New Lorette.
4. Thomas Martin Thodatowan.
5. José Vincent.
6. Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi, who was the nephew of the preceding. He was recognized after his election at the "Great Council Fire" of the Kanawokeronons, or Iroquois of Caughnawaga. In 1819, called before the committee of the Quebec Legislature, he explained the procedure followed in the election of the Grand Chief.
7. Simon Romain Tehariolian, acclaimed at the Great Council Fire of the Hurons, July 17th, 1845.
8. François Xavier Picard Tahourenché, succeeded as Grand Chief in June, 1870. He had been War Chief from 1840. He died in 1883.
9. Maurice Sébastien Aghionlian was elected in 1883. From the date of the passing of the Indian Bill in 1880, its prescriptions have been followed in the appointment of both the Chiefs and Grand Chiefs (*Lindsay, op. cit. pp. 265-266*).

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Comprising many of the more Primitive Huron words cited in the derivations. Sign = means the same as ; or equivalent to.

A, many meanings; with an s denotes magnitude, with aia, suffix, diminutiveness, 174-175.

AandSiara, a porringer or porcelain bowl, 212.

Aai or Aiai, to cut, cleave or break, 186.

Aarent, to open or have an opening, 134.

AarSan, to draw or take in a net, 45.

AaS, to row or paddle; aaSi, to come or go in a canoe; aaSiti, to go in a canoe to, 203.

Aataentsic or Eataentsic, a Huron deity, 428-429.

Abbreviations used, xx.

Achen, to be bad, worthless, spoiled, etc., 46.

Achia, the mouth, 188.

Achiendassé, Fr. Jérôme Lalemant's name, 309.

Achiondi or Achrondi, to make, to adjust, to fit, to adorn, etc., 209.

AchionSacta, a wire bracelet, 210.

AchionSendii, to polish, scour, 209.

AchionSendíta, a tube like a pea-shooter, 210.

Achirigouans, Algonquin tribe, west of Huronia towards Sault Ste. Marie (Rel. 1646), 355; classed among the tribes on the northern and eastern shores of L. Huron, (Rel. 1648), 370.

Addenda, 415; contents of, 417.

Admiral, The, a French ship, 346.

Aen, to be prone, prostrate, felled, stretched out; Aentonnion, many to be ditto, 200; to be, to exist, 166.

Aen, to see, 166.

Aenha, tent poles, 195.

Aenons, a Huron chief, 187.

Aenrat, to be white, 179.

Aent, cast on shore, stranded, 200.

Aenta, a pole, post, staff, etc., 195.

Aeta, (better iSeta) finger nail, claw, 210.

Aghionlian, a chief of Quebec Hurons, 158.

Ahantsic, 382, 384-386.

Aheskara, a game of straws, 213.

Ahiaton, to write, 189.

Ahiochia or aiochia, the elbow, 201.

AhïSat, to be bent, tortuous, winding, 201.

Ahona, in compound words, a canoe; ia when alone, 178, 185.

Ahonta, a thicket, underbrush, brambles, 178.

Ahondihronnons, or Aondironons, 323; see Ondieronii.

AhonoSan, to draw a canoe out of water, 45.

Ahouênda, an island; ahouenda, a string of fish, calf of the leg, 172.

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Ahȣenta (akȣenta), small fish, or simply fish, 202.

Ahuntsic, village near Sault-au-Recollet, a name historically and grammatically wrong, 387, cf. 382-386.

Aiai, to cut, cleave, break, 177, 186.

Ȧia ̨ȣon, to shoot birds, to spear fish, 194.

Ȧïandacé, a young Huron Christian, 304.

Aiguillon; Duchess of, obtains grant from Richelieu for the construction of Fort Ste. Marie I., 333.

Aïo or Ario, to beat, kill or capture, 156.

Ȧkenra, a fir or spruce grove, 140.

Akense, to look at, to watch, to consider, 189.

Akȣanake, any nation with language differing from the Huron, 419.

Akȣara, a kettle lid, 211.

Ȧlbany (Orange), the Dutch at, help Bressani to escape, 341.

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America; North, what part occupied originally by Huron-Iroquois tribes unknown, 421.

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Andaskara, the ham or inner part of the knee, 213.

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Andatara, a bead, 211.

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Andatsa, a kettle; iandatsia, a small one.

Andeses, sand bank or sand-white (?) 192-193.

Anderson, William, farm, 243.

Andeskara, an icicle, 213.

Andiata (and(g)iata) a bridge, 61.

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An(g)nionkara, a cliff, or bluff, 212.

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Angsira, a fish tail, notch in an arrow, 202.

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Annenksen, or Annenhoin, a sack for grain, 185.

Annent, annentra, etc., the beach, strand, 56, 211.

Annenstara, pebbles, gravel, 211.

Annhata (better Stac'ta), log, firewood, 205.

Annhi, v. to be crowded, etc., 203.

Annon, to watch, take care of, etc., 173.

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IDENTIF

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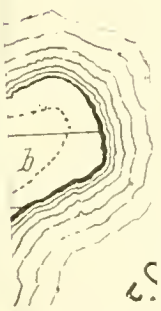
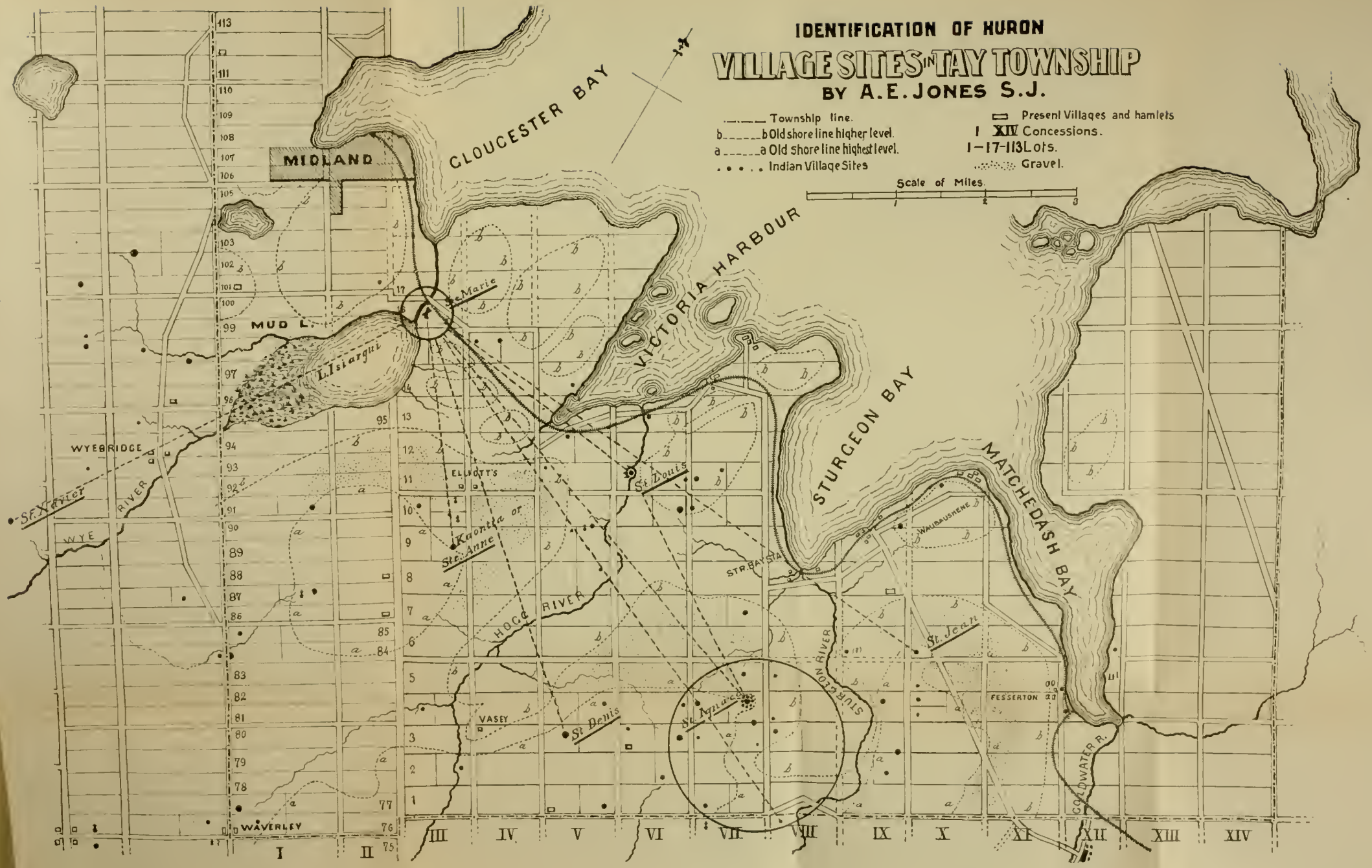
n Village Site




IDENTIFICATION OF HURON
VILLAGE SITES IN TAY TOWNSHIP
BY A.E. JONES S.J.
Township line.
b b Old shore line higher level.
a a Old shore line highest level.
Indian Village Sites
Present Villages and hamlets
I XIV Concessions.
1-17-113 Lots.
Gravel.
Scale of Miles.
1
2
3
GLOUCESTER BAY
VICTORIA HARBOUR
STURGEON BAY
MATCHEDASH BAY
MIDLAND
MUD L.
L. Isiargui
Ste. Marie
WYEBRIDGE
St. Xavier
WYE RIVER
ELLIOTT'S
Kaontia or Ste. Anne
St. Louis
HOGG RIVER
STR. BAY STA.
WAUBAUSHENE
St. Jean
STURGEON RIVER
FESSERTON
COLDWATER R.
VASEY
St. Denis
St. Ignace
WAVERLEY
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
XIV

HURONIA
OF THE RELATIONS
(SIMCOE COUNTY, ONT)
Rev Arthur E. Jones S.J.
St Marys College Montreal
1906
REFERENCE
GIANTS TOMB ISLAND
CHRISTIAN ISLAND
GLOUCESTER POOL
PENETANGUISHENE BAY
MATCHEDASH BAY
RIVER SEVERN
SPARROW LAKE
Severn Bridge
Washago
Port Severn
WAUBAUSHENE
MIDLAND
Coldwater
Wye Bridge
Vasey
Waverley
LAKE COUCHICHING
ORILLIA
L. ATTIGOUANTAN
NOTTAWASAGA BAY
Elmvale
Allenwood
Phelpston
Craighurst
Apto
Edgar
Coulson
Crownhill
Barrie
KEMPENFELDT BAY
L. OUENTARON
LAKE SIMCOE
COLLINGWOOD
Stayner
Singhampton
SCALE
ENGLISH MILES

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FIFTH REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ARCHIVES

FOR THE

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

BY
ALEXANDER FRASER,
PROVINCIAL ARCHIVIST.

1908.

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